ST. ALBERT'S COLLEGE LIBRARY

13 2

4 Vo

Set

26-662

$13.00

MATERIAL FOR A HISTORY
OF
POPE ALEXANDER VI

A Medal commemorative of the Coronation of Pope ALEXANDER VI.

Alfred Armand, Les Médailleurs Italiens des 15me et 16me siècles, T. 2, p. 63.

MATERIAL

FOR A HISTORY OF

Pope Alexander VI

HIS RELATIVES AND HIS TIME

BY RIGHT REVEREND MSGR.

PETER DE ROO

MEMBER OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL CLUB OF THE LAND VAN WAES,
HONORARY MEMBER OF THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY
OF PHILADELPHIA.

VOLUME I

FAMILY DE BORGIA

ST. ALBERT'S COLLEGE LIBRARY

BRUGES
DESCLÉE, DE BROUWER AND C°
1924.

Carolus VIII, commoto in Alexandrum animo, Urbem ingreditur. Cum multa audisset agi quae minus Pastoris sancti officio convenirent, ducitur in hortum Rex ad Pontificem, quem quum positis humi genibus orantem invenisset, ipse cum proceribus, quibus stipatus ibat, attoniti facti, quem prius oderant, statim amare, observare et venerari coepere, falsis in eum calumniis se deceptos rati.

Aegidius Viterbiensis, Hist. XX Sæc.

PREFACE

A mountain of literature, both manuscript and printed, bearing upon the history of pope Alexander VI has gradually been built up, and is rising still year after year. A hundred writers have contributed to its formation. That not a few of them were biased by passion, private interests or hostile creeds, has sufficiently been proved by modern research, slowly but steadily eliminating one slander after another which, for centuries, darkened the memory of the maligned Pontiff. Many, unconscious of a historian's first duty, have almost entirely neglected the narrative of his momentous and indefatigable activity, and filled his strenuous life of seventy years with minute discussions of adventures and crimes unwarranted, or morally impossible.

No wonder if the excesses of Alexander's literary enemies should have aroused the love of truth in the hearts of a few recent historians, even among Protestant scholars, and spurred them on to earnest labor, in order to lift a portion of the veil concealing his glorious deeds, and to wipe away much of the mud under which he lay besmirched.

Emboldened by these results of painstaking inquiry into historical facts, one or another apologist has ventured of late to take a further step towards the justification of Alexander VI, by imagining untenable theories and romances, which, eventually, proved to be more injurious than useful to his laudable object ; and has complicated, rather than solved, the doubts that hover still on important particulars of the Pontiff's history.

Should we concede equal authority to all those writers, we would after months of reading, find ourselves utterly

confused, and certain of nothing but that, at some time, there was a pope of Rome called Alexander VI ; and that his origin, morals, achievements and death remain subjects of discussion and further inquiry.

Such a negative conclusion is far from being satisfactory.

To obtain more definite results we now assume the tedious task of a careful research into whatever belongs to a complete biography of pope Alexander VI.

We shall look for facts attested to by contemporary monuments and authentic documents, that preclude all doubt. In cases where these should be deficient, we shall regularly admit the testimonies of writers who were eye witnesses of what they relate, and take notice of their silence upon pretended happenings, which they should have told, if true [1]. We shall, when in doubt, quote the opinion of the most critical modern historians, and accept as sufficiently proven what little the bitterest enemies of pope Alexander VI state in his favor, while it cannot be supposed that they lie to befriend a man whom they purposely assail ; but it is evident that they speak well of him, only because they cannot deny or doubt the proofs of what they reluctantly admit. In this way our book shall be a succession of ascertained actual occurrences, deeds and events, forming the material of an objective and truthful history of pope Alexander VI.

In commencing our studies we intended to discover, if possible, a few good actions in the long life of a man who had been depicted to us as totally depraved ; but we had no thought of writing in defense, much less, in praise of

---

1. As an Appendix to this work, we give the estimate, made by the most approved historians, of the credibility and authority of the numerous contemporary writers, upon whom, after the documents, we have to rely, if we want to know the true history of pope Alexander VI.

him. As we progressed, however, in learning the actual facts concerning that Pontiff, we wondered at the bad repute in which he was so generally held. Further on, we became aware of the means used to denigrate his memory : of the original stupid slanders, of the suppression of historical facts and of the forgery of pretended documents in his disfavor.

Of the labors which he performed in his capacity of Head of the Catholic Church : of his works to preserve intact and to propagate divine doctrine, of his efforts to reform both clergy and laity, of his zeal to promote piety, we found little or nothing in printed literature ; although it became evident to us that, in all those most important matters, he took a more lively interest than any other Pontiff of his time.

His continuous and patient toil and the sacrifices he made to save Christian civilization in Europe from the destructive incursions of the cruel Turks are not sufficiently known. Most writers reduce the history of pope Alexander VI to the relation of the invasions of Italy by the French, and to the description of the wars waged by the Pope against the Italian nobility. The former they spice with blame for his foreign politics, and with regard to the latter they charge him with injustice and cruelty. We found, however, the truth to be, that he had the gravest of reasons to act as he did towards the kings of France and of Naples, whilst it was justice and duty that directed him in his conduct towards the vassals of the Church, after he had failed in his acts of munificence and mercy.

The final conclusion of our researches and studies was that Roderic de Borgia, pope Alexander VI, has been a man of good moral character and an excellent Pope.

We know well that such a thesis, which we propose to prove and defend in the present work, is apt to attract upon

us the summary doom of superficial writers, who abuse that Pontiff in order to vilify the Church. We expect that it will arouse the antagonism of some historians, generally and justly considered as learned men, but who place too much confidence in salaried reporters of the time and in hostile authors of the sixteenth century ; while they neglect the most precious source of history, the all important pontifical documents issued during the lifetime of Alexander VI. We shall attentively consider the counter-proofs which our contradictors may offer ; but neglect, as arrogant assumptions, any unwarranted strictures made by them.

This first volume of our work, treating of the Borgia family in general and of its numerous members in particular, does not strictly belong to the history of pope Alexander VI, but forms an indispensable introduction to it. We establish therein the true surname of the Pontiff, which has been, from the sixteenth century down to our day, a stumbling block for the most learned historians. We then prove the high social standing of the Borgia house. The greater portion of the volume is destined, however, to free the history proper of that Pope from constant interruption, caused by the interweaving of historical notices about other members of the family of the Borgias. It is, indeed, an enumeration of all the Pontiff's nearest relatives, a hundred of them, in genealogical order, accompanied by more or less special information, amounting, in some cases, to historical sketches or even to succinct biographies, according to the importance of the role that each one has played in the unfolding of the history of either the private life, or of the public deeds of pope Alexander VI.

The volume closes with an Appendix, wherein is given the meaning of " sons " and " daughters " of the Pope, applied sometimes to William Raymund de Borgia's children, whom

the Pontiff is accused of having recognized as his own ; while by more serious writers and at foreign courts these children are called his " nephews " and " nieces ", and invariably so in all diplomatic and private documents regarding any material interests. The Appendix further contains a discussion of a number of forged documents, recently found in the archives of the duke of Osuna in Madrid, and of a couple, slipped into the Secret Archives of the Vatican, which were intended to justify the slander of cardinal de Borgia's pretended immorality, but the falsity of which confirms his innocence.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

In gathering the « Material » of this First Volume, we have relied on

DOCUMENTS

WHICH WE HAVE FOUND IN THE FO LOWING Ms. CODICES OF THE

ARCHIVES AND LIBRARIES OF

CIVITA CASTELLANA

Archivium Communale : Consigli Secreti.

NEPI

Archivium Communale : Liber de Brevibus.

PARIS

Bibliothèque Nationale ; Fonds Lat. Codex 12555.
Collection Dupuy : Cod. 28.
Fonds français : Cod. 2930, 12186, 20157, 20280, 20282, 20288.
Archives Nationales : Cod. L. 378.

ROME

Archivium Apostolicum Secretum Vaticanum :

Regestum 19 : Gregorii IX. Bullarium, An. XII. XIII. Tomus IV.
Regest. 390 : Nicolai V. Secretaria
Regest. 395 : Nic. V Secret.
Regest. 406 : Nic. V. de Curia, Liber I.
Regest. 407 : Nic. V. de Cur. Lib. II.

(A searcher after historical truth must be aware that the Roman Libraries contain many manuscripts, that, although deserving of serious attention, have not the value of documents. An ordinary critic will easily observe that they comprise also relations dictated by the hatred and revenge of Italian princes justly punished by pope Alexander VI).

Regest.	408 : Nic. V.	de Cur.	Lib. III.	
Regest.	410 : Nic. V.	de Cur.	Lib. V.	
Regest.	413 : Nic. V.	de Cur.	Lib. VIII.	
Regest.	415 : Nic. V.	de Curia	Lib. X	
Regest.	416 : Nic. V.	de Cur.	Lib. XI.	
Regest.	419 : Nic. V.	de Cur.	Lib. XIV.	
Regest.	424 : Nic. V.	de Cur.	Lib. XIX.	
Regest.	426 : Nic. V.	de Cur.	Lib. XXI.	
Regest.	428 : Nic. V.	de Cur.	Lib XXIII.	
Regest.	430 : Nic. V.	de Cur.	Lib. XXV.	
	Calixti III.	Brevia	Lib. I.	
	Cal. III.	Brevia	Lib. VII.	
Regest.	439 : Cal. III.	de Curia	Anno I.	Tomus IV.
Regest.	440 : Cal. III.	de Cur.	An. I.	Tom. V.
Regest.	445 : Cal. III.	de Cur.	An. II.	Tom. X.
Regest.	446 : Cal. III.	de Cur.	An. I. II.	Tom. XI.
Regest.	447 : Cal. III.	de Cur.	An. I. II.	Tom. XII.
Regest.	448 : Cal. III	de Cur.	An. II. III.	Tom. XIII.
Regest.	449 : Cal. III.	de Cur.	An. II. III.	Tom. XIV.
Regest.	450 : Cal. III.	de Cur.	An. II. III.	Tom. XV.
Regest.	451 : Cal. III.	de Cur.	An. III.	Tom. XVI.
Regest.	455 : Cal. III.	Secretaria	An. I.	
Regest.	458 : Cal. III.	Secret.	An. I. II.	Liber V.
Regest.	460 : Cal. III.	Secret.	An. I. II. III.	Lib. VII.
Regest.	461 : Cal. III.	Secret.		Lib. VIII.
Regest.	462 : Cal. III.	Secret.	An. III. IV.	Lib. IX.
Regest.	465 : Cal. III.	Officia	An. I. II. III.	Lib. I.
Regest.	467 : Cal. III.	Off.	An. II. III.	Lib. III.
Regest.	469 : Pii II.	de Curia	An. I.	Tomus II.
Regest.	472 : Pii II.	de Cur.	An. I. II.	Tom. V.
Regest.	473 : Pii II.	de Cur.		Tom. VI.
Regest.	495 : Pii II.	de Cur.	An. VI.	Tom. XXXVIII.
Regest.	499 : Pii II.	Secretaria	Liber II.	
Regest.	501 : Pii II.	Secret.	Lib. IV.	
Regest.	506 : Pii II.	Secret.	Lib. IX.	
Regest.	514 : Pii II.	Secret.	Lib XVII.	
Regest.	548 : Sixti IV.	Secretaria	Liber III.	
Regest.	549 : Sixti IV.	Secret.	Lib. IV.	
Regest.	551 : Sixti IV.	Bullarium	Lib. I.	
Regest.	552 : Sixti IV.	Bull.	Lib. II.	
Regest.	560 : Sixti IV.	Bull.	Lib. X.	
Regest.	568 : Sixti IV.	Bull.	Lib. XVIII.	
Regest.	592 : Sixti IV.	Bull.	Lib. XLII.	
Regest.	600 : Sixti IV.	Bull.	Lib. L.	

Regest. 603 : Sixti IV. Bull. Lib. LIII.
Regest. 605 : Sixti IV. Bull. Lib. LV.
Regest. 621 : Sixti IV. Bull. Lib. LXXI.
Regest. 632 : Sixti IV. Bull. Lib. LXXXII.
Regest. 642 : Sixti IV. Bull. Lib. XCII.
Regest. 643 : Sixti IV. Bull. Lib. XCIII.
Regest. 648 : Sixti IV. Bull. Lib. XCVIII.
Regest. 653 : Sixti IV. Bull. Lib. CIII.
Regest. 657 : Sixti IV. Officia Lib. III.
Regest. 673 : Sixti IV. Off.
Regest. 677 : Sixti IV. Bullae Diversae An. V. ad XIII.

Regest. 682 : Innoc. VIII. Secretaria An. I. II. III. Tomus. I.
Regest. 683 : Inn. VIII. Secret. An. I. Tom. II.
Regest. 685 : Inn. VIII. Secret. An. I. II. III. Tom. IV.
Regest. 686 : Inn. VIII. Secret. An. II. ad IV. Tom. V.
Regest. 688 : Inn. VIII. Secret. Tom. VII.
Regest. 689 : Inn. VIII. Secret. An. I. ad IX. Tom. VIII.
Regest. 690 : Inn. VIII. Secret. An. III. ad. VIII. T. IX.
Regest. 698 : Inn. VIII. Bullarium An. I. Liber I.
Regest. 700 : Inn. VIII. Bull. An. I. Lib. III.
Regest. 702 : Inn. VIII. Bull. An. I. Lib. V.
Regest. 711 : Inn. VIII. Bull. Lib. XIV.
Regest. 713 : Inn. VIII. Bull. An. I. II. Lib. XVI.
Regest. 714 : Inn. VIII. Bull. An. I. II. Lib. XVII.
Regest. 741 : Inn. VIII. Bull. An. V. Lib. XLIV.
Regest. 748 : Inn. VIII. Bull. Lib. LI.
Regest. 750 : Inn. VIII. Bull. An. VI. VII. Lib. LIII.
Regest. 752 : Inn. VIII. Bull. An. VII. Lib. LV.
Regest. 759 : Inn. VIII. Bull. An. VII. VIII. Lib. LXII.
Regest. 761 : Inn. VIII. Bull. An. VII. VIII. Lib. LXIV.
Regest. 764 : Inn. VIII. Bull. An. VIII. Lib. LXVII.
Regest. 770 : Inn. VIII. Communia An. I. Tomus IV.

Regest. 772 : Alexandri VI. Bullarium An. I. Tom. I.
Regest. 774 : Alex. VI. Bull. An. I. Tom. III.
Regest. 775 : Alex. VI. Bull. An. I. Tom. IV.
Regest. 776 : Alex. VI. Bull. An. I. Tom. V.
Regest. 778 : Alex. VI. Bull. An. I. II. Tom. VII.
Regest. 779 : Alex. VI. Bull. An. I. II. Tom. VIII.
Regest. 780 : Alex. VI. Bull. An. I. II. Tom. IX.
Regest. 782 : Alex. VI Bull. Tom. XI.
Regest. 784 : Alex. VI. Bull. An. I. II. III. Tom. XIII.
Regest. 785 : Alex. VI. Bull. An. I. II. III. Tom. XIV.
Regest. 787 : Alex. VI. Bull. An. II. III. Tom. XVI.
Regest. 788 : Alex. VI. Bull. Tom. XVII.
Regest. 789 : Alex. VI. Bull. Tom. XVIII.

Regest.	792 : Alex. VI.	Bull.	An. III.	Tom.	XXI.
Regest.	793 : Alex. VI.	Bull.		Tom.	XXII.
Regest.	794 : Alex. VI.	Bull.	An. II. III.	Tom.	XXIII.
Regest.	795 : Alex. VI.	Bull.		Tom.	XXIV.
Regest.	796 : Alex. VI.	Bull.		Tom.	XXV.
Regest.	800 : Alex. VI.	Bull.	An. IV. V.	Tom.	XXIX.
Regest.	801 : Alex. VI.	Bull.		Tom.	XXX.
Regest.	804 : Alex. VI.	Bull.	An. IV. V.	Tom.	XXXIII.
Regest.	809 : Alex. VI.	Bull.		Tom.	XXXVIII.
Regest.	813 : Alex. VI.	Bull.		Tom.	XLII.
Regest.	814 : Alex. VI.	Bull.	An. VI.	Tom.	XLIII.
Regest.	823 : Alex. VI.	Bull.		Top.	LII.
Regest.	826 : Alex. VI.	Bull.	An. VII. VIII.	Tom.	LV.
Regest.	827 : Alex. VI.	Bull.	An. VII. VIII.	Tom.	LVI.
Regest.	828 : Alex. VI.	Bull.	An. VII. VIII.	Tom.	LVII.
Regest.	833 : Alex. VI.	Bull.		Tom.	LXII.
Regest.	836 : Alex. VI.	Bull.	An. VIII.	Tom.	LXV.
Regest.	837 : Alex. VI.	Bull.		Tom.	LXVI.
Regest.	842 : Alex. VI.	Bull.		Tom.	LXXI.
Regest.	843 : Alex. VI.	Bull.		Tom.	LXXII.
Regest.	844 : Alex. VI.	Bull.	An. IX.	Tom.	LXXIII.
Regest.	851 : Alex. VI.	Bull.	An. IX. X.	Tom.	LXXX.
Regest.	859 : Alex, VI.	Bul.	An X. XI.	Tom.	LXXXVIII.
Regest.	861 : Alex. VI.	Bull.	An. IX.	Tom.	XC.
Regest.	866 : Alex. VI.	Bull.		Tom.	XCV.
Regest.	867 : Alex. VI.	Secretaria	An. I.	Liber	I.
Regest.	869 : Alex. VI.	Secret.	An. I. II. III.	Lib.	III.
Regest.	870 : Alex. VI.	Secret.	An. II.	Lib.	IV.
Regest.	871 : Alex. VI.	Secret.	An. I ad XI.	Lib.	V.
Regest.	872 : Alex. VI.	Secret.	An. IV ad VIII.	Lib.	VI.
Regest.	873 : Alex. VI.	Secret.	An. I ad X.	Lib.	VII.
Regest.	875 : Alex. VI.	Officia.			
Regest.	876 : Alex. VI.	Off.	An. I. II. III.	Lib.	I.
Regest.	877 : Alex. VI.	Off.	An. I ad IX.	Lib.	II.
Regest.	878 : Alex. VI.	Off.	An. X ad XI.	Lib.	III.
Regest.	879 : Alex. VI.	Bullae Diversae	An. I.	Tomus	I.
Regest.	882 : Alex. VI.	Bull. Div.	An. IV ad XI.	Tom.	IV.
Regest.	883 : Alex. VI.	Bull. Div.	An. IX. X. XI.	Tom.	V.

In Armario XII. nº 121 :	Acta Consistorialia, 1489-1503.				
In Armar. 29 nº 50 :	Alexandri VI. Diversa Camerae, 1492-95.				
In Armar. 29 nº 51 :	Alex. VI.	Div.	Cam.	1495-97.	
In Armar. 29 nº 52 :	Alex. VI.	Div.	Cam.	1497-99.	
In Armar. 29 nº 53 :	Alex. VI.	Div.	Cam.	1497-1501.	
In Armar. 29 nº 54 :	Alex. VI.	Div.	Cam.	1501-03.	
In Armar. 29 nº 55 :	Alex. VI.	Div.	Cam.	1502-08.	
In Armar. XXXIX.	Pauli II.	Brevia.			

In Armar. XXXIX. nº 6 : Calixti III et Pii II. Brevia.
In Armar. XXXIX. nº 7 : Calix. III. Brevia, Tomus VII.
In Armar. XXXIX. nº 8 : Calix. III. et Pii II, Brevia An. 1457.
In Armar. XXXIX. nº 15 : Innocentii VIII. Brevia, An. 1485, Tomus II.
In Armar. XXXIX.vol. 19: Innocentii VIII. Brevia.

Introitus et Exitus

Volume 524, For the years 1492-93.
Vol. 525, » » » 1493-94.
Vol. 526, » » » 1493-94.
Vol. 527, » » » 1494-95.
Vol. 528, » » » 1496-97.
Vol. 530, » » » 1497-98.
Vol. 531, » » » 1497-98-99.
Vol. 532, » » » 1501-02-03.
Addition to volume 532 : Papal private treasury for the years 1502-1503.
Volume 533, For the years 1502-03.

Archivium Consistoriale Vaticanum

Provisiones Innocentii VIII et Alexandri VI. 1489. Tomus I.
Acta Consistorialia
Acta Consistorialia, 1489-1503 ; 1492-1523.

Rome, Archivio di Stato

Mandati, 1484-1489.
Mandati, 1492-1494.
Mandati Camerae Apostolicae, 1501-1502.
Mandati, 1501-1503.
Diversa Innocentii VIII et Alexandri VI, 1491-1492.

Rome, Archivium Castelli S. Angeli

Armarium 2. Capsa 5. nº 39 gg.

Rome, Bibliotheca Angelica

Cod. C. 8, 19 : Ægidius Viterbiensis, Historia XX. Seculorum.

Rome, Bibliotheca Barberini Codices.

B B B 1, 13, XXX. 242, XXXII. 242 XXXIII. 48.
XXXVI. 7, XXXVI. 10, LIV. 22.

Rome, Bibliotheca Corsini

Codices 687, 1323 alias 35. A. 2.

Rome, Bibliotheca Vallicellana

Codices I. 61, I. 74, P. 201.

Rome, Bibliotheca Vaticana

Ottoboniana, Codices : 2504. P. 2. 2726.
Urbinatensis, Codices : 864, 1641.
Latina, Codices : 3460, 3883, 3993, 5205, 6559.

Rome, Bibliotheca Vittorio Emmanuele

Mss. Sessoriani : Codex 394 alias 1261.
Mss. Jesuitici : Codex 1558 alias 3687.

Vienna

Haus- Hof- u. Staatsarchiv. Concepten, Missiven : I. I.
K. K. Archiv, Codex K. K. Cod. 987.
Filiale des K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staatsarchivs: Maximiliana, Codex 987.

We have also consulted the following

PRINTED LITERATURE

Acta Sanctorum, by the Bollandists.
Ademollo, A., Alessandro VI.. nel Carnevale di Roma. Firenze. 1886.
Adinolfi, Pasquale, Il Canale di Ponte. Narni. 1860.
Ægidius Viterbiensis, Historia XX Seculorum.
Æneas Sylvius (Pope Pius II.) Descrittione de l'Asia. Vinegia, 1544.
Æneas Sylvius, Historia de Europa. Vinegia, 1544.
Alberi, E. Le Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti. Firenze, 1846.

Allegretto de Allegrettis, Diarii delle cose Sanesi- ap. Muratori, Rer. Ital. Script. Tom. XXIII.
Alvisi, Cesare Borgia, Duca di Romagna. Imola, 1878.
Ammirato, Istorie Fiorentine. Firenze, 1849.
Antonio, Nicolas, Bibliotheca Hispana Nova et Vetus. Edit. 1873.
Archivio della Reale Società Romana di Storia Patria.
Archivio S orico Italiano. Firenze, 1842 seq.
Armand, Alfred, Les Médailleurs Italiens des XVe et XVIe Siècles. Paris, 1883.
Atti e Memorie delle R. Deputazioni di Storia patria per le provincie dell' Emilia.
Balan, Pietro, Storia d'Italia. Modena, 1877.
Becchetti, Filippo Angelico, Istoria degli quattro ultimi secoli della Chiesa. Roma, 1792.
Belli, Andrea, Ospitale delle Donne presso S. Maria della Consolazione. Roma, 1835.
Bembo, Pietro, Opera.
Bérault-Bercastel, Histoire de l'Eglise. Besançon, 1820.
Blanca, Gieronymo, Commentarium Rerum Aragonensium. Caesaraugustae, 1578.
Bofarull, Prosp. de, Coleccion de Documentos ineditos.
Boletin de la Real Academia de la Historia. Madrid, 1886 seq.
Bollandistes, Acta Sanctorum.
« Borgia, I ». A critical anonymous work. Italia, 1820.
Borgia, Steph., Memorie istoriche della Città di Benevento. Roma, 1769.
Bosio Giacomo, Histoire des Chevaliers de Malte (Lat.) Roma, 1629.
Bover, Nobiliario Mallorquin.
Bower, Archibald, The History of the Popes. Philadelphia, 1845.
Branca de Talini, Sebastiano, Diario, (In Bibl. Barberini, Cod. LIV. 22.).
Brown, Rawdon, Ragguali sulla vita, di Marin Sanudo. Venezia, 1837.
Brueck, History of the Catholic Church. New York, 1885.
Bullarium Cassinense. Venetiis, 1650.
Buonaccorsi, Biagio, Diario Fiorentino dall' Anno 1484-1512. Firenze, 1568.
Burchard, Johan., Diarum. Edit. L. Thuasne. Paris, 1883.
Bzovius, Continuatio Annalium Eccles. Baronii.
Cantu Cesare, Histoire Universelle (Transl.) Paris, 1847.
Cerri, Domenico, Borgia ossia Alessandro VI. Papa. Torino, 1873. 2e edit.
Cherrier, C. de, Histoire de Charles VIII. Paris, 1868.
Chevalier, Ulysse, Répertoire des Sources Historiques du Moyen-Age. Paris, 1877-86.
Ciaconius, Alph., Vitae et Gesta Rom. Pontificum. Roma, 1677.
Cienfuegos, Card. Alvaro, Vita di S. Francesco Borgia. Coimbra, 1757.
Cittadella, Luigi Napoleone, Saggio di Albero genealogico e Memorie sulla famiglia Borgia. Torino, 1872.
Civiltà Cattolica, A learned Review S. J. Rome.

Contelorius, Felix, Pars altera Elenchi S. R. E. cardinalium. Roma, 1659.
Corio, Bernardin, Storia di Milano. Milano, 1855.
Creighton, History of the Papacy. London, 1887.
Çurita, Geronymo, Historia del Rey Don Hernando el Catolico. Çaragoça, 1580.
Çurita, Geronymo, Anales de la Corona de Aragon.
Dandolo, Tullio, Roma ed i Papi. Milano, 1857.
Dante del Re, in Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria, vol. IV.
De Cherrier, See Cherrier.
Delitiae Italorum Poetarum, Francofurti, 1608.
De Magri, Note al Corio, Storia di Milano. 1855.
Dennistoun, James, Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino. London, 1851.
Douais, C., Les Débats récents sur la Vie d'Alexandre VI. in La Controverse.
Du Cange, Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis, Niort, 1884.
Eckart, ap. Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis, Niort, 1884.
Encyclopedia Britannica.
Epinois, See l'Epinois, H. de.
Escolano, Gaspar, Historiae Valentinae. Valencia, 1610.
Escolano, Francisco, Cronica, ap. Encyclopedia Britannica.
Expilly, Della Casa Milano, ap. « I Borgia ».
Fabronius, Angelus, Laurentii Magnifici Vita. Pisis, 1784.
Fabronius, Angelus, Leonis X. Vita. Pisis, 1797.
Favé, Jules, Études critiques sur l'Histoire d'Alexandre VI. St-Brieux, 1859.
Febrer, Trob.
Ferreras, Juan de, Historia de España. Madrid, 1722.
Fita, Fidel. Estudios Historicos, Tom. VI. Madrid, 1887.
Forcella, Vincenzo, Iscrizioni delle Chiese e d'altri edificii di Roma — according to a ms. collection of the XVIth century — Roma, Torino, Firenze, 1869.
Frizzi, Antonio, Memorie per la Storia di Ferrara. Ferrara, 1848.
Fumi, Luigi, Alessandro VI, e il Valentino in Orvieto. Siena, 1877.
Gaddi, B. A. in the Bibliotheca Corsini : Cod. 1323 or 33 A. 2.
Gams, Pius Bonifatius, Series Episcoporum. Ratisbonae, 1873.
Gaspar of Verona, ap. Muratori, Rer. Ital. Script. Vol. III.
Giannone, Pietro, Dell' Istoria Civile del Regno di Napoli. Napoli, MDCCXXIII.
Gilbert, W., Lucrezia Borgia, Duchess of Ferrara. London, 1869.
Gobellinus, Pii II. Commentarium.
Gordon, History of Alexander VI: (French transl.) Amsterdam, 1732.
Gori, Fabio, Archivio Storico della Città e provincia di Roma. Roma e Spoleto, 1875-83.
Gottlob, Ad., Aus der Camera Apostolica. Innsbruck, 1889.
Gregorovius, Ferdinand, Geschichte der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter. Stuttgard, 1870.

Gregorovius, Ferdinand, Lucrezia Borgia. Stuttgard, 1875.
Guicciardini, Franc., Istoria d'Italia. Milano, 1882.
Haas, in Wetzer und Welte, Kirchenlexicon, 1st ed.
Hartman Schedel, Liber Chronicarum. Nüremberg, 1493.
Häusle, in Kirchenlexicon, Art. Calixtus III.
Hefele, von, und Hergenroether, Conciliengeschichte. Freiburg im Br. 1887.
Hergenroether und von Hefele, Conciliengeschichte. Freiburg im Br. 1887.
Hergenroether, Jos., Handbuch der allgemeinen Kirchengeschichte. Freiburg im Br. 1884.
Hergenroether, Jos., Leonis X. Regesta. Friburgi, 1884.
Herrera, Antonio de, Historia General de las Indias. Madrid, 1601.
Höfler, Constantin R. von, Don Rodrigo de Borja und seine Söhne. Wien, 1888.
« I Borgia ». See Borgia.
Imhof, Jacobus Wilhelmus, Genealogiae XX Illustrium Familiarum in Hispania. Lipsiae, 1712.
Infessura, Diarium, ap. Muratori, Rer. Ital. Scriptores, Tom. III. Mediolani, 1734, and ms. in Bibl. Valicellana, Rome, Cod. I, 74.
Jacob of Volterra, See Volterra.
Joubert, La Science des Médailles. Paris, 1739.
Jovius, Paulus, Vita Magni Gonsalvi. Basileae, 1548.
Jovius, Paulus, Elogia Doctorum Virorum, Basileae, 1548.
Jovius Paulus, Vita Alfonsi Atestini.
Labbe, Philip. et Cossartius, Gabr., Collectio Conciliorum. Lutetiae Parisiorum, 1672.
Leonetti, Andr., Papa Alessandro VI. Bologna, 1880.
Leonii, Lorenzo, Vita di Bartolomeo d'Alviano, Todi, 1858.
L'Epinois, H. de, in Revue des Questions Historiques, T. XXIX. Paris, 1881.
Leti, Vita di Cesare Borgia. Milano, 1853.
Lippus, Raph. Brandolinus, in Römische Quartalschrift.
Machiavelli, Nic., Opere Minori, Lettere ai Dieci di Balia.
Machiavelli, Nic., Le Istorie Fiorentine. Milano, 1885.
Malipiero, Domenico, Cronaca, in Archiv. Stor. Italiano.
Malipiero, Domenico, Annali Veneti, in Archiv. Stor. Italiano.
March, Ausias, Las Obras. Valladolid, 1555.
Mariana, Joannes, De Rebus Hispaniae.
Mariana, J., Histoire d'Espagne (French transl.) Paris, 1725.
Marini, Gaet., Degli Archiatri Pontifici. Roma, 1784.
Martyr, Anglerius, P., Epistolarum Opus.
Masi, in the Rassegna Settimana.
Matagne, Henry, Une Réhabilitation d'Alexandre VI, in Revue des Questions Histor. T. IX.
Matagne, Henry, Le cardinal Rodrigue Borgia, in Revue des Questions Histor. T. XI.

Matarazzo, F., La Cronaca di Perugia, in Archiv. Stor. Ital. Ser. I. Vol. 16, P. 2.
Michael of St. Joseph, Bibliotheca Critica, ap. Ximeno, Escritores del Reyno de Valencia. Valencia, 1747.
Moreri, Le Grand Dictionnaire Historique. Amsterdam, 1740.
Moroni, Dizionario di Erudizione. Venezia, 1840.
Muratori, Antichitates Estenses. Modena 1740.
Muratori, Rerum Italicarum Scriptores. Mediolani, 1723 ad 1751.
Muzzi, Annali della Città di Bologna. Bologna, 1843.
Nardi, Jacopo, Istorie della Città di Firenze. Firenze, 1842.
Niccola della Tuccia, Cronaca di Viterbo. Firenze 1872. Edit. Ciampi Ignazio. Niccola died in 1473.
Odoricus, Continuation of Litti, Famiglie celebri Italiane 1862.
Oldoinus, Augustin, Additamenta ad Ciaconium, Vitae Roman. Pontificum.
Ollivier, Le Pape Alexandre VI, et les Borgia. Paris, 1870.
Panvinio, Onofrio, Vita Roman. Pontificum. Coloniae Agrippinae. 1626.
Pastor, Ludwig von, Geschichte der Päpste im Zeitalter der Renaissance. Freiburg im Breisgau, 1886, 1895, seq.
Pellicer, Joseph, in Bibliothèque Nation. Paris : Cod. 20280 and 20288, Fonds Franç.
Philip of Bergamo, ap. Moreri, Grand Dictionnaire.
Piferrer, Francisco, Nobiliàrio de los Reinos y Señorios de España, Madrid, 1857.
Pii II. Commentarium, See Gobellinus.
Platina, B., De Vitis Pontificum Roman. Paris, 1505.
Pontanus, Johannes Jovianus, Historia Belli Neapolitani.
Ponte ,Augustin de, Nobiliario, Lineage de los Enriquez.
Porcius or Porzio, Hieronymus, Commentaria de Rebus gestis ab Alexandro Borgia. Romae MCCCCXCIII. Also ap. Burchard, Diarium, T. II, p. 607.
Prescott, William H., History of Ferdinand and Isabella, London, 1886.
Racine, Histoire Ecclésiastique.
Ranghiasci, Memorie Storice di Nepi.
Ranke, Zur Kritik neuerer Geschichtschreiber, Leipzig, 1874.
Ranke, The History of the Popes.
Ranke, Geschichten.
Rassegna Settimana.
Raynaldi, Odoricus, Annales Ecclesiastici, T. XI. Lucae, 1754.
Reumont, Alfred von, Geschichte der Stadt Rom. Berlin, 1868.
Reumont, Alfred von, in Archivio Storico Italiano.
Rodriguez, Bibliotheca Valenciana.
Rohrbacher, Histoire Universelle de l'Église Catholique. Paris, 1850, seq.
Römische Quartalschrift. Roma.
Ronchini, A., Documenti Borgiani, in Atti e Memorie delle R. Deputazioni di Storia Patria per le provincie dell' Emilia. I. Ser. Modena 1877.
Roscoe William, Life of Leo X. London 1872.

Samarthanus, Dionys. Gallia Christiana. Parisiis, 1716.
Sandini, Ant., Vitae Pontificum Roman. Ferrariae, 1748.
Sansi, Achille, Saggio di Documenti Storici inediti dall' Archivio di Spoleto. Fulígno. 1861.
Sansovino, Francesco, L'Historia di Casa Orsini. Venetia, 1565.
Sanudo, Marino, Vite de' Duchi di Venezia, ap. Muratori, Rer. Ital. Script. Vol. XXII.
Sanuto, Marin., Diarium Venetum.
Scalona, Gian Carlo, in Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria.
Schedel, Hartman, Liber Chronicarum. Nüremberg, 1493.
Siena, Ludovico, Storia di Sinigaglia. Sinigaglia, 1746.
Sigismondo dei Conti da Foligno, Le Storie de' suoi Tempi, dal 1475 al 1510. Roma, 1883.
Spondanus, Epitomen Annalium Eccles. C. Baronii. Lugduni, 1678.
Stella, Giovanni, Vita 230 Summorum Pontificum usque ad Julium II. Venetiis, 1505.
Theiner, Augustin., Monumenta Hungariam Sacram illustrantia. Romae, 1860.
Thuasne, L., Diarium Burchardi. Paris, 1883.
Tomacelli, Storia del Reame di Napoli.
Tommaso Tommasi, Vita del Duca Valentino. Montechiaro, 1670.
Tommaso Tommasi, Vie de César Borgia, ap. Paris, Biblioth. Nation. Cod. 12186, Fonds franç., A transl.
Trinchera, Francesco, Codice Aragonese (Documents) .Vol. II. Napoli, 1868, 1870.
Tuccia, Niccola della, See Niccola.
Ugolini, Filipo, Storia dei Conti e Duchi d'Urbino. Firenze, 1859.
Vasari, Giorgio, Le Vite de' piu excellenti Pittori. Firenze, 1878.
Venuti, Rodulphino, Numismata Romanorum Pontificum, Romae, 1744.
Viciano, Martin de.
Villanueva, Jaime, Viaje literario a las Iglesias de España. Madrid 1803.
Villari, Pasquale, Dispacci di Antonio Giustinian. Firenze 1876.
Vita de, et Moribus summorum Pontificum (Anonymus), anno 1529. Ap. Leonetti, Papa Alessandro VI. Vol. III, p. 515.
Voigt, Enea Silvio de' Piccolomini. Berlin, 1856.
Volterra, Jacobus de, Diarii della Corte di Roma, ap. Muratori, XXIII.
Volterra, Raphael, Maffeius, Commentarium Urbis. Parisiis, 1526.
Ximeno, Vincente, Escritores del Reyno de Valencia. Valencia, 1747.
Yriarte, Charles, Les Borgia, César Borgia, sa vie, sa captivité etc. Paris, 1889.
Yriarte, Charles, Autour des Borgia. Paris, 1891.

SUMMARY

Preface. IX
Bibliography. XIV
Summary XXV

CHAPTER I.

Extraction of pope Alexander VI.

ARTICLE I. — His original name.

His baptismal and family names. 1
Authors asserting that he was a Lenzuoli. 2
Did his father or himself assume the Borgia name ? 2
Did he receive the Borgia name from Calixtus III ? 3
Some doubt wether he was a Lenzuoli or a Borgia. 4

ARTICLE II. — The family name of Alexander VI is de Borgia.

Ancient authors call him de Borgia. 6
The best modern historians call him de Borgia. 7
Roderic, when a boy, is called de Borgia in papal briefs. . . . 9
Jofre, Roderic's father, was a born de Borgia. 12
A monument proves Alexander VI to be a de Borgia. 13
Jofre Lanzol changed his cognomen into de Borgia. 14
Roderic's brothers and sisters were all de Borgias. 14
Paladino's " Roderico Lenzvola D. Borgia " is spurious. . . . 15

ARTICLE III. — Escutcheon of pope Alexander VI.

Was the escutcheon half Borgia and half Lenzuoli ? 16
Specimens of Alexander VI's coat of arms. 17
The bars of Alexander's blazon are of the Doms. 18

ARTICLE IV. — Parents of pope Alexander VI.

His father was Jofre de Borgia. 20
His mother, Isabella de Borgia, sister of Calixtus III 21
At Jofre's death, Isabella moved to Valencia. 23
Grandparents of Alexander VI. 24

ARTICLE V. — Social rank of the Borgia house.

Roderic de Borgia called a nobleman in papal bulls. 27
His parents, brothers and sisters were all nobles. 28
His grandfather was a prominent nobleman. 29
Was Alexander's maternal grandfather a goody farmer ? . . 30
Who had " four horses " ? 30
All of whose daughters married noblemen 32
Roderic de Borgia's parents belonged to the nobility. 34

ARTICLE VI. — High nobility of the Borgia house.

Some modern writers belittle the Borgia house. 35
The Borgias were very conspicuous. 35
Some of the ancestors of pope Alexander VI. 37

ARTICLE VII. — Was Alexander VI of royal descent ?

Two of Alexander's nephews marry into the royal house of Spain 38
The blazon of the Athares and of the Borgia is the same. . . 39
King Pedro Athares takes the title of Borgia. 40
Genealogical tree of the Borgia ancestors 41

CHAPTER II.

Paternal relatives of pope Alexander VI.

ARTICLE I. — Preliminary remarks.

Need of knowing pope Alexander's relatives. 43
Information of genealogists confusing. 44
What is meant by brother, by sister ? 44
What did " nephew, niece, " mean ? 45
In one case, " nephew " is strictly nephew 46
Other terms designating relatives. 47
Rules observed in this report of relatives. 47

ARTICLE II. — Paternal uncles and aunts of pope Alexander VI.

Children of Rodrigo Gil de Borgia, Alexander's grandfather. . 48
Rodrigo Gil junior. 49
Galceran Gil, duke of Spoleto. 49

Article III. — Cardinal Giovanni de Borgia senior.

Giovanni, son of Galceran, a cardinal. 50
Many mistake the parentage of this cardinal. 51
Giovanni's first benefices. 53
He is made bishop of Monreale. 54
He is raised to the cardinalate. 54
He receives many more dioceses, real or imagined. 55
He dies in Rome. 55
Galceran, brother of Giovanni de Borgia. 56

Article IV. — Aunt Juana and the Serra cousins.

Aunt Juana and her husband Bartholomew de Serra 57
De Serra, a condottiere of the papal army. 57
He succeeds Roderic de Borgia as captain of the papal guard. 58
Cardinal James Serra. 58
John and Jofre Serra, cousins of Alexander VI. 59

Article V. — Uncle Juan and cardinal Francis de Borgia.

The cardinal, a son of Juan and not of Calixtus III. 60
Birth and first benefices of Francis de Borgia. 61
Francis, a knight of St. John of Jerusalem. 61
A prothonotary apostolic and treasurer general. 62
Made bishop of Teano and archbishop of Cosenza. 63
Made a cardinal and tutor of Roderic of Aragon and of the Infant Giovanni de Borgia. 63
He rebelled against pope Julius II. 64

Article VI. — Other paternal relatives.

Roderic de Borgia, bishop of Urgel and of Barcelona. . . . 65
Alfonso de Borgia accompanies the cardinal legate Roderic to Spain. 65
Joannes de Borgia. 66
Likely other paternal aunts besides Juana. 67
Raymund Castellar and his son, Jerome. 67
John Castellar and his first benefices. 68
Made archbishop of Trani and cardinal. 68
Francis de Loriz and his first benefices. 69
Made bishop of Terni and fills important offices. 69
Is elevated to the cardinalate. 70

Article VII. — Unidentified cousins of Alexander VI.

Roderic and other de Borgias. 71
Joannes Marades, a " consanguineus " of Alexander VI. . . . 73
Genealogical tree of the paternal relatives. 75

CHAPTER III.

Maternal relatives of pope Alexander VI.

Article I. — Uncle and aunts of pope Alexander.

Pope Alexander's mother had one brother and three sisters. . 77
Alfonso de Borgia, pope Calixtus III. 78
Bishop of Corbio and counsellor of the king of Aragon. . . . 79
Bishop of Majorca, he ends the schism of the West. 79
Cardinal of Valencia. 80
Pope Calixtus III's efforts against the Turks. 81
The victory of Belgrade. 82
Calixtus III abandoned by the Christian princes. 83
Calixtus a careful pope, condemns robbery and slavery. . . . 85

Article II. — Pope Alexander's aunts, Juana and Catherine de Borgia.

Juana married Mateo Marti, or Martini. 86
Galcerand and Bartholomew Martini. 86
Catherine married John del Milà ; her children. 87

Article III. — Adriana del Milà.

Adriana, wife of Ludovico Orsini and soon his widow. 89
Her son, Ursinus married Julia Farnese. 90
Adriana, governess of Lucretia de Borgia. 91
Superintendent of pope Alexander's domestic affairs. 91
Payments of her salary. 91
Laura, her granddaughter married the nephew of pope Julius II. 93

Article IV. — Ausias and cardinal Lewis John del Milà.

Ausias and his children. 94
Lewis John, bishop of Segorve and legate of Bologna. . . . 95

A cardinal and recipient of many benefices. 95
Cardinal Lewis John del Milà retires. 96
Francis and Alfonso del Milà. 98
Damieta del Milà marries Gerard de Cathaneis, lord of Castelvert and of Olocan. 98
Aunt Francisca, a nun. 99
Genealogical tree of pope Alexander's maternal relatives. . . 100

CHAPTER IV.

Brothers of pope Alexander VI.

ARTICLE I. — Some unknown brothers and sisters.

Alexander's brothers and sisters little known. 101
Michael de Borgia, to help cardinal Scarampo. 102
He goes to assist George Kastriota Scanderbeg. 103
Gabriel, Baldassare and a second Michael de Borgia. 104

ARTICLE II. — Pedro Luis de Borgia.

Pedro Luis a chamberlain of the king of Aragon. 106
Made castellan of Sant' Angelo and other fortresses. 107
Named governor of Spoleto and of other places. 108
He leads the papal army against the Orsini. 111
Made prefect of Rome. 112
Ferdinand I seizes Naples, Benevento and Terracina. 113
Pedro Luis made vicar of Benevento and Terracina. 113
Did Calixtus III intend to make him king of Naples, king of Cyprus and emperor of Constantinople? 114
Pedro Luis surrenders Sant'Angelo. 116
He gives up all castles and dies. 117
Pedro Luis slandered like all other Borgias. 118
Pedro Luis left no children. 120

CHAPTER V.

Sisters of pope Alexander VI.

ARTICLE I. — Joanna de Borgia and her children.

Joanna marries Pedro Guglielmo Lanzol. 123
The Lanzol family favored by Roman Pontiffs. 124

Confusion about Pedro Guglielmo's and Joanna's children. . . 126
Cardinal Giovanni de Borgia, the younger, was not Joanna's child. 127
Nor was cardinal Pedro Luis de Borgia. 128
Neither was Angela de Borgia. 128
Guglielmo and Joanna deprived of their true children. . . . 129

Article II. — William Raymund Lanzol y de Borgia.

Two sons of Guglielmo Lanzol and Joanna de Borgia suppressed by the Osuna record. 130
Jofre de Borgia not a first-born and Roderic ignored. 131
The first-born was William Raymund. 131
William Raymund different from his namesake, his nephew . . 131
He married Vanotia de Cathaneis, daughter of Gerard, lord of Castelvert and of Damieta del Milà. 132
He lived a useful, quiet life ; but died early. 134

Article III. — Vanotia Borgia de Cathaneis.

Various names of pope Alexander's imputed concubine. . . . 135
Why did Vanotia add " de Borgia " to her surname ? 136
" It is wrong " to say that she was a courtesan 138
The silence of History on younger Vannoza is cardinal Roderic de Borgia's justification. 139
She never met pope Alexander VI. 140
Vannoza married Dominic de Arignano. 140
Cardinal de Borgia cares for her youngest children. 141
Vannoza leaves Spain for Rome. 142
Vannoza said to have married George della Croce. 143
Oddities of this marriage, if of Vannoza was de Borgia. . . 143
Vannoza—Borgia ?—married Carlo Canale. 145
Vanotia Borgia and Vannoza della Croce are two different persons. 146
Vannoza della Croce, a young active woman, and Vanotia Borgia, an oldish mother. 147
The former, a common person, and the latter, a high lady. . . 148
The former loves to make money and to keep it, the latter to do charity. 149
Vannoza della Croce became poor, Vanotia Borgia was and remained wealthy. 150
A late monument to prove the two to be identical. 152
The monument is a forgery. 153
Still another marriage attributed to Vanotia Borgia. 154
Vanotia was a charitable and pious lady. 155
Marcanthony Altieri praises her liberality. 155
Her death. 155

Leo X pays her honor. Gregorovius rebuked. 156
The funeral monument of Vannoza Borgia. 158
Why her husbands and all her children are not mentioned by the inscription. 159

ARTICLE IV. — Daughters of William Raymund Lanzol y de Borgia.

Isabella, universally ignored ; Girolama, Lucretia. 160
Girolama, not the daughter of Roderic cardinal de Borgia. . 160
A certain Isabella Borgia married to John Mattuci. 161
The record of this marriage sustained by an interpolation of Burchard's Diary. 162
Record of Girolama Borgia's marriage. Girolama not cardinal de Borgia's daughter. 164

CHAPTER VI.

Pedro Luis de Borgia.

ARTICLE I. — His origin and glorious youth.

Pedro, a wealty proprietor in Spain. 167
His parents, William Raymund and Vannoza de Borgia. . . . 168
Pedro Luis, a " relative ", not a son of Alexander VI. 170
Born about 1460, in Spain. 171
Shield bearer and chamberlain of the king of Spain. 172
A captain, is the first to enter the fortress of Ronda. 172
Pedro Luis and his brothers made " Egregii ". 173

ARTICLE II. — Pedro Luis de Borgia, first duke of Gandia.

Pedro, a wealthy propietor in Spain. 176
The territory of Gandia was his. 176
Ducal rights and land of Gandia were encumbered. 177
King Ferdinand plays a business trick on Pedro Luis. 178
The King unjust to Pedro and his uncles. 178
King and Queen excommunicated, make restitution. 178
Pedro Luis clears the duchy of Gandia. 178
Cardinal Roderic de Borgia did not buy Gandia. 179
Duplex false document to confirm the error. 180
Extrinsic evidence of its forgery. 181
The forgery proved by its contents. 181
Diploma granting the title and ducal rights. 185

Pope Alexander VI did not procure the duchy of Gandia. . . 186
Pedro Luis favors the religious interests of Gandia. 186
He rebuilds the church and becomes its patron. 187
He marries the King's first-cousin, Mary Enriquez. 188
Pedro Luis died in Spain, before the 26th of February, 1491. . 189

CHAPTER VII.

Giovanni de Borgia, second duke of Gandia.

ARTICLE I. — Giovanni in Spain.

Giovanni, the senior of Cesar de Borgia. 191
Giovanni born in 1474, at Valencia in Spain. 193
He first appears in Italy in A. D. 1492. 194
Why does Burchard call him son of the Pope? 195
His mother was Vanotia Borgia de Cathaneis. 195
His father is indicated in a royal document. 197
In a French document he is called a " nepveu ", a nephew, of pope Alexander VI. 200
Heir of his brother, Pedro Luis, he marries his fiancee, and not an illegitimate daughter of Alfonso, king of Naples. . . 203
Giovanni fosters piety towards the Blessed Virgin. 204
He visits Rome and assists at the marriage of his sister Lucretia. 205
Giovanni returns to Spain on August 4th, 1493. 206

ARTICLE II. — Giovanni de Borgia Captain General of the papal army.

The Pope calls Giovanni but the King retains him in Spain. . 207
He becomes a condottiere in the papal army. 208
Governor of the Patrimony and Captain general of the Church. 209
Giovanni commences war on the rebel Orsini. 210
Giovanni's successes at first. 211
He loses the battle of Soriano. 212
The Pope prepares for further war. 213
But finally makes peace with the Orsini. 213
The Orsini to pay seventy thousand ducats. 214
Giovanni helps Gonsalvo to take Ostia. 215
Giovanni is, it seems, named duke of Benevento. 216

ARTICLE III. — Murder of Giovanni de Borgia.

Relation of the murder. 217
The Pontiff deeply affected by the news. 223
Did he intend to resign? Maximilian praises his fortitude. . 224

Who were the assassins? High personages suspected. . . . 224
Various testimonies about suspects. 225
The Pope declares innocent the lord of Pesaro, Jofre de Borgia, the duke of Urbino and cardinal Sforza. 227
The Orsini are much suspected. 228
The Pope declares the Orsini to be guilty. 229
A year later della Pigna accuses Cesar de Borgia. 231
Four years later Cesar is accused by Polo Capello. 233
By the infamous letter to Sylvius Savelli. 233
The imputation is believed by several authors. 234
Çurita returns it to the Orsini. 235
Gregorovius holds Cesar as guilty, but Pastor proves his innocence. 236
No proof nor reason to accuse Cesar. 236
Acts of Alexander VI establish Cesar's innocence. 237
The suspicion against Cesar is vanishing rapidly. 238
A word about Giovanni de Borgia's wife and children. . . . 239

CHAPTER VIII.

Cesar de Borgia.

Article I. — Cesar in Spain. His first benefices.

Cesar a son not of Julia Farnese nor of Alexander VI, but of William Raymund de Borgia and his wife. 241
Cesar born at Valencia in Spain. 242
Cesar passed his childhood in Spain. 243
He was first heard of in Italy in A. D. 1488. 243
Was Cesar born in the year 1473? 245
If so, Cesar could not possibly be Alexander's son. 246
Two dozen documents prove Cesar to be born between August 9th, 1474 and October 1st, 1476. 248
According to documents Cesar was born between September 12th, 1475 and August 9th, 1476. 249
Cesar born in April 1476. 250
A cadet, he was devoted to the ecclesiastical career. 251
Can accept benefices when entering his seventh year. 251
Two forged bulls from the Osuna archives and a false bull of legitimation disproved by authentic records. 252
A remark on the Osuna forgeries. 254
More benefices granted to Cesar in 1484. 255
All his benefices were in Spain. 256
Cesar allowed to farm them out for three years. 257
Cesar favored during the year 1486. 257

ARTICLE II. — Cesar de Borgia in Italy; a student, a bishop.

Cesar leaves Spain for Italy. 258
Cesar, a student at the University of Perugia. 258
He is made a prothonotary apostolic. 259
He moves to the University of Pisa. . . . . 259.
Is named bishop of Pamplona. 259
Stories about Cesar at Alexander's election. 261
Cesar made archbishop of Valencia. 262
And abbot of Valdegna. 263
Cesar loses several benefices. 263
Cesar obtains abbeys and the diocese of Nantes. 265

ARTICLE III. — Cesar de Borgia, a cardinal.

When was Cesar raised to the cardinalate? 266
Is created a cardinal without any dispensation. 267
Infessura asserts Cesar to be the Pope's son. 268
Ridiculous assertion of Infessura. 269
Cesar receives more abbeys and the diocese of Chartres. . . 271
Cesar is reluctantly ordained subdeacon and deacon. 273
Jofre de Borgia's benefices transferred to Cesar. 273
Cesar receives many more benefices. 274
Is named bishop of Elna or Perpignan. 275
Cesar made governor of Spoleto, till Julius II. 275
Cardinal Cesar given as hostage to Charles VIII. 276
Delegated to crown king Frederic of Naples. 277
The sword of Cesar de Borgia. 278
Cesar's imputed intention to marry his brother's wife. . . . 279
Cardinal Cesar never inclined to clerical life. 279
He obtains hunting dogs from the archbishop of Mainz. . . . 281
Cesar wishes to resign as a clergyman. 281
Malipiero says that Cesar wanted the heritage of his father. . 282
Cesar requests permission to resign. 283
And gives up the cardinalate and all his benefices. 285

CHAPTER IX.

Jofre de Borgia.

Jofre, a nephew of pope Alexander VI, born in Spain. . . . 287
Is given to the care and service of the Church. 288
Jofre receives benefices in Spain. 288
Jofre leaves the imposed clerical career. 289
Jofre affianced to Sancia of Aragon. 291

Is retained in Rome by the Pope. 292
Later marries in Naples. 293
Jofre proclaimed prince of Squillace, etc. and his brothers greatly favored by the king of Naples. 294
Jofre returned with his wife to live in Rome. 295
Jofre, a condottiere in the papal army. 297
He lives in Naples shortly after Alexander's death. 298
After Sancia's death Jofre remarried and had issue. 299

CHAPTER X.

Lucretia de Borgia.

ARTICLE I. — Lucretia's childhood and education.

Lucretia, a sister-german of Giovanni de Borgia and a niece of pope Alexander VI. 301
Not born in Rome, but in Valencia in Spain. 303
Import of an inquest ordered by Ercole of Este. 305
When was Lucretia born? 306
Lucretia arrived in Rome probably in A. D. 1488. 308
Confided to Adriana del Milà. 308
Completes her higher education. 308

ARTICLE II. — Lucretia engaged, marries Giovanni Sforza.

Imputed marriage of Lucretia with Cherubim de Centelles. . . 310
Lucretia betrothed to Gaspar de Prochita. 312
A third Spanish suitor, the conde de Prada. 313
Marriage contract of Lucretia and Giovanni Sforza. . . . 314
The marriage at the Vatican. Decent wedding feast. . . . 315
After a year in Pesaro, Lucretia returns to Rome. 316
Giovanni leaves Rome and Lucretia retires to a convent. . . . 317
Inquest into their marriage, declared invalid. 318
Gregorovius scandalized at a leagal formality. 319
Giovanni repays the dot and takes revenge by slander. . . . 320
Lucretia further accused and defended. 320

ARTICLE III. — Lucretia married with Alfonso, duke of Bisceglia.

The duke of Gravina and the prince of Salerno apply for Lucretia's hand. 322
The duke of Bisceglia proposed by the king of Naples. . . . 322
The duke of Bisceglia visits in Rome. 324
The marriage contract and the dowry. 325

Simple wedding at the Vatican and festivities. 326
The duke of Bisceglia departs for Gennazzano. 327
Lucretia named governess of Spoleto, Foligno and Nepi. . . . 327
Alfonso joins his lady and the Pope visits them. 329
Lucretia gives birth to a son, Rodrigo. 331
Lucretia buys Sermoneta and its territories. 331

Article IV. — Murder of Alfonso, duke of Bisceglia.

Alfonso wounded under St. Peter's vestibule. 333
The Pope gives him a guard and medical care. 333
Cesar de Borgia forbids the carrying of arms. 333
Contradictory rumors implicating Cesar de Borgia. 334
There is no proof against Cesar. 337
All suspects arrested, tried and set free. 338
Strange prejudice of Gregorovius against the Pope. 338
The Orsini were likely the guilty parties. 339
Burial of the duke of Bisceglia. 340
Lucretia retires to Nepi and cares for the soul of her husband and for her son. 341
The Pope protects the orphan's possessions. 341

Article V. — Lucretia married with Alfonso of Este.

The duke of Gravina requests Lucretia's hand, while the Colonna hope to obtain it. 342
Alfonso of Este preferred and cardinal Ferrari opens negotiations with the duke of Ferrara. 343
Louis XII favors the marriage and opposes it too late. . . . 345
Alfonso, reluctant at first, fully consents. 346
Settlement of dower and marriage in Ferrara. 346
Lucretia, a caretaker of the absent Pontiff's apartments. . . 347
Festivities at the news of Lucretia's marriage. 348
Ferrara made a duchy, its census reduced, and Cento and Pieve added to it. 349
An alleged scandal at the Vatican. 351
The brothers of Alfonso to escort Lucretia to Ferrara. . . . 352
The marriage ceremony completed in Rome. 353
Payment of Lucretia's dower. 353

Article VI. — Lucretia de Borgia in Ferrara.

Lucretia journeys to Ferrara, is met by her husband and solemnly received in the city. 354
In danger of death, she convalesces in a convent. 355

She mourns her foster father, and is anxious about her and Cesar's sons and Cesar himself. 356
She becomes duchess of Ferrara. Her qualities and virtues. . 357
Lucretia, a governess of Ferrara. 357
Three letters at her death are her best panegyric. 359
Her calumniators were strangers to her. 361
The Ferrarese envoys, her first apologists. 362
Her praises in Ferrara were earned in Rome. 363
A medal of Lucretia de Borgia. 364
Ariosto and others praise her life in Ferrara. 365

Article VI. — Children of Lucretia de Borgia.

Lucretia obliged to leave her son, Rodrigo, cared for by pope Alexander VI. 366
Rodrigo's tutor, cardinal Francis de Borgia, increases his duchy of Sermoneta. 367
Rodrigo in charge of Sancia and Isabella of Aragon. 368
The Infant Giovanni de Borgia, no son of Lucretia. 368
Lucretia's children by Alfonse of Este. 369

CHAPTER XI.

Jofre and Roderic Lanzol y de Borgia.

Article I. — Jofre and his children.

Jofre a son of Pedro Gugl. Lanzol and Joanna de Borgia. . . 371
Jofre, a cleric at first, receives benefices. 372
He marries and obtains Villalonga. 373
He and his brothers change their name into de Borgia. . . . 374
Jofre, a papal envoy to Spain. 375
Procurator for his niece, Lucretia, in Rome. 376
Administrator of the benefices of his son, Pedro Luis. . . . 376
He visits Rome again in A. D. 1497. 377
He is a pensioner of pope Alexander VI. 377
Jofre resides in Rome and dies before May, 1501. 378
Sons of Jofre Lanzol y de Borgia : Roderic, Giovanni, Pedro Luis and William Raymund. 378

Article II. — Roderic de Borgia.

Roderic, lord of Villalonga and of Anna. 378
Captain of the palace guard. 379
A confraternity of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin. . . 380
Roderic's children. 382

Article III. — Cardinal Giovanni de Borgia, Jr.

Cardinal Giovanni, not son but nephew of Alexander VI . . . 383
Born in Valencia in Spain. 384
A cleric, he obtains many benefices. 384
Is made bishop of Melfi. 385
Sent as Legate to Naples and created cardinal. 385
Legate to Bologna, Ravenna and Romagna. 387
Governor of Narni, Spoleto, etc. 387
Archbishop of Capua and of Valencia. 387
Papal envoy to Florence, Venice and to Louis XII in Milan. 388
Celebrates 1499 Christmas in Cesar de Borgia's camp. . . . 389
He dies of fever in January, 1500. 389
Cesar accused of having given him slow poison. 392

Article IV. — Cardinal Pedro Ludovico de Borgia.

Becomes a knight of St. John of Jerusalem. 394
Receives many benefices administered by his father. 395
Is named archbishop of Valencia and cardinal. 396
Reason why exempted from tithes. 397
Governor of Narni. Archbishop of Monreale. 397
At Julius II's accession he flees to Naples, where he dies. . . 398

Article V. — William Raymund de Borgia and sisters.

Was a second-nephew of the Pope. 399
A condottiere in the papal army. 399
A captain of the palace guard. 400
He dies in Rome a few days before Alexander VI. 401
Hieronyma de Borgia, a daughter of Jofre. 401
Angela de Borgia in Rome and in Ferrara. 402

Article VI. — Roderic Lanzol y de Borgia.

Was son of Pedro G. Lanzol and Joanna de Borgia. 403
Captain of the palace guard till 1495. 403
The Pope grants him spiritual favors. 404
In Valencia he becomes a pensioner of the Pope. 405
Isabella Lanzol y de Borgia marries her cousin, Luis Jofre del Milà. 407

CHAPTER XII.

Ladies Tecla and Beatrix, sisters of Alexander VI.

Article I. — Tecla de Borgia.

Tecla corresponds with the poet Ausias March. 409
Marries Vidal de Villanova, an officer of the fleet of pope Calixtus III. 410
A widow, dies in 1459, probably leaving a daughter.. 411

Article II. — Beatrix de Borgia.

Marries Ximen Perez de Arenos, an officer of the fleet of Calixtus III. 411
Beatrix congratulated at Alexander's election. 412
She writes to him. Obtains spiritual privileges. 412
Beatrix,a pensioner of her brother, the Pope. 412
Dies a few days before the Pontiff. 413
Several Arenos receive benefices. 413
Synopsis of Alexander VI, his brother and sisters, of the children of his sister Joanna, and of the children of his nephew William Raymund de Borgia. 414

APPENDIX

A discussion of the imputed illegitimacy of William Raymund de Borgia's children. 415

CHAPTER XIII.

Children attributed to pope Alexander VI.

Article I. — Some were called both, " sons " and " nephews ".

Burchard, like the Romans, calls them sons and daughter. . . 419
A similar case within our own experience. 421
Jofre de Borgia called a " nephew son " of the Pope. 422

Bembo consoles Lucretia at the death of Alexander VI by calling him her great father. 423
Several contemporaries call Cesar a nephew of the Pope. . . 423
When the Borgia children are first called bastards. 424
Two facts that disprove the calumny. 424
Coeval ambassadors call Lucretia, niece, and Cesar, nephew. . 425
Ferdinand of Naples calls Jofre, a nephew, and Lucretia, a niece of the Pope. 426
Cardinal Caesarini calls Cesar, Giovanni and Jofre, nephews of the Pope. 427
Alfonso II of Naples calls Jofre, a nephew of the Pope. . . . 428
The German princes, the king of France and the Vatican library call Cesar, nephew of the Pope. 428
Ancient and late historians call Cesar a nephew of the Pope. . 429

Article II. — Official and business documents hold Cesar de Borgia, his brothers and sister, as nephews and niece of the Pope.

Orvieto and Venice call Cesar, a nephew of the Pope. 432
Innocent VIII calls Pedro Luis a " consanguineus " of cardinal Roderic de Borgia. 432
The Borgia children, called " nepveux et parens " in a business contract between the Pope and Louis XII. 433
In a lawsuit of 1573 Cesar is called nephew of Alexander VI, and Alexander, his uncle. 433
In an agreement between the Pope and Frederic of Naples, Lucretia is called niece of the Pope. 434
The idea of Lucretia's filiation from the Pope is excluded in her preparatory act of marriage with Giovanni Sforza. . . 434
No temporalities common between the Pope and his alleged children. 435
A false document calls Lucretia an illegitimate. 436

Article III. — Alexander VI did not recognize any children as his own.

Was Alexander VI a hypocrite and a profligate at the same time ? 438
Alexander calls Lucretia his " daughter in Christ ". 439
The color of their escutcheon is different. 440
The Pope calls Giovanni and Cesar, like other Christians, beloved sons ; but they call him " Our Holy Lord ". . . 440
Cesar calls him father once, and then " Father in Christ ". . . 441
Cesar calls himself the Pope's " devotissima factura ". . . . 442

The Pope calls Cesar " cor nostrum ". 443
Ferdinand speaks of " mingling his blood " with that of the Pope. 443
Alexander VI designates Jofre as brother of Cesar de Borgia. . 445

CHAPTER XIV.

False documents naming William Raymund de Borgia's children, children of pope Alexander VI.

ARTICLE I. — Documents of the archives of the duke of Osuna.

de l'Epinois hardly uses them. Pastor mentions them as a menace, but does not touch any of them. 447
Some of them already disproved. 448
They all lack record in the Vatican Registers. 449
Forgers punished at the time. 450
Pope Alexander VI inconvenienced by false bulls. 450
Notarial acts not reliable. 451

ARTICLE II. — Interpolations in the Vatican Archives.

Popes Alexander VI and Paul II warn us against falsifications of the Vatican records. 453
Such papal admonitions originated the science of diplomatics. . 456
The Vatican records could be interpolated. 456
Was there no one to forge records against Alexander VI ? . . 458

ARTICLE III. — Pedro Luis de Borgia falsely legitimated.

Sixtus IV legitimates him, to enable him to inherit duchies, etc. in Spain. 459
Sixtus IV confirms a gift of Cardinal de Borgia to his illegitimates, Pedro Luis and Giovanni. 459
Innocent VIII orders Pedro Luis to be received in a monastery despite his illegitimacy. 465

ARTICLE IV. — False document about Giovanni de Borgia.

Giovanni never legitimated by a Pope or by Ferdinand King of Spain. 472
A Roman quasi notarial act giving to Giovanni, called illegitimate, as tutors his brothers Pedro Luis and Otto de Borgia. 473

ARTICLE V. — Legitimations of Cesar de Borgia.

Cesar legitimated by Sixtus IV. 477
Cesar legitimated by Ferdinand of Spain. 481
The whole bull of Cesar's alleged legitimation unusually rehearsed at the concession of a benefice. 484
The forgery extended in the Osuna archives. 487
Thuasne's advice to apologists of Alexander VI. 491
Bulls in favor of Cesar without any reference to illegitimacy. . 491
Forgers disagree in slandering the Pope. 493
Cesar is legitimated. 493
Is adopted. 501

ARTICLE VI. — Jofre de Borgia legitimated.

The Bibliotheca Barberini reports a legitimation of Jofre de Borgia. 506
Records to that effect disproved by their location in the Vatican archives and other evidences. 506
A dispensation—legitimation—adoption bull, to enable Jofre to inherit duchies, etc. 516

ARTICLE VII. — False documents regarding Lucretia de Borgia.

Notarial acts to disgrace Alexander VI. 522
Lucretia de Borgia said to have married Alfonso of Este in the second degree of affinity. 522
Extract from a pretended record interpolated as a record itself. 522
Conclusion. 528

INDEX OF THE DOCUMENTS

1. Birth and Childhood of Pope Alexander VI. 533
2. Roderic de Borge, nephew of Cardinal Alfonso de Borgia, authorized to accept high offices and dignities. 535
3. Luis John del Milà and Roderic de Borge, nephews of Cardinal Alfonso de Borgia, favored by Nicholas V. . . . 536
4. Nicholas V confirms Roderic de Borgia in his right to the quiet possession of a canonry and prebend of the church of Valencia. 536
5. Nicholas V exempts Roderic de Borgia from the duty of residence, when he should live at the papal court or study at a university. 538
6. Lewis John de Milano and Roderic de Borgia confirmed in the expectancy of dignities and prebends in Valencia, although Roderic had already a chaplaincy there. 539
7. Nicholas V revokes pontifical letters, objected to the rights of Lewis John del Milá and Roderic de Borgia, nephews of Cardinal Alfonso de Borgia, to canonries, dignities and prebends of Valencia. 541
8. The import of this Document is stated in the margin by the recorder as : Declaratio quod regule facte in Cancellaria non prejudicent reservationibus nepotum domini Valentini, quominus indultum alias concessum prefato cardinali per Eugenium et Nicolaum quoad ipsos effectum sortiatur. 542
9. Nicholas V grants a canonry and prebend of the cathedral of Urgel and the weighage of Desmurro in the Urgel diocese to Roderic de Borgia, nephew of Cardinal Alphonso de Borgia. 543
10. Nicholas V confirms Roderic de Borgia in his provision as sacristan of the cathedral of Valencia. 544
11. See the Document. 545
12. Nicholas V confers upon Roderic de Borgia a canonry and the precentory of the collegiate church of Xativa on December 23d A. D. 1450. 546
13. Jofre Lanzol successor to Luis John del Milá and Roderic de Boria, in the precentory of Xativa. 547
14. The Pope confirms the appointment of Jofre Lançol as precentor and canon of the collegiate church of Xativa. . . 548
15. Nicholas V confers on Roderic de Borgia the deanery of Catalbano in the diocese of Randazzo and the archpriesthood of a monastery of Saragossa. 548
16. Nicholas V ratifies the appointment of Roderic de Borgia, nephew of Cardinal Alphonso de Borgia, as rector of Sucro in the diocese of Valencia. 549

17. Pope Paul II allows cardinal Roderic de Borgia to exhume and transfer the corpse of his father, Jofre de Borgia, and those of his brothers and sisters. 550
18a. Donations of pope Alexander VI to some of his relations in Valencia. 551
18b The same as 18a. 552
18c. The same. 552
18d. The same. 553
18e. The same. 553
18f. The same. 554
18g. The same. 554
18h. Orders to pay the salary of Adriana del Milá. 555
18i. Payment made to Adriana del Milá. 555
19. The four sisters of Pope Calixtus III. 555
20. Alexander VI legitimates two sons of one of his cousins. . 556
21. Passport of Galcerand de Borgia through the territories of the Church. 557
and
Safe-Conduct of Galcerand de Borgia, papal envoy to Spain. 557
22. Creation of Cardinal Giovanni de Borgia, Senior. 558
23. Dispensation of Lewis Jofre del Milá, to marry his cousin Elisabeth de Borgia. 559
24. Calixtus III praises and encourages his nephews serving in his fleet against the Turks. 561
25. Calixtus III praises the conduct of Michael de Borgia and assigns to him further duties. 561
26. Pedro Luis de Borgia named Prefect of Rome. 562
27. Pius II allows Jofre Lansol to rent his benefices for three years. 564
28. Cardinal Roderic de Borgia bequeaths money to Jofre Lanzol y de Borgia. 564
29. Alexander VI appoints Jofre de Borgia administrator of benefices granted to his son, the future cardinal Pedro Ludovico. 565
30. Giovanni de Borgia the younger, and others created cardinals. 566
30. A donation inter vivos of Vannoza Canalis de Cathaneis. . 569
31a. Extract from the engagement contract of Pietro Mattuci and Ysabella Borgia. 573
31b Espousal contract between John Andrew Caesarini und Girolama Borgia. " 24 January 1482 ". 573
32. Pedro Luis de Borgia and his brothers are elevated to the rank of Grandees of Spain. 574
33. Pedro Luis de Borgia is made Duke of Gandia. 577
34. Pope Innocent VIII grants to Pedro Luis de Borgia, Duke of Gandia, the right of patronage of, and of presentation to, the parochial church of that town. 579

35. Innocent VIII absolves the kings of Spain, Ferdinand and Isabella, of excommunication incurred by injustice towards certain de Borgias. 580
36. Pedro Luis de Borgia buys the duchy and villa of Gandia and the castle of Bayren. 581
37. The kings of Spain confirm Giovanni de Borgia in his Neapolitan possessions. 584
38. Announcement of Giovanni de Borgia's early return to Spain. 587
39a. Giovanni de Borgia and his wife Maria Enriquez receive a private chapel and other favors. 588
39b. Giovanni de Borgia, Duke of Gandia, named Captain General of the pontifical army. 589
39c. Pope Alexander VI donates forty thousand ducats to Giovanni de Borgia, duke of Gandia. 590
40. Alexander VI grants indulgences to promote piety towards the Blessed Virgin, at the request of Giovanni de Borgia, duke of Gandia, and of his wife. 593
41. Pope Sixtus IV grants to Master Cesar de Borgia the archdeanery of Xativa, a dignity in the cathedral of Valencia. 594
42a. Cesar de Borgia is transferred from the diocese of Pamplona to that of Valencia. 595
42b. Same object as in 42a. 595
43. Pope Alexander VI grants to cardinal Cesar de Borgia the benefices resigned by Jofre, the latter's brother. . . . 597
44a. Cardinal Juan Lopiz recommends Cardinal Cesar de Borgia to the good will of Archbishop Berthold of Mainz. . . . 598
44b. Cardinal Cesar de Borgia requests some hunting dogs from the Archbishop of Mainz. 599
44c. The Archbishop of Mainz sends hunting dogs for Cardinal Cesar de Borgia. 599
45. Lucretia de Borgia is, by way of precaution, authorized to marry. 600
46. Negotiations of pope Alexander VI with Louis XII, king of France. 603
47. The marriage project between Lucretia de Borgia and Robert de Sanseverino is given up. 607
48. Pope Alexander VI erects the city of Ferrara into a duchy forever, with Ercole d'Este and his descendants as its dukes ; and reduces its tribute to the Holy See. . . . 607
49. Giovanni Luca Pozzi, a Ferrarese envoy in Rome, sends to duke Ercole a statement of the character of Lucretia de Borgia. 611
50. Beatrix de Borgia requests a papal audience for one of her clients. 612
51. Correspondence between Mossén Ausias March and Doña Tecla de Borgia. 613

ST. ALBERT'S COLLEGE LIBRARY

CHAPTER I.

Extraction of pope Alexander VI.

ARTICLE I. — HIS ORIGINAL NAME.

We should naturally expect to be allowed to commence this work with at least one statement admitted by all historians ; but even the baptismal name of Alexander VI, is not free of discussion.

An anonymous biography printed in the year 1529 as an appendix to Platina's *De Vita et Moribus Summorum Pontificum* [1], asserts that the Pontiff, a Spaniard, born of the highly-noble Borgia house, was formerly called Theodoric. The fact, however, is that his parents gave him the Christian name of Rodriguez [2], after his paternal grandfather.

The unknown writer is the single exception to all historians, from Burchard down to Pastor, in regard to Alexander's given name. To show that he mistakes, it may suffice to relate a sentence of the orator of the Florentines on the occasion of their solemn obeisance to the new Pontiff, who says : " What else remains for you to do, but to immortalize with the divine deeds of an Alexander the sweet name of Rodrigo received at the baptismal font " [3] ? This minor detail is, moreover, sufficiently settled by the sworn testimony of several contemporary witnesses, as appears from Document I.

Alexander's family name is a question of greater con-

1. Leonetti, Papa Alessandro VI, vol. III, p. 517.

2. Rodriguez, rarely Rodrigo in Spanish, in Latin Rodericus, corresponds to our Roderic, to Rodrigo in Italian, in French Rodrigue, to Rodrich in German, and is Rurik in the Slavic languages.

3. Biblioth. Barberin., B. B. B., I, 13 : Hieron. Porcii Comment.

sequence and a subject of lasting controversy. Historians widely differ in allotting that pope to either the Lanzol or to the Borgia house [4].

Platina [5] is the first author to say that Isabella Borgia, the mother of Alexander VI, was the wife of Goffredo Lanzol. Mariana [6] states the name of Alexander's father as Gothifredus Lenzolius, and Raynaldi [7] copies him. Gordon [8] insists upon the Lenzuola form of the family name, and Becchetti [9] not only agrees with Gordon but also implicates the Bollandists by referring to them [10]. Dennistoun [11] makes Alexander VI, a son of Giuffredo or Alfonso Lenzuoli, and so also does Dandolo [12] assert him to be a Lenzuoli by birth, while Balan [13] calls him Rodrigo Lançol.

Moreri [14] has in mind our present discussion, when stating that Isabella Borgia, a sister of Calixtus III, married a certain Geofroy of an ancient family of the highest nobility, who, according to some historians, was of the Borgia house himself, but, in the opinion of others, was a Lenzuoli, who saw fit to exchange his title and arms with those of his wife, for the purpose of perpetuating the Borgia clan ; and—consequently, of extinguishing his own name ! Bower [15] solves the doubt by asserting that Godfrey Lenzolio, wanting to rise to more conspicuous nobility, assumed, with the con-

---

4. Variants of the former name are : Lanzol, Lançol, Llançol, Lenzoli, Lenzolius, Lenzolia, Lenzolio, Lenzuola, Lenzuoli, Lenzuolo ; of the latter : de Boria, de Borja, and euphonized by the Italians : de Borge, de Borgia or simply, but wrongly, Borgia, Borigia and Borza.

5. Vita Alexandri VI., ap. Muratori ad ann. 1492.

6. De Rebus Hispaniae, Lib. 26, cap. 2.

7. Annal. Eccles. ad an. 1492, no. XXVII.

8. Alex. VI, t. I, p. 3.

9. Istoria degli ultimi quattro secoli della chiesa, t. VI, p. 217.

10. Act. SS. Bollan., die 16 Oct., p. 152.

11. Memoirs of the dukes of Urbino, vol. I, p. 302.

12. Roma ed i Papi, vol. II, p. 408.

13. Storia d'Italia, vol. 5, p. 147.

14. Grand Diction. Art. Borgia.

15. Hist. of the Popes, vol. 3, p. 259.

sent of pope Calixtus III, the name of Borgia. Yet, if we believe Gilbert [16], Alexander's father did not discard his Lenzuoli ancestors, but only, as soon as he heard of the elevation of his wife's brother, he immediately dispatched his son Rodrigo to Rome—where the latter became a Borgia !

According to Moreri, more positive in his article on Alexander VI, Rodrigo himself cast off the title and armorial ensigns of his Lenzuoli father ; and Muzzi [17] tells us that he did so, at the election of his uncle Calixtus III. Cantu [18] equally represents Rodrigue Lenzuoli as borrowing the name of Borgia from that Pontiff.

Older and better-known historians generally agree in stating that Roderic's Lançol name was changed into that of Borgia by a gracious concession of Calixtus III. Panvinio [19] writes : Although pope Alexander VI, was by origin a member of the Lenzuolo family, he retained till death the name Boria or Borgia, which the pope, his uncle, had granted him together with his coat of arms. Ciaconius [20] agrees with this when he says that Roderic Lenzolius ever kept the Borgia title which he had received from his uncle ; and Spondanus [21] simply copies Panvinio. Fabronius [22] further reports that Calixtus favored his nephew with his own family name and armorial ensigns, at the time when he proclaimed him a cardinal of the Church, but Moroni [23] makes him defer the honor till he appointed him a bishop of Valencia in Spain. Ugolini [24] improves upon the former information by asserting that Calixtus compelled his nephew to take the Borgia name; but this novel statement is at variance with one of the

16. Lucr. Borgia, vol. I, p. 302.
17. Annali di Bologna, t. V, p. 198.
18. Hist. Univers., liv. XV, ch. 2, p. 100.
19. Vita Alex. VI, initio.
20. Vita RR. Pontiff., p. 147.
21. Epitomen Annal. Eccles. Baronii, ad an 1492, § 21.
22. Leonis X, Vita, p. 15.
23. Dizion. Arts. Borgia and Valenza, pp. 45, 288.
24. Storia dei Conti e Duchi d'Urbino, II, p. 66.

blunders of Tommaso Tommasi [25], who writes that Rodrigue Lenzolio had been shrewd enough to wring from Calixtus, to the detriment of all other nephews, the right to bear his name and escutcheon.

Some of our modern historians have attempted a forward step by setting forth the theory of a regular adoption by Calixtus III. Among these we find De Magri [26], who tells us that Roderigo, to please his uncle after being adopted by him, took his family name and forsook his own ; but according to Cherrier [27], adoption was not sufficient to change the name of Lenzuoli, and it required his uncle's special command to make him accept that of Borgia. Gregorovius [28], however, relates how one of the sisters of Calixtus III, Isabella, had become the wife of Jofre Lanzol and the mother of Pedro Luis, of Rodrigo and of several daughters, and how the uncle, through adoption, gave his name to her two sons, and from Lanzols thus made them into Borgias. Pastor [29] literally copies Gregorovius [30].

Before closing this array of adherents to the Lanzol theory, we should, to be fair, not neglect to mention some authors who intimated their doubt in regard to the parentage of Alexander VI.

The engraver Paladino [31], who has perhaps more effectively than any other writer contributed to the misnomer of Roderic Lenzuola, inscribed the reverse of his most famous medal with the legend : " Roderico Lenzvola D. Borgia s. p.

---

25. Vie de César Borgia, trad. franç., iiis. 2, 3, in Biblioth. Nation. Paris, Cod. 12186, Fonds fr.

26. Notes on Corio, Stor. di Milano, vol. 3, p. 508.

27. Hist. de Charles VIII, t. I, p. 263.

28. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 4.

29. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s. 586.

30. Pastor is of all historians the one who assailed the memory of pope Alexander VI. in the most unjust manner, and the one who took the least trouble to learn the true name of his victim.

31. Rudolphino Venuti, Numism. Roman. Pontiff., p. 42 ; Armand, Les Médailleurs Ital. des XVe et XVIe siècles, t. I, p. 295.

MCDXCII ". The artist's misgivings are manifested in it, and its " D " gave occasion to two interpretations : some reading " detto ", or called Borgia ; while others read " dei " or " di ", that is, of the Borgia house. Paladino's burin has reflected the unsettled opinion of the scholars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries ; for Moreri [32], as noted already, stated that some authors pretend against others, that Alexander's father, Geofroy, was of the same house to which his wife belonged ; and Oldoini [33] simply gives him the two-fold appellation of Rodericus Lenzolius Borgia, and so does Contelorius [34]. Rohrbacher [35] writes that the Sacred College of cardinals elected as successor to Innocent VIII, Rodrigue Lenzuoli called Cardinal Borgia. Brueck [36] says that they chose Rodrigo (Lenzuoli) Borgia, Lenzuoli being placed in parenthesis : Ul. Chevalier [37] gives Alexander's former name as Rodrigue Lenzuolo surnamed Borgia. Finally, von Reumont, who stated first [38] that Rodrigo Lanzol, or Lenzuoli in Italian, was the son of a sister of Calixtus III, who granted to his nephew his own family name, varies considerably in his contribution to the " Archivio Storico Italiano " [39], where he admits Alexander to be of either the house Borgia or Llançol, and further acknowledges that the learned Bollandist, Matagne, does set forth solid arguments why we should believe cardinal Rodrigo to have been a Borgia by both father and mother.

Matagne [40] correctly states that the immense majority of historians assign the name of Lançol to Alexander VI ; but

---

32. Grand Diction. Art. Borgia.
33. Ap. Ciacon. Vitae Pontif. Roman., t. II, col. 991.
34. Pars altera Elenchi S. R. E. Cardinalium, p. 84.
35. Hist. Univers. de l'Egl. Cathol., t. 22, p. 338.
36. Hist. of the Cathol. Church, vol. 2, p. 43.
37. Répert. Art. Alexandre VI.
38. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. III, Abt. I, s. 201.
39. Ser. 3, vol. XVII, p. 321.
40. Revue des Quest. Histor., t. XI, p. 197.

historical truth cannot be established by a majority vote of writers and copyists ; it must be learned from trustworthy witnesses, perdurable acts and authentic documents.

ARTICLE II. — THE FAMILY NAME OF POPE ALEXANDER VI IS DE BORGIA.

Our readers will readily notice the preponderant authority of the following authors :

Jerome Porcius [41] states : " The father of Alexander VI, was Jofre, a scion of the Borgia house, by title and deed a knight of the first order ". The orator of Milan and Bari [42] adresses the newly-crowned Pontiff, saying : " Born, as you are, from the heroic and ancient family Borgia... ". Infessura [43], like all writers of the time, knew Alexander's former name as simply Roderic Borgia, a nephew of Calixtus III. Stella [44] reports that the extraction of pope Alexander VI, was from the family Borgia, a highly-noble house in Spain ; and an anonymous contemporary writer [45] states in like manner, that Alexander VI was born from the very noble Borgia clan. Hartman Schedel [46] gives, among better arguments why cardinal Borgia should have been elected a Pope, the reason, that he was born from the illustrious *Boria* family.

All those authors were contemporary witnesses, who never heard of the Lançol theory.

We next introduce a few historians of the following century, who write either as first-hand witnesses or, better,

---

41. Comment. printed in Rome in the year 1493, initio.
42. Ibid.
43. Ap. Burchard, Diar., vol. II, p. 1.
44. De Vitis Pontiff. printed in Venice an. dni. 1505, initio.
45. Appendix to Platina ; De Vita et Moribus Summ. Pontiff. printed an. 1529, initio.
46. Liber Chronicarum, Nuremberg, an. 1493, f° CCLVII vo.

upon the authority of undisturbed documents. Çurita[47], after comparing both Italian and Valencian archives, came to the conclusion that both parents of Alexander VI were members of the Borgia house ; namely, his father, Godofrido, a son of Roderic Gil Borgia, and his mother, Isabella, a daughter of Dominic Borgia. Gaspar Escolano[48] mentions among the notabilities of Valencia who, by their great learning and merits, he says, obtained the highest prelacies, Don Rodrigo de Borja, archbishop of Valencia, who afterwards ascended the papal throne, under the name of Alexander VI ; and again[49], according to an ancient memoir, as he calls the manuscript, states that Isabella de Borja married Jofre de Borja, by whom she bore Pedro Luis and his brother Rodrigo de Borja, afterwards pope Alexander VI. Herrera[50] equally reports Alexander VI as being of the family de Borja.

Among the nearest following authors may be noticed Nic. Antonius[51] establishing, with the documents set forth by Escolano, that both parents of Alexander VI were Borgias, or, he says, Borias, according to Spanish spelling. Imhof himself[52] in his genealogical tree, represents Roderic de Borgia as son of Goffredus Borgia and Isabella Borgia. After a critical study of preceding writers of Valencia, Ximeno[53] positively states that Alexander's parents were Don Jofre de Borja and Dona Isabel de Borja, sister of pope Calixtus III.

Our incomplete list of historians in favor of the true pa-

---

47. Hist. del Re Hernando, printed an. 1562-1580, lib. 7, cap. 32.

48. Hist. de Valencia, vol. I, col. 1133.

49. Ibid. Lib. VI, cap. XXIII ; vol. 2, col. 198.

50. Hist. General de las Indias Occident. Dec. I, lib. II, cap. IV, p. 50.

51. Ap. Imhof, Genealogia XX. illustrium in Hispania Familiarum, p. 19.

52. Ibid., pp. 20, 21.

53. Escritores del Reyno de Valencia, t. I, p. 66.

rentage of Alexander VI may be closed with the testimony of the following modern writers, who are the most painstaking searchers after historical facts : Villanueva [54] copies from a manuscript of Xativa or San Felipe, preserved in the Dominican monastery of Valencia, a statement of thirteen sworn witnesses testifying, on the occasion of Alexander's elevation, that the Pontiff was a son of the noble Jofre de Borja and Isabel de Borja [55]. In a critical work, " I Borgia " [56], the author asserts that Isabella de Borgia, a sister of Calixtus III, and mother of Alexander VI, was not the wife of Goffredo Lansol, as some historians pretend, but of Goffredo de Borgia. In like manner does Fita [57] report, on the authority of the Osuna Archives, that Rodrigo de Borja, afterwards pope Alexander VI, was born of Doña Isabel de Borja, the third sister of Calixtus III, and of D. Jofre de Borja ; and was, therefore, called D. Rodrigo de Borja y Borja. Finally, Matagne [58] admits the opinion of Çurita and Villanueva. Gams [59] has found that the archives of the cathedrals where Alexander has been a bishop, registered his name simply as de Borja ; and, after hearing the testimony of the foregoing contemporary, ancient and learned witnesses, we need not wonder that cardinal Roderic signed his name as simply " de Boria " [60].

We grant that the two last references lose some of their weight towards proving the Borgian extraction of the Pon-

---

54. Viage literario a las Iglesias de España, t. II, pp. 213, 214, 215.
55. See Document 1.
56. P. 9, 10.
57. Estudios Hist., t. VI, p. 95.
58. Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. IX, p. 468.
59. Series Episc. passim.
60. Archivio de S. Spirito, Rome ; ap. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. II, s. 584, footn. 3 : He wrote on f°. 69 : « Ego Rodericus de Boria episcopus Portuen. Cardinalis et ep. Valent. S. R. E. Vicecancellarius intravi predict. sanct. confraternitatem die XXI. Martii 1478 ea mente ut indulgentiam prefatam a S. D. N. concessam consequar, ideo propria manu me subscripsi ».

tiff, since they are subsequent to the elevation of Calixtus III; but apodictical evidence of Alexander's family name is afforded by a score of other documents previous to Calixtus' election, and from which it becomes manifest that both cardinal Roderic and his father were always known as de Borgias.

When the future Alexander VI was thirteen years old, he was addressed, on July 11th, 1447, by pope Nicholas V, as "Beloved son, Roderic de Borge" [61].

A papal bull of the following month, of August 8th, 1447, mentions Roderic de Borge, a cleric of the diocese of Valencia, together with his one-year older first cousin, Lewis John del Milá, both nephews of cardinal Alfonso de Borgia [62].

Pope Nicholas V, issues, on the twelfth day of January 1448, a brief in favor of Roderic de Borgia, nephew of cardinal de Borgia, afterwards Calixtus III [63].

A few days later, namely, on January 16th of the year 1448, the same Pontiff favors again the nephew of cardinal Alfonso, Roderic de Borgia [64].

The two nephews, Lewis John de Milano and Roderic de Borgia, are mentioned anew in a document issued by Nicholas V, on April the twelfth, 1448 [65].

So also in another bull, of the 31st day of the following month of August [66].

And once more the names of Lewis John de Milano and Roderic de Borgia jointly appear in a concession of the same Pope, dated December 21st, 1449 [67].

On the third day of March A. D. 1450, the Roman Pontiff confers a dignity and prebend upon Roderic de Boria, nephew of cardinal Alfonso de Borgia [68].

---

61. See Document 2.
62. See Document 3.
63. See Document 4.
64. See Document 5.
65. See Document 6.
66. See Document 7.
67. See Document 8.
68. See Document 9.

Shortly after, namely, on October 27th of the same year, the name of cardinal Alfonso's nephew, Roderic de Borgia, then fifteen years old [69], was again recorded in the vatican archives.

On the occasion of his appointment as canon and precentor of the collegiate church of Xativa, his birthplace, the young cleric, at the age of sixteen years, is called Rodrigo de Borja, by his uncle Alfonso, commonly known as the cardinal of Valencia [70], and pope Nicholas designates him as Roderic de Boria, son of cardinal Alfonso's sister [71].

Extracts from a bull of Nicholas V, dated the thirtieth day of January, 1453, and from another, issued on September 28th of the following year, are by themselves sufficient to set aside the gratuitous assumption of Roderic de Borgia being born a Lançol, and having received from his uncle Calixtus III the name of Borgia. From these documents it is evident that Calixtus, when yet a cardinal, had three nephews whom, by intercession, he raised to ecclesiastical preferments. The third was Jofre Lançol, a personage quite different from Roderic de Borgia. Thus had Calixtus a real Lançol nephew, whom he may, possibly, have favored by granting to him his family name.

Considering these extracts as quite weighty in the present discussion, we here translate them ; and we shall copy the originals as Documents 13 and 14.

" Nicholas etc. To our beloved son Jofre Lanzol, precentor of the collegiate church of Blessed Mary of Xativa in the diocese of Valencia, Health etc. The nobility of your extraction and the glowing promises of your juvenile age... move us to bestow upon you special favors and benefactions... Now, it happens that the precentory of the

69. See Document 10.
70. See Document 11.
71. See Document 12.

church of Xativa in the diocese of Valencia... formerly held by Lewis John del Milá [72]... has since become vacant and is vacant still, being at the disposal of the Apostolic See, through the free resignation made of his own accord into our hands by our beloved son, Roderic de Boria ; who, a nephew of our beloved son Alfonso, cardinal of the title of the Four Crowned, lately was the precentor of said church... Having been informed that you are by both parents of knightly lineage, a nephew of said cardinal and in about the tenth year of your age, disposed as we are by the consideration of your afore-said merits to do you a special favor— He grants him the dignity, worth a yearly income of seventy pound tournois— Given in Rome on the third day before the Kalends of February of the year after the Incarnation of Our Lord 1453, the seventh year of our pontificate ".

And the following document is to the same effect.

" Nicholas etc. To our beloved son Jofre Lançol, precentor of the church of Blessed Mary of Xativa in the diocese of Valencia, Health etc. There has recently occurred a vacancy of the precentory of Blessed Mary's church of Xativa in the diocese of Valencia. To this dignity are canonically annexed a certain canonry and prebend. The vacancy took place through the free resignation, spontaneously placed in our hands by our beloved son, Roderic de Boria, the former holder of those preferments... We herewith bestow upon you, the said precentory... And since you are now honored with the title of a cleric and past the seventh year of your age... and are, as you state, a nephew of our beloved son Alfonso, cardinal of the title of the Four Crowned, and by both parents of knightly lineage... We confirm you in the right to the said dignity. Given etc. on the 28th of September A. D. 1454 ".

72. See Document 13.

We might, as will appear hereafter, add a number of papal bulls testifying to pope Alexander's family name, de Borgia. Let it suffice, however, to mention one or two more, in order to show how, after arriving in Rome and under the immediate care of the cardinal his uncle, Roderic was a Borgia as he always was, without any need of being made one by that same uncle, now become Calixtus III.

Indeed, on October the 22d, 1453, Nicholas V addresses "Roderic de Boria" a son of cardinal Alfonso de Borgia's sister, and, at the time, a student at the university of Bologna [73].

During the following year the Pontiff favoring the bright Bologna scholar, designates him again as "Roderic de Boria" [74].

Like Roderic, so also was his father a Borgia by birth. If, as so many historians pretend, the latter's family name has originally been Lanzol, then we must accept the highly improbable or false consequence that he bartered the higher nobility of his house for that of his wife's, even before Alfonso, his brother-in-law, became a cardinal ; for we know that he died when his son, Roderic de Borgia, was only ten years old [75]. This conjecture is hinted at by only one writer of no consideration. On the contrary, a document, remarkable in more than one respect, a brief of pope Paul II, dated the 10th day of October A. D. 1470, purely and simply gives the name of Roderic's father as Jauferdus de Borgia [76].

There is, moreover, a document which, although a forgery, is of value here, because it was composed shortly after the death of pope Alexander VI. This Pope is designated therein as born, in a direct line, from the noble race of the Borgias [77].

---

73. See Document 15.
74. See Document 16.
75. See Document 1
76. See Document 17.
77. ... Cesarem de Borgia ex eo patre genitum, qui eciam ex

The evidence shining forth from all those documents may, finally, be completed with the lapidary inscription on the Covered Gallery, between the Vatican palace and the castle of Sant Angelo, noticed by Oldoinus [78] and reported of late by Leonettti [79]. It reads : Alexander VI, Sovereign Pontiff, Nephew of pope Calixtus III, a Spaniard born in the kingdom of Valencia of the Borgia race, has restored and strengthened these gates and defenses, decayed by age, from the Vatican palace to the Mole of Hadrian [80].

It is striking that not one of the numerous partisans of the Lanzol theory ventures to offer a single document of any kind, genuine or forged, to justify his assertions, which are based only on his own authority or on that of questionable writers.

The reader has undoubtedly noticed that we mention but one contemporary author as advocate of the Lanzol origin of Alexander VI, Platina: We neglected a quasi-coeval, Tommaso Tommasi [81]. His writings, like those of Gordon, who frequently copies him, are justly considered as uncritical by the Encyclopedia Britannica [82].

Platina [83] may have seen some papal bull addressed to Jofre Lanzol, the nephew of cardinal Alfonso de Borgia,

---

nobili Borgiarum progenie, recta via, originem ducit. — Fita, Estudios Historicos, t. VI, p. 109.

78. Add. ad Ciaconium, Vitae Roman. Pontiff., p. 162.

79. Alessandro VI, vol. 3, p. 301.

80. Alexander VI, Pont. Max. Callisti III. Pont. M. nepos Hispanus — Patria Valentinus Gente Borgia — Portas et Propugnacula a Vaticano — Ad Hadriani Molem Vetustate confecta — Tutiora Restituit — Anno Salutis MCCCCLXXXXII.

81. Tommasi is a pseudonym of Pomponio or Gregorio Leti : (von Reumont in Archivio Stor. Ital., ser. 3, vol. 17, p. 321 ; alii), itself a pseudonym of a Calabrian bastard of the Sanseverini, whose baptismal name was Julius and who, after denying the truths of Christianity (Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 575), became a Protestant (Leonetti in Revue des Quest. Hist., t. 30, p. 536.

82. Art. Alex. VI.

83. Well known as a pagan revivalist writer, who cared more for money and latin elegance than for historical accuracy.

and have, therefore, been misled into a hasty supposition that Jofre and Roderic were one and the same person.

We would naturally have hesitated to set aside the weighty authority of the Bollandists, but a better informed Bollandist, Matagne, encouraged us to do so.

The unnamed writers, referred to by Moreri, mistake in saying that Alexander's pretended father, Geofroy Lenzuoli, took the name of Borgia with the generous intention of preventing the extinction of the Borgia race ; for that house was prolific and extremely numerous, a veritable tribe, as we shall see hereafter.

Nor does Bower assign any more likely reason for Jofre Lanzol's alleged bartering of surnames, to wit, his desire to raise the rank of his nobility. Indeed, Çurita [84] reports that Dona Isabel de Borja, mother of Alexander VI, was a lady of lofty aims and ambitious designs, very different from her sisters who were satisfied with the estates and social condition in which they were born ; she, however, placed her daughters with houses of the highest and most illustrious nobility : the eldest, named Dona Juana de Borja with Pedro Guillen Llanzol, Dona Tecla de Borja with Vidal de Vilanova and another daughter, called Dona Beatrix, with Ximen Pérez de Arenós ; and the Pope, her brother, even though a Sovereign Pontiff, felt uneasy in his intercourse with the pretentious husbands of his nieces, and said that his sister had, in spite of his will and advice, given her daughters in marriage to noblemen of such high standing.

We admired, with Tommaso Tommasi, the cunning of Roderic de Borgia in securing for himself exclusively the title of Borgia from his uncle Calixtus III, but Gregorovius and Pastor clipped the honor by extending it to his brother Pedro

---

84. Anales de la Corona de Aragon, lib. XVI, ap. Fidel Fita, Estudios Hist., vol. VI, p. 194.

Luis. Çurita, as we remarked just now, does not restrict the supposed favor to Roderic and Pedro Luis only, but calls their three sisters also by the name of Borgia. And, actually, although it be nowhere reported that pope Calixtus III ever favored any of these nieces, except by contributing to their marriage dower [85], yet one of them is known to have signed her name as Beatrice "de Borgia" [86], when writing to her brother, pope Alexander VI, who reciprocally recognized her as his "beloved daughter, Beatrix de Borgia, our Sister" [87]. Nor is any brother or sister of that Pontiff ever designated as a Lanzol by any historian ; but all writers, ancient and modern, who mention them, give them the name of Borgia, to which they were entitled by birthright [88].

We have noticed how Panvinio stated, no doubt, on the authority of Tommasi or Platina, that, while Alexander originally was a Lenzuoli, he used till death the Borgia name. Paladino minutely copied that erroneous statement on his "Roderico Lenzvola D. Borgia" medal, which, soon endowed with the authority of a monument synchronous with its date, deceived not only the Bollandists [89], but also most subsequent historians. The fact, however, is that this medal, in itself, considered as an historical source, is devoid of all value, spurious. Rudolphino Venuti [90] says that the medal was struck in later times ; as, indeed, it appears from the style of its date [91], while Armand [92] states that it was engraved at the end of the sixteenth century, and Joubert [93] proves that it made its first appearance during the reign of

85. Gaspar Escolano, Decad. prim. de la Historia de Valencia, lib. VI, cap. XXIII.
86. Gregorov., Lucr. Borgia, Bd. II., Docum., n. 6.
87. See Document 18a.
88. See Document 17.
89. Matagne, Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. IX, p. 468.
90. Numismata Roman. Pontiff., p. 42.
91. MCDXC, instead of MCCCCLXXXX.
92. Les Médailleurs du XVe et XVIe siècles, t. I, p. 295.
93. La Science des Médailles, t. I, p. 10.

pope Alexander VII : A. D. 1655-1667. De l'Epinois [94] admits the forgery but denies the natural conclusion. Matagne [95], more logical, also infers the worthlessness of the fabricated memorial.

ARTICLE III. — ESCUTCHEON OF POPE ALEXANDER VI.

The question of Alexander's family name necessarily leads us to that of its complement, to wit, his coat of arms. Did he receive his escutcheon from his uncle, Calixtus III, or did he inherit it from his father, Jofre de Borgia ?

Nearly all the advocates of the Pontiff's Lanzol extraction assure us that, in some manner or another, he derived his armorial bearings from Calixtus, and they even leave us in doubt whether Alexander had any of his own. It may not be amiss to give a description of his uncle's arms, since they form one half of his own. They consisted, namely, of an integral shield " portant d'or au bœuf paissant de gueules sur une terrasse de sinople à la bordure de gueules chargée de huit flammes ", that is, a field of gold, bearing as emblem a red ox grazing on a green terrace, the whole surrounded by a red border adorned with eight flamelets [96]. This coat of arms, sculptured in stone, is still fairly well preserved on the bridge, Ponte Mole, in Rome ; between the two impaled escutcheons of his nephews, Roderic and Pedro Luis. A picture in the gallery of the Vatican cortile of San Damaso represents the bordure, however, as of argent and its flames of azure.

Although many historians mention no bearings but those of Calixtus III, several among them must have been aware

94. Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. 29, p. 364.

95. Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. 9, p. 468.

96. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 617, footn. by Thuasne, and Bibliot. Nation. de Paris, Fonds franç. Cod. 20282, f° 39.

of the fact that Alexander's escutcheon was bipartite, bearing on one half the ensign described and, on the other dimidiated shield, another, of which the main feature was three transverse bars. Some authors, indeed, have based upon the latter their mistaken notion of the Pontiff's ancestry. Thus Venuti [97], commenting on Paladino's medal, states that Roderic Borgia abandoned the surname of his father Jofre Lenzolio for that of his mother, and added the ox to his bearings. De l'Epinois [98] likewise calls that medal half Llançol and half Borgia. Ronchini [99], when describing the quartered seal of Cesar Borgia, mentions also the Lençol

Escutcheons of pope CALIXTUS III, and of his nephews: Cardinal RODERIC and PEDRO LUIS DE BORGIA, Preserved on Ponte Mole near Rome.

bars. Von Reumont even objects [100] to Matagne's arguments in favor of Alexander's Borgia parentage, by blaming him for not paying sufficient attention to the Pontiff's blazon which, he says, unites the ox of the Borgia to the bars of the Lenzuoli.

The best historians attach importance to this detail.

97. Numismata Rom. Pontiff., p. 42.

98. Rev. des Quest. Hist., vol. 29, p. 364.

99. Atti e Memor, del 'Emilia, Nov. ser. I, 39, footn. 2.

100. In Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. 3, vol. XVII, p. 321.

We find the escutcheon of cardinal Roderic de Borgia, chiseled at his time, in several places and localities. We saw it on Ponte Mole and in the San Damaso gallery. It is in the vestry of Santa Maria del Populo on the fine altar with which cardinal Roderic enriched that church ; on the outer wall of the church of Santa Maria in Via Lata, on the fortress of Subiaco which he erected, and twice on the stronghold of Nepi, restored or rather rebuilt by him—not to mention other instances. Corio [101], relating the solemnities of Alexander's taking possession of his See of St. John of Lateran, describes his standard as being a dimidiated shield of gold with a red ox browsing grass, and the other half, a field of gold crossed with three black bands, the whole surmounted by the tiara and keys. Niccola della Tuccia [102] states that the dexter moiety of cardinal Borgia's blazon bore the arms of pope Calixtus, and that the sinister was a yellow field with bars of black.

There is no need of searching any further for the bearings of the left half of Alexander's escutcheon. All historians speaking of them, and the specialists of heraldry are agreed on this subject, with a single exception as to the color of the bars, said by one to be of azure ; and this variation shall presently be explained. The point is to ascertain the house to which they belonged.

The advocates of the Lanzol extraction of pope Alexander VI did not hesitate in assigning them to the Lanzol family ; but since it has been sufficiently established that both the Pontiff and his father were ever Borgias, we deem it wise and necessary to seek information from learned men, who, beyond any dispute about a pope's name, consecrated all their time and talents to researches into the heraldic

101. Storia de Milano, vol. III, p. 465.

102. Cronaca, p. 82.

interests of the Spanish nobility. Such learned specialists are Bover, Mosen Febrer and Francisco Piferrer. In his voluminous work, " Nobiliario de los Reinos y Señorios de España [103], the last named author gives a few historical notes on one of the ancient and great Spanish houses, called Oms or Doms ; and he adds : The arms of the Doms are an escutcheon of gold and three fagots or bars of azure. To sustain his statement he further invokes the authority of Mosen Febrer [104]. Bover [105] observes, however, that the Doms of the Balearic Islands painted their fagots sable or black. The sinister moiety, therefore, of Alexander's blazon seems to point to some lady of the family Doms among his ancestors ; and as a matter of fact it indicates his paternal grandmother, whose husband and son Jofre, according to Gaspar Escolano [106], quartered her bearings with their own. Thus was the coat of arms of Alexander VI exactly the same as that of his father.

Reumont, and others less explicitly, contend that the bearings of the left portion of the Pontiff's shield were satisfactory evidence of his Lanzol descent ; but it should be observed that a sinister generally denotes a wife or a mother. Nor would Alexander have created a flagrant contradiction between his pretendedly assumed name of Borgia and his shield, by keeping on it the ensigns of his imputed Lanzol father. More logically would he have cast aside his father's blazon when casting aside his father's name.

Meanwhile, it happens that the coat of the Lenzuoli or Lanzol house did not consist of bars on a field of gold at all ;

---

103. T. II, pp. 146, 147.
104. Trob., 206, p. 115.
105. Nobiliario Mallorquin, p. 151.
106. Decada primera de la Historia de Valencia, lib. VI, cap. XXIII : vol. 2, col. 198 or seq. Confer Chas. Yriarte, Les Borgia, t. I, p. 23.

for the Lanzols carried a bursting sun of gold on a shield of azure. Confer Piferrer [107] and Febrer [108].

After the foregoing disquisition it seems superfluous to further search after Alexander's parents. However, a few remarks have still to be made concerning some erroneous statements about their identity.

ARTICLE IV. — PARENTS OF POPE ALEXANDER VI.

We consider it as settled that the family name of the Pontiff's father was de Boria or de Borgia, from the Borgia house of Spain, as it is further stated by an ancient French genealogy [109], which says that Geofroy de Borgia, son of Rodrigo Gil, married one of his relatives, Ysabel de Borgia, mother of pope Alexander VI.

All historians mentioning his baptismal name, as noticed already [110], whether they be for or against Alexander's Borgian origin, are, for once, so harmonious in calling him Jofre [111], that we may simply exclude the discordant voice of Dennistoun [112], who is in doubt between the names of Giuffredo and Alfonso, as he is uncertain also of the given name of Alexander's mother. He, evidently, was not aware of our documents 1 and 17 which confirm the universal statement.

The name of Jofre de Borgia did not, however, prevent all errors in the further identification of Alexander's father. He is, indeed, generally recognized as a brother-in-law of Calixtus III, but already the Venetian contemporary Stella [113]

---

107. Nobiliario de España, t. I, p. 193, n° 584.
108. Trob. 286, p. 155.
109. Paris, Bibl. Nation. Fonds franç., cod. 20288, f° 337.
110. Porcius, Platina, Gaspar Escolano, Mariana, Ximeno, Ciaconius, Moreri, Moroni, Bower, Imhof, « I Borgia », Gregorovius, Pastor, Fita, alii.
111. Variants are : Jauferdus, Giuffredo, Goffredus, Gothifredus, Goffredo, Godfrey, Geofroy.
112. Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino, vol. I, p. 302.
113. Ap. Leonetti, Alessandro VI, t. 3, p. 523.

asserts that Alexander was a nephew of Calixtus on his father's side, and so also Michael of S. Joseph [114] says that Jofre Borgia was Calixtus' brother. Should we insist on the meaning of the word " patruus ", paternal uncle, then would also the Venetian spokesman at the formal obeisance of the Republic to the newly enthroned Pontiff [115], and afterwards Oldoinus [116], have held Calixtus to be the brother of Alexander's father. Our inquiry into the individuality of the Pontiff's mother will correct the mistake of these few writers.

Of the history of Jofre de Borgia nothing is known besides the time of his death, which took place when his son Roderic was ten years old, about the year 1443 [117].

It cannot be doubted that Alexander's mother was a sister of Calixtus III, for she is mentioned as such in two bulls of pope Nicholas V, who, in the one, dated the 23d day of December A. D. 1460, declares that he confers upon Roderic de Boria the precentory of the church of Xativa, not only on account of his merits and piety, but also in consideration of Cardinal Alfonso de Borgia, who had humbly begged in favor of Roderic, " his beloved nephew, born of his sister " [118]. The Pope uses the same expressions in the other document of October the 22d, 1453 [119]. Pope Calixtus III himself calls her his sister, *Nobili mulieri Isabelle de Boria, germane nostre vidue,* when on the 26th of October, 1455, he grants her the privilege of a private altar [120].

This fact is, moreover, admitted in the statements of

---

114. Bibl. Critica, t. I, p. 166, col. 1, ap. Ximeno, Escritores del Regno de Valencia, p. 69.
115. Rome, Biblioth. Barberini B. B. B. I.; 13. Porcius, Comment. in medio.
116. Additam. ad Ciacon. Vitae Rom. Pont., p. 162.
117. Fita, Estud. Hist., tom. VI, p. 196. See Document 1.
118. See Document 12.
119. See Document 15
120. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Cal. III. Secret. Regest. 455, f° 115.

several historians already quoted [121] ; as also by Platina [122], Panvinio [123] and Sandini [124], by Labbe [125], Ximeno [126], Imhof [127] and by Citadella.

It is thus proved that Alexander VI was born of a sister of Calixtus III. Should, therefore, Stella and Michael of St. Joseph be true in their assertion that Jofre, the Pontiff's father was a brother of Calixtus, Imhof might well feel freed of his doubt concerning the degree of the parent's relationship ; and we might place them, with their exalted brother, among the children of Adam and Eve.

Since Calixtus was, as it is accepted by history, born from the house de Borja, it follows that the family name of his sister was de Borja ; but a few authors have failed to correctly report the baptismal name of Alexander's mother : Ciaconius [128] states that she was a sister of Calixtus III, but mistakes by giving her the name of Joanna ; and his error is followed by Bower [129], who calls her Joan, and by Gordon [130], who prefers the spelling Jovanna, as also by Racine [131] and Expilly [132].

Fidel Fita [133] correctly replies to Ollivier [134], who supposes that Dona Juana de Borja had been married to Alexander's imputed father, Jofre Llanzol, when he says that Calixtus had another sister whose name was Juana, but that this Juana was the wife of a Valencian nobleman, Mateo Marti, and never had any children.

---

121. Moreri, « I Borgia », von Reumont, Gregorovius, Pastor, Fita.
122. De Vita Calixti III, post medium.
123. Vita Alexander VI, initio.
124. Vitae Pontiff. Roman., p. 505.
125. Concilia, t. XIII, p. 1468.
126. Escritores del Reyno de Valencia, t. I, p. 69.
127. Genealogia XX. Illustrium in Hispania Familiarum, p. 24.
128. Vitae Rom. Pontiff. p. 147.
129. History of the Popes, vol. 3, p. 259.
130. Alexander VI., t. I, p. 3.
131. Hist. Ecclés., XVe siècle, art. VIII.
132. Della casa Milano, lib. I., ap. « I Borgia », p. 10.
133. Estudios Hist., t. VI, p. 95.
134. Le Pape Alexandre VI. et les Borgia, p. 77.

In fact, the name of Alexander's mother was Isabella [135] de Borgia. So she is called by the contemporary writers Platina and Porcius, as noted before. The reliable historians, Çurita [136] and Gaspar Escolano [137] rely on authentic documents, to report both of Alexander's parents as having been Borgias : his father as Jofre de Borja, and his mother as Isabel de Borja. The statements of a dozen subsequent authors [138] cited already, confirm our assertion ; and to these we may add the authority of Mariana [139] and of Raynaldi [140]. Two genealogical trees discovered among the archives of the Osuna house and published by Fita confirm this statement [141]. The former of these trees states that the fourth child of Mossen Domingo de Borja and of his wife Francisca de Borja was Dona Isabel, sister of pope Calixtus III and mother of Alejandro VI. The latter shows how Mossen Rodrigo Gil de Borja had by his wife, Sibilia, a son named Mossen Jofre, who married Dona Isabel de Borja, a sister of pope Calixtus III, and had, among other children, D. Rodrigo de Borja (Alejandro VI).

In spite, however, of all evidence to the contrary, the Encyclopedia Britannica [142] mentions a certain Francisco Escolano [143] to make the unique assertion that Alexander's mother's name was originally Llançol !

History reports but few incidents regarding the life of the mother of Alexander VI. When her son Roderic was ten years of age, her consort, Jofre de Borgia, left her a widow,

---

135. Variants are : Isabel, Elizabetha, Helizabeth.

136. Hist. del Re Hernando, lib. 7, cap. 32, and Anales de Aragon, t. IV, f° 35, col. 4 : Edit. 1610, ap. Fita, Estudios Hist., t. VI, p. 194.

137. Decada prim. de la Hist. de Valencia, lib. VI, cap. XXIII.

138. Ximeno, Moroni, Moreri, Imhof, Villanueva, « I Borgia », Gregorovius, Pastor, Fita.

139. Hist. d'Espagne, t. V, p. 122.

140. Annal. Eccles. ad an. 1492, n° XXVII.

141. Estud. Hist., t. VI, p. 99-101.

142. Art. Alex. VI.

143. Cronaca, lib. XI, cap. 33.

and she moved with all her family from Xativa to the city of Valencia [144], where the College of Arts afforded her the occasion of procuring a higher education for her children [145].

That she was a wealthy dowager, probably the owner of the large estate of Gandia, appears from the fact that she could without injury to her children, donate to her grandson, Jofre Llanzol y de Borgia, the barony de Anna [146].

On the 26th of October, 1455, pope Calixtus conferred upon the noble Isabella de Boria, his widowed sister, the privilege of a domestic chapel and of the choice of a confessor [147].

She was still living when, on the 29th of August, 1459, Anthony Tridento wrote the funeral song of her daughter Thecla [148], and had she died before October the 10th, 1470, she would undoubtedly have been mentioned or indicated in the papal document allowing her son, Roderic, to transfer to another grave the bodily remains of her defunct husband and of his sons and daughters [149].

The Osuna genealogical trees not only give the names of Alexander's parents, but also those of his grandparents ; and their statements relating to the latter have met with little contradiction.

The second Osuna tree designates the Pontiff's paternal grandfather as Mossen Rodrigo Gil de Borja, a Knight of

---

144. Fita, Estudios Historicos, t. VI, p. 196.

145. See Document 1.

146. Both Osuna Genealogical Trees, ap. Fita, Estudios Hist., t. VI, pp. 100, 101.

147. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 455, f° 115, ap. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s. 586, footn. 2.

148. He places these sighs in the mouth of the deceased :

« ..... Sine me mater tristissima [vitam
Dehinc aget, et lacrymis semper [amara fluet.
O tristis mater ! nimium cur me [ipsa profecto
Dilexisti? nimium cur tibi dulcis [eram ? »

Fita, Estud. Hist., t. VI, p. 199.

149. See Document 17.

the city of Xativa. Gaspar Escolano [150] calls him by the same appellation, and so also does Çurita [151]. Ximeno [152] drops the second given name, Gil, and adds that Rodriguez [153] reports him as Rodrigo de Borja, on the authority of authentic documents preserved by the marquises of Albayda. Subsequent historians who speak of him, as " I Borgia " [154] and Matagne [155],equally call him Rodrigo Gil de Borgia.

We found no objection made to Sibilia, as the baptismal name of the paternal grandmother of Alexander VI, but in regard to her personal family title, some doubt may arise from the fact that ladies were, then as now, generally known by their husbands' surnames ; as later on we shall have occasion to notice that cardinal Alfonso de Borgia calls de Borja, three of his sisters ; but names del Milá, Caterina, married to a scion of the Milano house. The Osuna record thus names the grandmother Sibilia de Borja, as also Rodriguez [156] and Imhof [157] who uses the spelling of Sybilla Boris. The accurate historians, however, Gaspar Escolano and Çurita style her Doms, by the name of her extraction ; and we have observed already that her husband, her son Jofre and her grandson, pope Alexander VI, carried her native coat of arms on their escutcheon ; namely, the bars of the family Doms. Two genealogical manuscripts preserved in the Paris National Library [158] give her name as Sybile Dombs, and modern writers [159] readily admit the appellation, Sibilla Doms, for Alexander's paternal grandmother.

---

150. Decada primera de la Historia de Valencia, vol. II, lib. VI, cap. XXIII, col. 198 or seq.
151. Anales del Reyno de Aragon, lib. VII, 32.
152. Escritores del Reyno de Valencia, t. I, p. 69.
153. Bibl. Val., p. 29.
154. P. 3.
155. In Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. IX, p. 468.
156. Bibl. Val., p. 29.
157. Ubi supra.
f° 82, and cod. 20288, f° 337.
158. Fonds franç., cod. 20280,
159. « I Borgia », p. 9.

It is not difficult to find the names of the Pontiff's grandparents, on his mother's side. The grandfather's name is reported as Giovanni by Platina [160] and Panvinio [161] ; but Gaspar Escolano [162] blames Panvinio for contradicting all authors and all records, by calling him Juan instead of Domingo. Çurita [163], Ximeno [164] and the first Osuna genealogical tree state his name as Domingo de Borja. Imhof [165] names him Dominic, although in drawing his tree [166] he adds the words : *alias* Joannes. Gregorovius [167] considers both names as equally doubtful, and Pastor [168] follows him. " I Borgia " [169] however, considering the relative number and reliability of the ancient historians, is justly positive in calling the Pontiff's maternal grandfather Dominico de Borja ; and so also does Matagne [170].

Gregorovius and Pastor [171] declare that not even the family name of Alexander's maternal grandmother is known ; and yet, she appears on the first Osuna tree as Francisca de Borja. It is true, she may have taken the surname from her husband, Domingo ; but, since it is attested [172] that she was from Valencia, she likely was a daughter of one of the several families de Borgia who resided in that city. About her baptismal name all of the few authors who speak of her, agree upon the appellation, Francina or Francisca.

---

160. De Vitis Roman. Pontiff. in Cal. III.
161. Vita Roman. Pontiff. ad Calixti III.
162. Dec. prim. de la Hist. de Val., lib.VI, cap. XXIII.
163. XVI, 32, ap. « I Borgia », p. 4.
164. Escritores del Reyno de Val., t. I, p. 69.
165. Genealogia XX. Illustrium in Hisp. Famil., p. 24.
166. On p. 20-21.
167. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 3.
168. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s. 500, n. 2.
169. P. 4.
170. Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. IX, p. 468.
171. Ubi supra.
172. Escolano and Çurita ap. Pastor, ubi supra ; « I Borgia », p. 4 ; and Joseph Pelicier, Paris, Bibl. Nation. Fonds Franç., cod. 20288, f° 337.

ARTICLE V. — SOCIAL RANK OF THE BORGIA HOUSE.

The mere names of one's parents or ancestors are of small importance, but their social condition and rank are everywhere considered as either shedding luster or casting a shadow upon their children. A parent's wealth, especially in this country, is a splendid introduction for a beginner in life, and even the millionaires of the United States are not insensible to the fascination of a European title of nobility. This may explain the fact of historians taking a lively interest in the standing of the Borgia family among their contemporaries.

We see some authors industriously belittle the social condition of the ancestors of Alexander VI, or ignore them almost entirely, and this for an evident purpose. They could not, however, ask the question, whether the Pontiff himself was of a high or of a lowly birth. His inherited nobility is admitted by history and established by a number of authentic documents, to a few of which we here refer.

On the third day of March, A. D. 1450, pope Nicholas V, in granting to Roderic de Boria, a canonry of the Urgel cathedral, sets forth, as a consideration, the nobility of the young man's origin [173].

The noble extraction of Roderic de Boria was one motive for that Pontiff to confer upon him, on October the 22d, 1453, the deanery of the church of Catalbano [174], and again Nicholas V states, on the third of October, 1454, that Roderic de Boria declared himself to be born of knightly parents [175].

When appointing Master Roderic de Boria a Prothonotary apostolic, on May the 10th, 1455, Calixtus III states that he

---

173. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 415 : Nichol. V. De Curia lib. X, fo 279vo. See Dcument 9.

174. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Reg. 428 : Nichol. V. De curia, lib. XXIII, fo 75vo. See Document 15.

175. Archiv. Secr. Vatic. Regest. 430, fo 158vo. See Document 16.

was adorned with the nobility of his lineage, the science of letters and the splendor of virtue, and again he calls him his nephew born from knightly race [176].

Pope Innocent VIII, on the 12th day of April A. D. 1486, does not, in his praises heaped upon cardinal Roderic de Borgia, pass over in silence his eminent ancestral nobility [177].

On October the 10th 1489, the same Pontiff declares cardinal Roderic de Borgia to be conspicuous by the nobility of his race [178].

That Alexander's native high rank in society was known and appreciated at his time appears from an epigram, set to music by the chanters of the Vatican chapel and copied by Burchard [179].

Çurita [180], who takes care not to grant to the Pontiff any undue laudation, admits, that, in his " Anales ", he has conceded the nobility of Alexander's birth, altough he applies the sourdine at once, by adding that the liberality of Calixtus, his mother's brother, was the first cause of his high standing.

Since Alexander VI was of noble extraction, it is a matter

---

176. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 465 : Offic. Calixt. III, f° 58 ; also ap. Pastor. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s. 587, in footn. 3, and Fita, Estudios Hist., t. VI, p. 195.

177. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 682, f° 251.

178. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Regest. 741 : Innocent. VIII. Bull. an. 5, lib. XLIV, f° 79.

179. Diarium, t. II, p. 13 :

« Gaude Roma...
Claris Cesaribus quondam regna- [ta fuisti,
Multo clarior es subdita presuli- [bus
Qui virtute licet nituerunt tempore [prisco,
Haud vincunt etas quem modo [nostra videt.
Sextus Alexander Hispanus ori- [gine celsa
Regnat,...
Qui prudens, justus, constans, [pius atque modestus
Pro meritis tanto culmine dignus [erat... »

This testimony may look suspicious, but its authors should have known that praises opposed to public facts are rather insulting.

180. Hist. del Rey Don Hernando, lib. I, § 11, f° 15.

of course that his brothers and sisters, and all the more his parents, were noblemen and noble dames. All the Borgias of the Osuna genealogical tree [181] are there recorded with the title of " Don " and " Doña ". In particular, we notice that Pope Calixtus III styles one of Alexander's brothers a " Nobilis Vir ", the noble Pedro Luis de Borgia, on the occasion of the latter's appointment as Prefect of Rome [182].

Nor is it hard to admit the high social condition of the parents of pope Alexander VI, when thirteen contemporary, sworn witnesses publicly testify that the Pontiff was born of the noble Jofre de Borja and of the noble Isabel de Borja, at their residence near the Market Square, elsewhere called " Plaza de los Borjas ", in Xativa ; and they tell us how he was raised in a princely manner[183]. We further notice that the remains of his father, long dead, were solemnly transferred to another tomb, with the consent of a Roman Pontiff, Paul II who, on the 10th of October, 1470, in granting the request, applies the title of Knight to the deceased Jauferdus de Borgia [184].

Matagne [185] admits Alexander's paternal grandfather, Rodrigue Gil Borgia, to have been of noble descent, and adds, with Villanueva, that he lived in a mansion fronting on the Square, named in his honor, Square of the Borgias [186] in Xativa. Nor did we find a writer, except Henry de l'Epinois, to deny him a rank granted by the ancient historians. " I Borgia " [187], referring to Escolano [188], states that Rodrigo Gill was among the first citizens of Xativa and president of its council in the year 1407. We read the same report in the

181. Fita, Estud. Histor, t. VI, p. 101.
182. Archiv. Secr. Vat. Regest. 465 : Calist. III. Officia, fo 288vo.
183. See Document 1.
184. See Document 17.
185. Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. IX, p. 468.
186. Villanueva, Viage Literario, t. IV, p. 115.
187. P. 3.
188. Hist. de Valencia, VI, 23.

genealogical manuscripts of Paris [189], which join with his name the tittle of " chevalier ", knight ; and specify that, under Martin, king of Aragon, he was sworn in as head-man of his native city, Xativa ; and that he claimed among his ancestors, Don Pedro Alvarez, lord of Borgia, elected king of Aragon in the year 1134. Imhof [190] not only counts the Borgias among the twenty leading families of Spain, but also remarks that Rodrigo Gil was at the head of the Borgias. The second Osuna tree reports him as Mossen Rodrigo Gil de Borgia " caballero ", knight ; and Gaspar Escolano [191] states that he flourished as chief Knight in the city of Xativa.

The maternal grandfather of Alexander VI, Dominic de Borgia, fares worse at the hands of our modern historians. H. de l'Epinois [192] considers the Borgias as probably not being of royal extraction, because, he says, on the testimony of Villanueva [193], Calixtus III was the son of a goody farmer, and the possessions of Alexander's father consisted of four horses.

Villanueva does not, however, declare his own opinion, but simply makes an extract from a manuscript chronicle of the fifteenth century, to further prove that Calixtus III was born in Xativa [194]. And let us observe that " bon hom " would be badly translated into the French " bonhomme " or our colloquial goody-goody ; the term meaning at the time, even in Italian [195], an honest, honorable man. Nor did the Valencian " laurador " mean a common labourer in En-

---

189. Bibl. Nation. Fonds Franç., cod. 20288, f° 337 ; and cod. 20280, f° 82.

190. Genealogia XX. Illustrium in Hispania Famil., p. 24.

191. Dec. prim. de la Hist. de Valencia, vol. 2, lib. VI, cap. XXIII, col. 198.

192. Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. XXIX, p. 365.

193. Viage literario a las iglesias de España, t. IV, p. 109, note: « Micer Alfonso de Borja que fon fill de un bon hom laurador de Xativa de regne de Valencia ».

194. Ibid., p. 108, footnote.

195. Bon omo : Nicolà della Tuccia, Cron. di Viterbo, p. 65.

glish ; but a tiller of the soil, whom, under the conditions of Calixtus' parent, we should rather style an agriculturist or an agronomist. A nobleman was, by the laws of heraldry, forbidden to engage in commerce or industrial pursuits, but even a prince, like the first kings of pagan Rome, was allowed to go and rest, from his chivalrous feats in battle or in tournament, among the peaceful flocks of his verdant fields.

We should further notice in regard to the four horses, that, if the original report, stating that the nobleman Jofre de Borgia " tenia quatro caballos ", kept four horses, was made by a census taker or an assessor, this official has been negligent in the performance of his duties, for not counting the other cattle corresponding to a peasant's four horses, and, in particular, for giving no account of the hackney with which Jofre had provided his young son, Roderic, to take his usual rides through the streets of Xativa [196].

But it is not hard to divine the object of the chronicler in inserting the apparently insignificant item ; for, as Gregorovius [197] remarks, the horse was at the time of Knighthood a symbol of power and excellence ; and a nobleman's rank was indicated by the number of horses attached to his carriage. For example, an abbot was allowed three horses and one mule, while a lord bishop paraded with four horses—like Roderic's father.

Matagne [198] relies on the transcript of Villanueva [199] and on the authority of Çurita [200] to definitely set aside, in spite of Escolano and of the ancient Bollandists, all idea of nobility of Dominic, Alexander's grandfather, whom he puts down as a simple " laboureur " and common plebeian.

We shall presently notice that Çurita is not quite so exclu-

196. See Document 1.
197. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 212.
198. Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. IX, p. 468, and t. XI, p. 197.
200. Anales de Aragon, t. IV, f° 35.
199. Viage, t. II, p. 214.

sive as his learned follower, and gives an occasion for further discussion.

It is true that Imhof [201] reports Çurita as saying that Dominic Borgia was lowborn, a client of Rodrigo Gil and having a very small piece of land in Canales, a village in the neighborhood of Xativa ; but that the son of the noble patron and the daughter of the poor client married together, after the latter had been elevated by her brother's exaltation to the supreme pontificate.

It should, nevertheless, be remarked that Dominic's daughter, Isabella, was a desirable bride even before her brother, Calixtus III, was a cardinal. Çurita himself [202] affords us a standard by which to determine the social condition of Domingo's daughters, when he states that Isabella, Calixtus' sister, was an ambitious lady, very different from her sisters, who were resigned to the condition in which they were born. Hence we might presume that these humble maids hired out as servant girls. But, in fact, they all assumed the title of " Doña ", lady, which was allowed them by the first Osuna genealogical tree [203], and did not refusé that of " Honorable Signora ", given them by Benedetto Sancio, procurator of cardinal Alfonso, their brother [204]. We might further expect them to marry sons of their peasant neighbors of Canales ; but, while one of them, Francisca, retired to a convent, Doña Juana, long before her brother Alfonso was of any public consideration, secured the hand of a nobleman of Xativa, Mossen Mateo Marti ; Doña Catalina was won by another nobleman of Xativa, Juan del Milá, or de Milano [205]. Their brother, Calixtus III, did not hesitate

---

201. Genealogia Illustr. XX in Hisp. Familiarum, p. 24.

202. Anales de la Corona de Aragon, lib. XVI, cap. 32, ap. Fita, Estud. Hist., t. VI. p. 194.

203. Fita, Estudios Hist., t. VI, p. 100.

204. See Document 19.

205. The escutcheon of her son, Lewis John del Milá, was an

ST. ALBERT'S COLLEGE LIBRARY

to call Roderic's mother " the noble Isabella, our widowed sister ", when granting her a private chapel by his brief of October the 26th, 1455 [206]. We ask whether it was possible, under the stringent laws of heraldry, that three daughters of a poor farmer should have had such titles and married into such noble houses ?

It might be objected that the sisters became noble ladies through their marriage with noblemen ; but this plea could not be made in regard to Alfonso, afterwards Calixtus III. Yet, Calixtus carried the escutcheon which we have described before. Panvinio [207] states that Calixtus was born in a castle named Sciativa, in the diocese of Valencia, from a noble lineage. Already Aeneas Sylvius, pope Pius II, [208] had written that Calixtus was a Spaniard born of noble lineage ; and, at the solemn obedience of the Florentines, their orator, St. Antoninus, addressed the newly-crowned Calixtus III by saying : " To the nobility of thy race thou hast added the greater nobility of a moral life " [209] Even the letter which Calixtus sent to his nephews, Vital de Villanova ; Gerald, lord of Castellvert and... Arenós, on the 29th of March A. D. 1457, sufficiently points out the quality of both his and their forefathers. To incite them to faithfulness and deeds of valor in the fight of his fleet against the Turks, he tells them : " Render yourselves worthy of the honor and glory with which your ancestors have shone forth at all times " [210].

After having established thet the daughters of Domingo de

---

impaled shield, the dexter of which bore his mother's arms, the Borgian ox, and the sinister those of his father, namely, the upper half a field of gold, and the lower, a rampant lion of gules on a field of silver Nicolà della Tuccia, Cron. di Viterbo, p. 80.

206. Fita, Stud. Histor., t. VI, p. 195.

207. Ad vitam Calixt. III.

208. Descrittione de l'Asia et Europa di Papa Pio II., in Vinegia MDXLIIII., p. 278.

209. Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles, ad an. 1455, n° XXI.

210. Arch. Secret. Vatic. Calixt. III. Brevia, t. VII, Armar. 39, n° 7, fo 76vo. See Document 24.

Borja and of his wife Francisca were ladies of rank, and their son, of noble birth, we may readily infer that the parents also belonged to the nobility.

The truth of this conclusion is directly attested by Panvinio [211], who calls them " personas generosas ", persons of nobility ; while Ximeno [212] gives to Domingo de Borja the title of Knight, and the first Osuna genealogical tree, inscribed : " Tree of the family of the Borjas, Knights of the Conquest ", styles him a " ciudadano ", a gentleman of Xativa. Imhof [213] counts his house among the twenty most illustrious families of Spain ; and " I Borgia " [214] makes the remark, that Çurita, opposed to the opinion of Calixtus' and Alexander's descent from the royal prince, Pietro, Lord of Borgia, wanted to lower the rank of their father, Domingo, and would not report the fact of his being the Lord of Canales. Escolano himself [215] states that, although Rodrigo Gil de Borja was of higher standing than Domingo, it is probable that Jofre, son of the former, readily married Isabella, daughter of Domingo, because they were both of the same root, lineage and name. The same historian further writes as follows : " The book of ancient memoranda of our kingdom, compiled with great truthfulness and accuracy, reports that at the time when Rodrigo Gil de Borja flourished in Xativa as supreme Knight, there resided in the fortress, named the Castle of Canales, a village of the said city, a Domingo de Borja, lord of that place, who, although he was not considered by the people as highly as Rodrigo, yet signed his name on public documents as " Donzel ", which is the same as to say, a son of a Knight. Perhaps he was from a

---

211. In Eugenium IV. and ap. Escolano, Hist. de Valen., lib. VI, cap. XXIII.

212. Escritores del Reyno de Valencia, t. I, p. 69.

213. By the title of his work.

214. P. 4, referring to Escolano, Hist. de Valencia, vol. 2, lib. VI, cap. 23.

215. Ibid.

branch of that noble tree planted in Xativa, perhaps he belonged to the Borjas of the city of Borja who came to live in Xativa at the time of the " conquest ". So also did Joseph Pellicer, the official chronologist, of Castille and Leon, call him an esquire, a donzell and lord of the castle of Canales [216].

ARTICLE VI. — HIGH NOBILITY OF THE BORGIA HOUSE.

Our readers, we trust, are convinced of the honorable social condition of pope Alexander's nearest ancestors, but the disparaging remarks of some modern writers make it our duty to add a few lines about the rank of the Borgias generally among the nobility of Spain.

We know already the opinion of de l'Epinois, who asserts [217] that the ancestry of Jofre de Borgia was not of a higler class ; nay, that Alexander VI was the first notable man of a family to which Calixtus III had opened the way to success. Gregorovius [218] writes : The Borgias claim to descend from the ancient kings of Aragon, but so little is known of their origin, that their history only commences with Alfonso Borgia, the actual founder of their house. Pastor [219] reprints Gregorovius, yet grants that the Borgia house was ancient.

The contemporary historians, whom we have quoted, agree that Alexander was born from a " nobilissima ", higly-noble Spanish family ; and the envoys charged by Ercole, duke of Ferrara, whose first-born was about to marry Lucrezia de Borgia, after a careful search into the parentage of the bride, reported on the 10th of October, 1501, that the Spanish Borgia family was highly-noble and very ancient ; although

216. Paris, Bibl. Nation. Fonds franç., cod. 20288, f° 337.
217. Rev. des Quest. Hist., vol. IX, p. 469.
218. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 3.
219. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s. 500.

they did not find any of her ancestors to have specially distinguished himself. These important testimonies have been accepted by Panvinio [220], who calls the Borgia house very noble and most illustrious ; partly by Çurita and altogether by Escolano, as we shall presently notice ; by Joseph Pellicer [221], a chronist of Castille, Leon and Aragon, in the beginning of the seventeenth century ; by Philip of Bergamo [222], who plainly states that the Borgia house was very noble and very conspicuous, even before they had given two popes to the Church ; by the Bollandists [223] and several more historians. The nobility of the Borgias is well established up to the beginning of the thirteenth century, as is also conceded by Matagne, who justly adds, however, that their history before that time is not known with historical certainty [224].

Don James I, king of Aragon, commenced about the year 1232, reconquering from the Moors the kingdom of Murcia. His progress was slow, but when he besieged Valencia, he was surrounded with the flower of his knightly vassals and carried the city in A. D. 1238. As usual at the time, the great number of the Mohammedans were driven away and their spoils belonged to the conquerors. Gaspar Escolano [225], whose testimony in this particular is generally admitted, relates that king James undertook to replace the population of Valencia with a chosen class of his followers, distinguished by both their noble extraction and by their courage manifested in the conquest The repartition was made among more than six hundred persons, who remained the owners of real estate in the city and in its suburbs ; and

220. Ap. Escolano, Hist. de Valen., lib. VI, cap. XXIII.
221. Paris, Bibl. Nation., cod. 20280 and 20288, Fonds franç.
222. Ap. Moreri, Grand Diction. Art. Borgia.
223. Act. SS. ad 10mam Octobr.
224. Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. IX, p. 467.
225. Dec. prim. de la Hist. de Valen., vol. II, lib. IX, cap. XXII, col. 1163.

we shall mention a few of those, whose progeny has continued till this day [226]. They are Peter de Borja, Francis de Borja, Bernard de Borja, Philip de Borja, Alfonso de Borja, Michael de Borja, Peter John de Borja, Stephen de Borja and many more ; so many, indeed, that to reward their services in the conquest, it was necessary to distribute among them the vineyards, orchards and gardens of its neighborhood and valley.

Escolano [227] continues, saying that some of the Borgia knights accompanied the victorious King in his capture of Xativa ; and among the partakers of the spoils is named, in the year 1240, the knight Stephen de Borja as a man of importance in the army. In like manner we find numerous Borjas owners of hamlets and farms around that city ; some of them so named for being descendants of the ancient lineage, others for being Borjas from the city of Borja. It is not less evident from the book of repartition of Origuela, made the 4th of September 1272, that a Knight named Rodrigo de Borja, served in the conquest and capture of that town.

" Later, in the records of meetings and ordinances of the councilmen of Valencia, mention is made of a Borja surnamed " generoso ", the Gentleman, who lived in the year 1338. In the archives of the government is named Jofre de Borja, knight and royal judge. So also were members of the military council of Xativa, Gonzales Gil de Borja, in the year 1340, Gil Bertram de Borja, in 1345, and, in 1368, Rodrigo de Borja. In the year 1406, or 1407, as others write, during the reign of king Don Martin, Rodrigo Gil de Borja was chief councilman of Xativa and had been much esteemed by king Don Pedro, Martin's father, as it is

226. Till the seventeenth century.

227. Ibid. cap. XXIII, col. 198.

attested by a record book of our kingdom and repeated by Çurita. From this knight descended Don Rodrigo de Borja, who became a Sovereign Pontiff and took the name of Alexander VI ; and, with the favorable winds of his good fortune, fanned into life again the dying embers of the former majesty of his name ". So Escolano writes.

ARTICLE VII. — WAS POPE ALEXANDER VI OF ROYAL DESCENT?

This is an old debated question. We shall propose the arguments and the authorities relating to it.

Gregorovius [228] and Pastor [229] sneer at the idea. Matagne [230] says and repeats that no proof whatever is offered in support of the royal origin of the Borgia house. It should be ascertained, he says, that the Atharès have taken the name of Borgia and are the ancestors of the Borgias. Moreover, he alleges Çurita as stating—erroneously—that Alfonso de Borgia, Calixtus III, was not even a nobleman. " I Borgia "[231] is less dogmatic, for while relating that both Calixtus III and Alexander VI pretended to descend from Don Pedro, Lord of Borgia and an Atharès of royal blood, he makes a distinction when saying of Calixtus only that he was of neither plebeian nor royal extraction.

Imhof [232] reports the opinion of some authors that the Borgias originated from the ancient kings of Aragon, and Moreri [233] equally states that divers writers before him were of the same belief. The Bollandists themselves were inclined to consider Alexander's ancestors as members of a kingly race. We take as indicative of a princely lineage the facts that two of the Pontiff's nephews, Pedro Luis and

---

228. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 3.
229. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s. 500.
230. Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. IX, p. 467 and t. XI, p. 197.
231. P. 4.
232. Geneal. XX. Illustr. in Hisp. Famil., p. 19 .
233. Grand Diction., Art. Borgia.

Giovanni de Borgia, were introduced into the family of the very kings of Spain by their marriage with Maria Enriquez, the daughter of king Ferdinand's uncle ; and that, only a few years later, there were, among the thirty-five grandees of the Spanish empire, two de Borgias : the duke of Gandia and a Borgia of the Caroline Islands [234].

The solution of the question at issue depends on that of the one suggested by Matagne, namely, whether royal Atharès were the ancestors of the noble de Borgias.

Calixtus III and Alexander VI claimed their origin from them [235], and so did Alexander's grandfather, Rodrigo Gil de Borgia [236]. Personages of their rank and condition who, no doubt, were in possession of family records, would hardly have set forth pretentions which, if false, could easily, at their day, only four or five generations distant from their Atharès ancestor, have been disproved to their confusion. It is until this day a significant fact that the blazon of the Atharès, equivalent in heraldry to the title of their house, was exactly that of the Borgias ; the emblem being the ox grazing, as is stated by Jerome Blanca [237]. Don Pedro de Atharès had, as feudal estate, the city of Borja, quite an important place in Aragon [238] and its territory. In the year 1134 he was elected to the throne of his ancestors [239], but was soon after expelled from it [240]. His birthright, as an Atharès, not having saved him from the disgrace, he assumed from his princely fief the title of Borja, and probably became the head of pope Alexander's

234. Roma, Bibl. Corsiniana, cod. 687, f° 330.

235. « I Borgia », p. 3.

236. Paris, Bibl. Nation. Fonds franç., cod. 20280, f° 82 ; Cfr. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 3.

237. Arragonensium Rerum Commentarii, p. 327.

238. Prosp. de Bofarull, Coleccion de Documentos ineditos, vol. 12, p. 305.

239. Jos. Pellicer, Paris, Bibl. Nation. Fonds franç., cod. 20280, f° 82.

240. « I Borgia », p. 3 ; ref. to Escolano, III, lib. VI, 23, and to Çurita, I, 5.

de Borgia lineage. Gaspar Escolano [241] writes on this subject as follows: " In the first chapter of the third book of our History we gave the first information in regard to the origin of the house of the Borjas. We there said, on the authority of ancient records which we saw with our own eyes in Aragon, that Don Pedro de Atharès, of royal house and blood, originated the Borgia name, which he took when lord of the city of Borja ". Çurita says in a cursory manner that Don Pedro died without male children, but he may have deceived himself by not making sufficient inquiries [242]. Should he, however, be correct, it would follow that the knights, who kept up his new title, inherited his blood through a lady or a morganatic alliance. Escolano further adds that, in setting aside his former name, Don Pedro did not lay down his ambition and ancient claims to be a " hidalgo, hombre de natura ", or member of the royal family as much as the king. Joseph Pellicer [243] reports the successive generations in the Borgia lineage. He states that Rodrigo Gil de Borgia, a knight born in Xativa and president of its council during the reign of Don Martin, king of Aragon, claimed as his ancestor Don Pedro Alvarez, or Atharès, who was a son of the Infante Don Garcias, and was chosen King in A. D. 1134. The father of Don Garcias was prince Don Sancho, who was a son of Ramirez, king of Aragon.

In closing this study, we give its general survey in the form of an incomplete genealogical tree, with juxtaposed dates indicating neither birth nor demise, but the year in which the names were recorded in ancient documents.

---

241. Dec. prim. de la Hist. de Valen., an. 1610, lib. VI, cap. XXIII, col. 198.

242. Not unlikely did Çurita mean to say that he left no sons by the former name of Atharès.

243. Paris, Bibl. Nation. Fonds franç., cod. 20288, f° 337.

Ramirez, king of Aragon

Prince Don Sancho

Infante Don Garcias

1134 Don Pedro } Atharès, king elect, de Borgia, Lord of Borgia

1238 Peter, Francis, Bernard, Arnold, Philip, Alfonso, Michael, Peter John, Stephen de Borgia

1240 Stephen de Borgia

1272 Rodrigo de Borgia

1338 a Borgia, surnamed The Gentleman

Jofre de Borgia, Knight

1340 Gonzalez Gil de Borgia

1345 Gil Bertram de Borgia

1368 Rodrigo de Borgia

1406 Rodrigo Gil de Borgia married with Sibylla Doms | Dominic de Borgia married with Francisca de Borgia

..... Jofre de Borgia and Isabella de Borgia .....

..... Roderic de Borgia .....

afterwards pope Alexander VI

CHAPTER II.

Paternal Relations of pope Alexander VI.

ARTICLE I. — PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

The foregoing study has informed us of the original name of pope Alexander VI and of his distinguished parentage. But, when looking over his history, we constantly feel the need of, at least, a slight acquaintance with his contemporary relatives whom, in the course of events, we meet so often and who have been either favored by the pontifical administration, or pressed into its service.

A genealogical tree or a methodical enumeration, complete and correct, of his uncles and aunts, brothers and sisters, of his nephews and nieces and of his more distant kinship, belonging to the Borgia, del Milá and Lançol houses, would not only supply the intimated want, but also settle many a doubt and discussion. It is a sad fact, however, that no such tree or genealogical information is to be found. Of a score of genealogists before us, not half a dozen coincide on the degree of consanguinity or affinity between Alexander VI and any half a dozen of his kinsfolk ; and the juxtaposition of all genealogical reports produces a tangled confusion that obscures very important incidents.

The learned authors who have written on this particular subject have, no doubt, prepared with much research the drawing of their genealogical trees, which, therefore, should be considered as, partly at least, correct and true ; and we shall not reject any of their statements without sufficient reason. Their discrepancies and mistakes are, moreover, easily explained and excused by the broad meaning, at that

time, given to the words " brother " and " nephew ", which on many occasions, caused later students to be deceived. The cardinals Johannes Ludovicus del Milá and Roderic de Borgia are universally recognized as having been first cousins, being born respectively of the two sisters, Catalina and Isabella de Borgia, and, yet, Infessura [1] calls them " brothers ".

So also was Moroni [2] deceived by ancient statements, when he says that Cardinal Giovanni de Borgia was, in A.D. 1500, poisoned by his " brother " Cesar Borgia, duke of Valentinois, although the two were first cousins only. Let us incidentally remark that this exaggeration of relationship, which does not appear in official documents, was a usual expression of courtesy, probably suggested by the Spanish term, " primo herma ", first-cousin, while " herma ", unqualified, means brother.

Du Cange [3] gives the interpretation of " frater " as any relation by consanguinity or affinity, carnal or spiritual, and he allows to the word " soror ", a signification wider still. In this sense must be understood a curious letter of the year 1535, written in Rome and saying that a bishop, a brother of Roderic Borgia who had been pope Alexander's son, " vescovo fratello di Don Roderico figliuolo che fu di Papa Alessandro ", had lately appeared in the City [4] (!). So did Lucretia style the marquis of Mantua, her brother-in-law by marriage, " cognate et frater noster honorandissime ", our relative and most honorable brother [5]. Even Cesar de Borgia, when writing to the marchioness, Isabella Gonzaga,

1. Bibliot. Vallicell., cod. I, 74, f° 35 : Del Anno 1457. La Vigilia di Natale Papa Calisto fece nove cardinali, cioè doi soi nepoti : lo Vicecancellario con lo titulo di S. Nicola della carcere, et lo suo fratello del titulo de Sti Quattro.

2. Dizion. Art. Borgia, p. 50.

3. Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis.

4. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 344, footn. — We shall notice, farther on, who were the parents of this Roderic, so-called son of pope Alexander VI.

5. Ibid., Bd. II, nr. 53.

who was in no way related to him, called her " sorella nostra honoranda ", our respected sister [6] ; and his brother, Jofre, almost a stranger to the marquis, named himself, in a letter to him, " como minor fratello ", his younger brother [7]. These instances may suffice to prove that the term " frater ", brother, did not necessarily mean any more than acquaintance or lordship. Moreover, the practical deficiency of the words " patruus, avunculus, zio " or uncle, and of " amita, zia " or aunt, further increased the use of " frater, fratello " or brother in their widest application. One would, therefore, confess his ignorance of the customs of the time, if he should, like Gregorovius [8], conclude from the words :" brother of Lucretia " that her pretended father had a number of sons unkwown till this day.

The word " nepos ", nephew, has, oftener still, given occasion to genealogical errors. The latin language had no well defined term to designate a son or daughter of one's uncle or aunt. " Consobrinus " was the best fitted, but the more generic epithets, " consanguineus, affinis, propinquus, cognatus ", were all used to that effect ; and " nepos ", nephew, and its corresponding " neptis ", niece, were sometimes, even frequently, employed by the officials of the Roman court in a similar broad meaning, instead of in its restricted and proper signification of a son or daughter or any lineal descendant of a brother or sister. " Nepos " was thus indiscriminately applied to persons of various kinds and degrees of kinship.

Indeed, " nephew " and " niece ", in common parlance of that time, designated principally, as they do to-day, a descendant of one's brother or sister ; but the papal documents, less precise than our modern law books, made no distinction

6. Ibid., nr. 47.
7. Ibid., nr. 50.
8. Ibid. Bd. I, s. 344, footn. and 367.

between nephew and grandnephew, niece and grandniece ; comprising, as they did, under the one simple term, one's brother's or sister's children and grandchildren of any step or degree ; thus confounding two or more generations in the apprehension of more than one reader. The greatest cause of confusion, however, is the third, broader meaning of " nepos ", which indicated relations not of a descending, but of a rather ascending lineage, namely, the children of one's uncle or aunt, or even granduncle or grandaunt. Actual cousins and grandcousins were called nephews. Such is the statement already made by Eckart and Du Cange [9].

The word nephew was rarely, or not at all, used in civil intercourse and the vernacular languages of the time, to designate a cousin, as we may notice from a letter addressed to the king of Aragon, wherein cardinal Roderic de Borgia styles " first-cousin " another Roderic de Borgia, transferred in the year 1473, to the bishopric of Barcelona, who evidently was a son of one of the cardinal's paternal uncles [10] ; but in pontifical latin letters, " nepos ", nephew, was still used in its broadest sense, and instances of uncles' sons being designated as nephews are not lacking in the present research.

In one case, however, the word " nepos " designated a nephew, that is, a son or grandson of a brother or sister, and not a cousin or other relative. When, namely, papal letters were issued to favor some young cleric, who was as yet without any important dignity, by which he might be

9. Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis, Art. Nepos : Monet Eckartus nepotis vocem medio aevo non solum de nato ex fratre sed etiam de nato ex patris, avi et proavi fratre usurpatam.

10. Boletin de la Real Academia de la Historia, t. XIX, p. 284, footn. 2 : « Sacra Magestat, ab humil recomendació precedent. Ara en aquest punt he rebudes letres de Roma, quim signifiquen nostre Sant Pare ha transferit mon cosí germá en Bisbe de Barcelona.

identified, his individuality was generally determined, whenever occasion offered, by the statement of his being the " nepos ", nephew of some member of the Sacred College of Cardinals. This rule of the Roman chanchery, to which we found no exception, is strikingly exemplified in two bulls of pope Alexander VI.

When granting dispensation to two of his second-cousins, sons of Galcerand de Borgia, to admit them to the reception of holy orders and of ecclesiastical benefices, he made a significant distinction, calling their father " our nephew ", but naming each of the young beneficiaries " nephew of our beloved son Giovanni, cardinal priest of the title Santa Susanna ". This cardinal was, indeed, their father's brother [11].

We should, lastly, notice the other epithets, corresponding to the Spanish " deudo ", namely : " conjunctus ", a kinsman ; " consanguineus " and " affinis ", a relation through consanguinity or affinity. The Roman officials applied any of these terms to pope Alexander's kinsfolk of any kind or degree. Thus are named consanguineous, Beatrix, his sister, an uncle by marriage and other relatives of Valencia, whom he befriended from time to time with pecuniary donations [12]. Circumstances, therefore, must assist in determining the meaning of these terms on special occasions.

To avoid as many mistakes as possible in describing the lineage of the Borgia and of related houses, we shall consider as definitive the rare incontestable documents which specify an individual as father or son, brother or sister of another person.

Admit as conclusive the common consensus of historians, and even respect the statements of any approved author, whenever there are no good reasons for rejecting them.

---

11. See Document 20.

12. See Document 18.

Attach considerable importance to the family names of pope Alexander's relatives.

Take as a guide, in distinguishing the successive generations and the degrees of kinship, the ages of the individuals, whenever they can be ascertained.

Take into consideration the character of the dignities and offices bestowed on the Pontiff's relatives, and the usual age of those appointed to such preferments.

We know the task of making the following genealogical enumerations to be difficult, nor do we expect to be free from adverse criticism in every detail ; but we trust that our study will throw some needed light upon this dark and complicated subject.

For the sake of clearness we shall classify the numerous relatives of Alexander VI into three categories ; namely, as descendants of his paternal grandparents, of his mother's parents and of his own father and mother.

ARTICLE II. — PATERNAL UNCLES AND AUNTS OF POPE ALEXANDER VI.

In our research we have failed to discover any brothers or sisters of Rodrigo Gil de Borgia or of his wife Sybilla Doms.

Until Fidel Fita [13] published the two Osuna genealogical trees of the Borgias, little or nothing was known of the brothers or sisters of Alexander's father and of their offspring. The designations, however, of consanguineous, cousin and nephew of the Pontiff, so often attached to the names of persons who could not be located at all without presuming the existence of these uncles and aunts, might

13. Estudios Hist., t. VI, pp. 99, | seq.

have directed historians to express the inference that Jofre de Borgia was not the only child of Rodrigo Gil.

The second Osuna " Arbol " mentions the following children of Alexander's paternal grandfather : 1° Mossen Rodrigo Gil de Borja, first-born ; 2° Mossen Galceran Gil de Borja, second son ; 3° Mossen Jofre de Borja ; 4° Juana de Borja, all of whom he had by his wife Sybilla, and, by a second wife, 5° Juan de Borja.

This enumeration is incomplete as we shall soon see. The " Arbol " assigns no progeny to Rodrigo Gil, junior ; nor have we found any special information regarding this first uncle of Alexander VI.

His second uncle, Galceran Gil de Borja, married a lady of his own rank, as we learn from the fact that his son, Giovanni, was declared in a bull of Calixtus III [14], to be of knightly origin by both parents. He was a Borgia by superior intelligence and ability and by staunch loyalty to the Roman Church. On the 13th of July, 1457, pope Calixtus III appointed him as lieutenant-governor of Spoleto and other places [15] and addressed him still as " his beloved son, Galcerand de Borja, Governor of the duchy of Spoleto ", on the 18th of February 1458 [16]. His successor, Pius II, further employed him in the administration of the Pontifical States and selected him as a special envoy to king Henry of Castille and Leon and to other princes, for the transaction of business in favor of the Pontiff and of Holy Religion. A proper passport or safe-conduct for this important mission was handed to him on the 16th of January, 1459 [17].

14. Archiv. Secr. Vatic, Regest. 447 : Calix. III. De Curia, Ann. I, II, t. XII : Prid, Id. Apr. 1457.

15. Archiv. Secret Vatic. Cal. III, et Pii II. Brev. an. 1457. Armar XXXIX, n° 8. f° 8.

16. Ibid., f° 17.

17. See Document 21.

ARTICLE III. — CARDINAL GIOVANNI DE BORGIA, SENIOR.

The Osuna parchment states that Galceran Gil had one son, Mossen Juan de Borja, rector of the parish Ontiñente, canon of the holy church of Valencia and cardinal deacon of the Holy Roman Church, with the title of Santa Maria in Via lata, and Bishop of Melfi. Fidel Fita [18] explains the last qualification by saying that Juan was, in A. D. 1486, cardinal administrator of the diocese of Melfi.

The genealogical tree mistakes in giving to this Juan de Borja the cardinalitial title of Santa Maria in Via lata, while it admits the same title for his younger relative Juan de Borgia, junior, and for the latter's brother. It is well established, indeed, that Juan, Galceran's son, was created, in the year 1492, cardinal priest of the title of Sancta Suzanna, and the cardinals Giovanni and Pedro Ludovico, sons of Jofre de Borgia, were successively in possession of the cardinalitial church of Santa Maria in Via lata since the year 1496. We suspect a similar confusion in regard to this pretended diocese of Melfi, of which he could not be, in A. D. 1486, a cardinal administrator, not being a cardinal yet. On the other hand we know from papal documents that Giovanni the younger was first appointed administrator of the Melfi diocese, and elected its Ordinary on February 11th, 1494.

Cardinal Giovanni de Borgia, the elder, is designated in several papal documents as nephew of Alexander VI, and historians agree on this particular ; but until the publication of the Osuna tree, they generally keep silent on his parentage [19], while a few variously guess at the name of his father

---

18. Estud Hist. t. VI, p. 100, footn. 3.
19. Like Moreri, Grand Diction. Art. Borgia, and Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 287.

and mother. Cittadella [20] reports that he was a son of Giovanna de Borgia, Alexander's sister, and a brother of Angela and cardinal Pedro Ludovico de Borgia. Gregorovius [21] and Villari [22] follow the mistake of Cittadella. The Civiltà [23] justly accuses Cittadella of confusion and observes that Giovanni's pretended brother and sister were not children but grandchildren of Giovanna.

Moroni [24] also supposes Giovanni, the elder, to be a brother of cardinal Pedro Ludovico de Borgia and consequently, a son of Jofre Lanzol y Borgia ; not considering that the latter was only one year older than his imputed son. On the 11th day of April, 1457, Jofre Lanzol was in his eleventh year of age or nearly so ; and on the 12th of the same month and year, Giovanni de Borgia was in this tenth or thereabouts [25].

Nor does the Civiltà [26] itself conjecture any better, when it names Pedro Luis de Borgia, Alexander's brother, as father of the elder cardinal Giovanni, because Pedro Luis was but a growing boy when Giovanni was born and, in all probability, died unmarried and without any offspring, as we shall notice farther on.

Von Reumont [27] avoids the former difficulty by confounding cardinal Giovanni, archbishop of Monreale, with the younger Giovanni, bishop of Melfi whom he calls a son of Pedro Luis, but he is not aware of the fact that Pedro Luis died almost a score of years before the bishop of Mielfi was born.

The more common error, however, is that cardinal Gio-

20. Ap. Civiltà Cattol., vol. IX, ser. 8, p. 721.
21. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 49.
22. Disp. di Ant. Giustinian, vol. I, p. 102, footn. 1.
23. Ibid.
24. Dizion. Art. Borgia, p. 49.
25. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 447 : Calix. III, de Curia, Ann I, II, t. XII, f° 91.
26. Ubi supra.
27. Gesch. der Stadt Rom., III, I, s. 563.

vanni, the elder, was not a son, but a brother of Jofre Lanzol y Borgia and a son of Giovanna, Alexander's sister. An interpolation from Infessura into Burchard's Diarium [28] says: Alexander VI, in his first consistory, created cardinal the archbishop of Mont Real, his nephew and sister's son. Ciaconius [29], Bzovius [30] and Raynaldi [31] copy Infessura and are followed by Reumont [32]. Gregorovius [33] repeats the original mistake with the addition of the sister's name, Johanna, and the incidental oversight of the correct date of Giovanni's elevation to the cardinalate.

It is obvious, however, that, if Giovanni, the elder, was a son of Giovanna de Borgia, his father was Pedro Gulielmo Lanzol, her husband; and Jofre Lanzol was his brother. If this should be so indeed, we might well wonder at the fact that the Roman Pontiffs addressed, in the same year and in several letters, one of the two brothers as Jaufridus Lanzol and the other as Johannes de Borgia [34]. The confusion and error further appear when, in the narratives of Çurita, Escolano, Villanueva, Fidel Fita and of any of the best modern writers, we fail to find a name of Giovanni among the children of Giovanna de Borgia, or even among her grandchildren, besides that of cardinal Giovanni, the younger.

Since the cardinal of Monreale was well known to be a nephew of Alexander VI, it was but natural to look for his parentage among the children of the Pontiff's parents. The idea of an improperly so-called nephew did not strike the mind of later writers; while, in fact, the elder cardinal

---

28. T. II, p. 4.
29. Vitae Rom. Pontiff., p. 167.
30. Continuat. Annal. Eccles. Baronii ad an. 1492, n° 50.
n° XXX.
31. Annal. Eccles. ad an. 1492.
32. Ubi supra.
33. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 49.
34. Confer. Documents 13 and 14 and Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 447. Prid. Id. Apr. 1457, and Ibid., f° 91, and several bulls to follow presently.

Giovanni de Borgia was such a nephew of pope Alexander VI or his real first-cousin, a son of his paternal uncle, Galceran Gil de Borja, as stated by the Osuna genealogical tree.

Let us add, for the fun of it, that De Magri, who made the annotations on Corio's History of Milan, took no pains in looking up the descent of cardinal Giovanni, the elder, but unceremoniously, no matter how unlikely, ascribed him as son to a man, to whom he knew historians of his kind had ventured to attribute a dozen or more other children — to pope Alexander VI [35].

Giovanni was born towards the end of the year 1446, as appears from several apostolic documents ; and, according to historians generally, in the Spanish city of Valencia.

Of knightly extraction by both parents, he was, in his tenth year of age, a cleric of the diocese of Valencia and an honorary member of the household of Calixtus III, when, on the 12th of April 1457, he was named by that Pope a canon of the church of Girona in Spain [36].

The same year he was authorized to perceive the revenues of his benefices, although he should absent himself for the purpose of studying at some university or of following the Roman Court [37].

Historians generally and, in particular, Moreri [38] and Pastor [39] state that Giovanni was elected administrator bishop of Monreale in Sicily ; and Moroni [40], Chevalier [41] and others give the year 1483 as the time of this promotion.

---

35. Corio, Storia di Milano, vol. III, p. 636, n. 12 : « Il Cardinale Giovanni Borgia figliuolo di Alessandro VI, et arcivescovo di Monreale... ! ».

36. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 447 : Calixti III. De Curia, ann. I, II, t. XII, an 1457, Prid. Id. Apr.

37. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 450. Calix. III, de Curia, ann. II, III, t. XV, fo 183vo.

38. Grand Diction. Art. Borgia.

39. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 287.

40. Dizion. Art. Borgia.

41. Répertoire des Sources Hist. Art. Borgia, Jean.

This date is counfirmed by the archiepiscopal registers of Monreale [42]. Because of this prelacy he was in later years commonly called the cardinal of Monreale.

Giovanni de Borgia, the elder, was raised to the eminence of cardinal priest of the title of Sancta Susanna by pope Alexander VI, on the 31st day of August A. D. 1492, at the first consistory held by the newly-crowned Pontiff. A few authors erroneously give the 30th of August, and Gregorovius [43] the 1st of September, as the time of this consistory ; but Ciaconius [44], Bzovius [45] and the Index Vaticano-Urbinatis in the Vatican library assign the last day of August, which Pastor [46] proves to be the correct date, by quoting the consistorial archives [47] and an extract from the bull of nomination [48] ; which, moreover, sufficiently refutes the slander of an anonymous writer saying that Alexander appointed him, although unfit for the high dignity and in spite of the rules sworn to in the late conclave.

Giovanni de Borgia was named bishop of Olmutz in Bohemia, on the 8th of February 1493 [49].

From this time on, the cardinal of S. Susanna was employed in business of the greatest importance. Thus he was chosen, the 18th day of April, 1494, as Legate " a latere " to go and crown Alfonso II as king of Naples [50],notwithstanding several cardinals and the French ambassador fiercely opposing such political proceeding. The coronation ceremony took place on the 8th of the following month [51].

42. Gams, Series Episc. Monreale.
43. Gesc. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 312.
44. Vitae Rom. Pontiff., p. 167.
45. Continuat. Annal. Eccles. Baronii, ad an. 1492, n° 50.
46. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 287, 818.
47. Archiv. Vatic. Acta Consist. 1489-1503, f° 44 : Die Veneris ultima, Aug. 1492.
48. See Document 22.
49. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 774 : Alex. VI. Bullar, An. I, t. III, f° 294vo.
50. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 876 : Alex. VI. Off. ann. I, II, III, lib. I, f° 117.
51. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 305, 306; Moreri, Grand Diction. Art. Borgia ; Moroni, Dizion., p. 49 ; and U. Chevalier, Répartoire, at the name.

Several authors relate that Cardinal Giovanni was appointed administrator of the diocese of Capua, in the year 1496 ; of Ferara in A. D. 1495 or 1497, and of Corio in Spain, in 1502. We should observe, however, that in regard to Capua there likely is confusion between Giovanni, the elder, and Giovanni de Borgia y Lanzol, because the cathedral records of Valencia attribute the Capuan archdiocese to the latter cardinal [52].

Moroni [53] further says that the older cardinal Giovanni de Borgia was vicechancellor of the Holy Roman Church ; but this statement could be correct inasmuch only as Giovanni may have been the acting substitute of the regular vicechancellor, cardinal Ascanio Sforza, during the latter's imprisonment in France. Finally, U. Chevalier [54] and an anonymous writer [55] assure us that, in the year 1503, a few months before his death, he received the title of Patriarch of Constantinople. Let it be mentioned that the nameless compiler of the Barberini Codex, who found Giovanni to be unfit for the cardinalate, tells us, without any authority that he was successively appointed bishop of Ferrara in the year 1494, archbishop of Monreale, bishop of the dioceses " Boiocensis, Lumbariensis, Condoniensis, Vivariensis " — all dioceses unknown to the learned Rt. Rev. geographers, Philip Ferrarius and Anthony Baudrand — and that he was a Legate " a latere " to the cities of Perugia, Spoleto Narnia, Todi, Foligno, Assisi, Castello, Nuceria and other places, as also to Augustin Barbadico, duke of Venice ; finally, that he was the guardian of Zizim, brother of the Grand Turk. We could not vouch for the accuracy of these assertions.

The elder cardinal Giovanni de Borgia died in Rome

52. Gams, Series Episc., p. 88.
53. Ubi supra.
54. Répertoire.
55. Biblioth. Barberiniana, Rome, cod. XXXII, 242, Ex Registris Alex. VI.

during the year 1503, on the 5th day of August, if we are to believe Pastor [56]; or rather on the 1st as stated by Sigismondo dei Conti [57], U. Chevalier [58], Moreri [59], Villari [60], Alvisi [61] and the registers of the Monreale cathedral [62], The unreliable courtier, A. Giustinian, wrote as if Cesar Borgia might have poisoned the cardinal, but Creighton [63] disproves the slander. Giovanni died a natural death, rather suddenly, of malarial fever, of which there were many sufferers in Rome at the time [64],and which, after a few days, was also to claim the Pontiff himself.

Galcerand [65] de Borgia was another fist-cousin or " nephew " of Alexander VI, another son of Galceran Gil de Borja, and a brother of Giovanni, cardinal of S. Susanna.

The Pontiff placed the highest confidence in him, as appears from the letter which he wrote to the Grand Master of Rhodes on the 5th of October, 1494. At this time Charles VIII, king of France, used treachery and slander to get into his hands the prisoner Zizim, brother of the Sultan of Constantinople, who was under the care of pope Alexander VI. The prince had his quarters in the Vatican palace, and a guard of Rhodian Knights ; but, being advised by the Grand Master and by others that plots and snares were being devised against the security of Zizim, Alexander, for greater security, disbanded the faithful guard of knights, placed the valuable captive in the fortress of Sant' Angelo and chose as custodians Galceran de Borgia and Francis de

---

56. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 468.
57. Le Storie de' Suoi Tempi, t. II, p. 267.
58. Répertoire.
59. Grand Diction. Art. Borgia, referring to Onufrio, Çurita, Ciaconius, Ughel.
60. Dispacci di Ant. Giustinian, vol. II, p. 92.
61. Cesare Borgia, p. 401.
62. Gams, Series Episc., Monreale.
63. History of the Papacy, vol. IV, p. 265.
64. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 468, footn. 1, 2.
65. Galceran, Collerandus.

Borgia, another Knight of St. John of Jerusalem : both his nephews [66]. Galceran was unmarried, yet left two sons by a single woman : John and Galcerand, who, in the year 1494, were, respectively, sixteen and fourteen years old, and both obtained the necessary dispensations for admission to sacred Orders [67].

We shall notice, later on, the family of Rodrigo Gil de Borja's son, of Jofre, the father of pope Alexander VI.

ARTICLE IV. — AUNT JUANA AND THE SERRÀ COUSINS.

The Osuna tree next mentions the Pontiff's aunt, Juana de Borja, wife of Bartholomew Serra, or de Serra, knight of Algecira. She is reported as the last child of Sybilla Doms ; but when we consider the time at which her children were born, we cannot help suspecting the accuracy of the Spanish compilation, and think that she rather was a daughter of Rodrigo Gil's second wife.

Her husband, likely younger than his nephew, the Pope, was called to serve as a condottiere [68] in the pontifical army, shortly after the coronation of pope Alexander VI.

Burchard relates [69] that the knight Bartholomew Serra accompanied Jofre de Borgia on his wedding trip to Naples and that, as a member of the Borgia house, he carried one of the two standards, when his nephew solemnly appeared the first time as a prince of the Aragonian dynasty, on the 9th of May, 1494.

We cannot state the exact time at which he was promoted to a higher and steadier position. He evidently was, in the

66. Jacomo Bosio, Dell' Istoria della Sacra Religione di S. Giovanni Gierosolimitano, vol. II, lib. 13, p. 515.

67. See Document 20.

68. A noble or influential man who hired out for military service himself and the professional soldiers whom he gathered.

69. Diar., t. II, p. 165.

captaincy of te papal guard, the successor of Roderic de Borgia, a son of Giovanna, sister of pope Alexander VI. We shall notice, farther on, that this nephew of the Pontiff still drew his salary on the 21st of July, 1495, while on the 6th of September, 1496, there was paid to the Magnificent lord Bartholomew Serra, captain of the palace guard, the sum of two thousand two hundred and eighty florins, as stipends of one month, for himself, three hundred and twelve infantry, and sixty-nime cavalry-men [70].

We met the Magnificent Lord the last time on August the 24th, 1499, when he was receiving at the papal treasury or Camera, perhaps his last month's pay as captain of the palace guard [71].

It is a notable incident that, as Bartholomew Serra succeeded in his honorable office a Roderic de Borgia, so he was in turn succeeded by another Roderic de Borgia, a nephew of the former.

We found no children of this family who remained in the secular state of life, and we have but scant information regarding those who became clerics.

James Serra, born in Catalonia, was, on the 13th of October, 1485, then a Doctor of theology, appointed as procurator of his cousin Pedro Luis de Borgia, for the purchase of the duchy of Gandia. In the year 1492, he was made archbishop of Oristagni or Oristano in Sardinia, and received also the bishopric of Calahorra, in A. D. 1494. He was named cardinal of the title of St. Vital on the 28th day of September in the year 1500, promoted to be cardinal bishop of Albano, in 1511, and advanced to the See of Palestrina,

---

70. Arch. Secret. Vatic. Introitus et Exitus, vol. 528, at the date.

71. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Introitus et Exitus, vol. 531, at the date.

in 1516. He died on the 15th of March or, as Fita prefers, on the 15th of May in the year 1517 [72].

In the absence of positive proof, we may readily conjecture that this cardinal was the son of Alexander's aunt Juana, because of the family name, and the fact that it was the Pontiff's policy to look for the support he needed, to every family closely related to him, and to name a cardinal from each of them.

Another nephew of the Pope was John Serra, a cleric of the diocese of Tarazona in Aragon and an honored member of the pontifical household, who received a parochial benefice when he was in the eighteenth year of his age, on the 27th of November, 1493 [73].

Jofre Serra is often named a nephew of Alexander VI. On the 3d of April, 1495, being then a cleric of the diocese of Valencia, he got a canonry and prebend [74].

ARTICLE V. — UNCLE JUAN AND CARDINAL FRANCIS DE BORGIA.

The second Osuna genealogical tree[75] states that Alexander VI had another paternal uncle, Juan de Borja, who became the father of Don Francisco de Borja, archbishop of Cosenza in Italy and cardinal priest of the title of Saint Cecilia, and who died in Arezo of Lombardy.

The deficiency of this information at the proper time has given to the enemies of the Borgias an opportunity to slander the exemplary pope Calixtus III by calling cardinal

72. Fita, Estudios Hist., t. VI, p. 215, and footn. 1.
73. Arch. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 832, f° 74.
74. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 793 f° 69.
75. Fita, Estudios Hist., t. VI, p. 101.

Francis his illegitimate son. The notorious Tommaso Tommasi originated the false report, which was uncritically believed by Panvinio, and by him scattered among later men of letters, in spite of the reproof of Gaspar Escolano, a more reliable but less known historian at the time. It is no wonder if Gordon [76] and writers of his kind should eagerly have repeated the assertion ; nor if others, like Moroni [77] and Villari [78], devoid of all idea of Alexander's paternal uncles, should, in their vain search after the parents of the cardinal, whom they knew to be the Pontiff's nephew, have accepted Panvinio's damaging statement as the only possible solution of their puzzle. Yet, others still doubted or disbelieved the defamation. Thus Moreri [79] writes that some authors consider cardinal Francis as a bastard of Alfonso de Borgia, before the latter became a pope. Pastor and several historians before him ignore the aspersion. Von Reumont, in his History of Rome [80] simply puts down cardinal Francisco as son of Calixtus III ; but, in a later contribution to the " Archivio Storico Italiano " [81], he observes that historical chronology seems to contest the imputation, because the Pontiff was blameless ever before and should have had this son, " si pur suo ", if his son at all, when sixty-three years old. The Roman procurator of the Teutonic Order wrote to the grandmaster, on May the 3d, 1455 : " Calixtus III ist ein alt herre ens erbaren toguntlichen lebens und ganzen guts gerüchts ", Calixtus III is an old gentleman of an honest and virtuous life and of an altogether good reputation [82]. On the day after his election, Bartholomew Michele of Siena wrote to the Sienese : " He is a

76. Alex. VI, t. 2, p. 43.
77. Dizion. Art. Borgia.
78. Disp. di Ant. Giustinian, vol. I, p. 102, footn. 1.
79. Grand Diction. Art. Borgia.
80. Bd. III, s. 563.
81. Ser. 3, vol. XVII, p. 322.
82. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s. 502.

man of great holiness "[83]; and another contemporary of cardinal Alphonso de Borgia, St. Antoninus, archbishop of Florence, extolled in particular his virtue of chastity[84].

We have seen quite a number of papal documents addressed to Francis de Borgia, in some of which he receives dispensations and costumary absolutions; but in not one is to be found any allusion to the defect of legitimate birth. In others he is designated as being " de militari genere ", of knightly parentage; and we must agree that this expression ill accords with extraction from a cardinal. It should be further remarked that he became a member of the Sacred College, without any question of his legitimacy.

Moreover, the ancient Spanish historian, Gaspar Escolano[85] says of Panvinio, that he has deceived himself by making Francisco de Borja a son of pope Calixtus III, on no better grounds than a rumor among the Roman populace; while in reality he was only a distant relative of that Pope, who liked him well on account of his promising qualities. Such is his confirmation of the Osuna statement.

Cardinal Francis de Borgia was born in the year 1441[86], in the diocese of Valencia, at the village of Savina, according to Moroni[87] and others generally. Panvinio, however, relates that he was a " Sceniensis ", which, Escolano[88] says, is a mistake for " Setabensis ", from Xativa.

On the 3d of December, 1480, Francis de Borgia, a cousin of the vice-chancellor Roderic, was a cleric of the Valencian diocese, when pope Sixtus IV commanded the superiors of

---

83. Voigt, Enea Silvio, II, 158.
84. Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles. ad an. 1455, n° XXI.
85. Decada prim. de la Hist. de Val., vol. 2, coll. 1166.
86. Moreri, Grand Diction. Art. Borgia; Moroni, Dizion. p. 50.
87. Ibid.
88. Ubi supra.

the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem to admit him into their Order [89].

Two years after, he was designated as a Doctor of Canon Law and a commensal of the vicechancellor, and was appointed rector of the parish of Alaidia in the diocese of Majorca [90].

Pope Innocent VIII issued an interesting bull on the 12th day of September, 1484. Francis de Borgia is declared in it to be born of knightly parentage and recommended by numerous witnesses as living a moral, honest and virtuous life. It states that, to compensate him for the relinquishment of a lawsuit, Sixtus IV, had granted him a pension on a parish church of Lerida, and now the Pontiff reserves other pensions for him.

On the 11th of November of the same year, pope Alexander VI introduced his high-born cousin into the ranks of the most exalted prelacy, by reserving for him a seat in the college of protonotaries apostolic [91]. Francis de Borgia actually succeeded to Julian Caesarini promoted to the cardinalate, on the 20th of September of the following year [92].

On the 17th of August, 1493, he appeared at the Vaticań as a witness to a document, in which his name appears with the additional title of Canon of Valencia [93].

About the end of that month he was appointed to the important office of treasurer general of the Roman Church, and acted in this capacity the first time on the 3d of September [94].

---

89. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 605 : Sixti IV. Bullar. Lib. LV, t. LX, f° 129.

90. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 549, an. 1482, 16° Kal. Jan.; and Ibid. Regest. 677, f° 92vo.

91. Arch. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 876, f° 84 ; and Regest. 869 : Alex. VI. Secret. an. I, II, III, lib. III, t. 98, f° 28vo.

92. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 876 : Alex. VI. Off. ann. I, II, III, lib. I, f° 84.

93. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Alex. VI. Secret. An. I, II, III, lib. III, Regest. 869, f° 92.

94. Ibid. Introitus et Exitus, vol. 525, f° 2.

According to an anonymous manuscript [95], whose statement is very credible, Francis, now a commander of St. John of Jerusalem, together with thirty-four fellow knights, swore, on the 18th of January, 1493, to faithfully guard the Grand Turk, Zizim, under the orders of the Pope and of the Sacred College.

How trustworthy he was in all his duties appears from the fact that, in time of danger, he was, together with Galcerand, his first-cousin, chosen to replace the former numerous guard watching over prince Zizim.

Francis de Borgia was promoted to the bishopric of Teano on August the 19th, 1594, as it is recorded in the Vatican Archives, which give the further information that the appointment was made with the approval of the Sacred College [96].

To save Europe from the degrading yoke of the Turks Alexander VI had imposed a tithe on the clergy of the kingdom of Naples, although the King was adverse to any withdrawal of money from his realm, even though for its protection. The delicate and ungrateful task of its collection was imposed on bishop Francis de Borgia, the 28th of August, 1497 [97].

Escolano [98], the Osuna tree [99] and others generally, relate that he was named archbishop of Cosenza. Moroni [100], adds the date of A.D.1499, which Gams [101] determines by the 6th day of November. His archiepiscopal title afterwards gave him the usual name of Cardinal of Cosenza.

He, indeed, became a member of the Sacred College. Moroni [102], Pastor [103] and historians in general agree on the date of his elevation as September the 28th of the year 1500.

---

95. Rome, Bibl. Barberin. XXX, 242.
96. Regest. 793 : Alex. VI. Bullar. an. III, IV, t. XXII, f° 4.
97. Rome, Bibl. Barberini, cod. XXXII, 242.
98. Dec. prim. de la Hist. de Valen. vol. 2, col. 1166.
99. Fita, Estud. Hist. VI, 101.
100. Dizion., p. 50.
101. Series Episc. Cosenza.
102. Ubi supra.
103. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 431.

When Lucretia de Borgia married, at the end of the year 1501, Alfonso of Este, she was prevented by the customs of the time from taking along to Ferrara the little Roderic, her son by Alfonso of Aragon ; but pope Alexander VI was willing to care for the orphan as he had cared for his mother, and placed the child under the tutelage of cardinal Francis de Borgia [104]. The cardinal faithfully administered the estates of his ward, and showed his love towards him especially when, at the death of the Pontiff, he gave to his mother the advice, approved by Ercole, duke of Ferrara, to send Roderic to a place of security, among Lucretia's relatives in Spain [105]. He was also appointed as acting tutor of the Infant Giovanni de Borgia, the little son of Cesar, duke of Valentinois [106].

Moroni [107] tells us that cardinal Francis de Borgia was of a gentle disposition and amiable manners ; but his usual equanimity failed him towards the end of his life. In fear of pope Julius II, who had never been a friend of the Borgias, the cardinal Pedro Ludovico de Borgia had fled to Naples, while cardinal Francis, more courageous but less judicious, who thought to have many grievances, followed a former example of that Pontiff and, in October, 1510, joined his enemies, the king of France and the emperor of Germany. Julius condemned him to prison, and he escaped imprisonment only through the intercession of his colleagues. On the 16th day of May, 1511, after continuing on the downward path of bitter opposition to the Pope, he, together with eight more cardinals, convoked the schismatic conciliabulum of Pisa. Julius II deprived him of all dignities and excommunicated him on the 24th of October of the same year ; but

---

104. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 197.
105. Ibid. s. 303-304.
106. See Document 210.
107. Dizion., p. 50.

Francis de Borgia died, unaware of the inflicted punishment, November the 4th, 1511, aged seventy years, in the city of Reggio, where he was buried [108].

ARTICLE VI. — OTHER PATERNAL RELATIONS.

The Osuna genealogical trees are silent in regard to other relatives of pope Alexander VI on his father's side ; but the papal archives and a few historians introduce to us several more of his paternal cousins ; and, in particular, the following sons of Rodrigo Gil, of Galceran Gil or of Juan ; or, possibly, of some other brother of the Pontiff's father.

Cardinal Roderic de Borgia himself, when a legate in Spain, calls a first-cousin, his namesake Roderic de Borgia, who was successively bishop of Barcelona and of Urgel [109] or, rather, as we learn from a letter of the legate, dated from Segovia on the 2d of February, 1473, bishop of Urgel, first, and from thence transferred to Barcelona [110], of which diocese he took possession on the 7th of the following month of April [111]. We may notice incidentally the mistake of some writers, who count Barcelona among the dioceses held by cardinal Roderic de Borgia at the time of his elevation to the papacy.

Alfonse de Borgia was another son of one Alexander's uncles. He was a cleric of the Valencian diocese and a member of the household of pope Calixtus III. During the

---

108. Panvinio ; Escolano, Dec. prim. de la Hist. de Valen., vol. 2, col. 1166, who gives October the 31st as the date of his demise ; Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles., t. XXX, p. 560 ; Moreri, Grand Diction. Art. Borgia ; Chevalier, Répert., p. 333 ; Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III. s. 612, 624, footn. 3 and s. 639 ; Gams, Series Episc. Cosenza.

109. Villanueva, Viage liter, T. XI. p. 135.

110. Villanueva, ibid, p. 138, or Edit. of 1851 : T. XVIII, p. 40.

111. Boletin de la Real Academ. de la Hist. T. XIX, p. 284, footn. 2.

legation of cardinal Roderic de Borgia in Spain, Alfonse was one of his suite and a familiar attendant. His services were rewarded at the end of the cardinal's mission, when, on the 15th of October, 1473, pope Sixtus IV granted him the archdeanery of Albarazin in the cathedral of Segorve [112]. The same Alfonse, stated to be of noble birth by both parents and a nephew of Roderic Borgia, bishop of Porto, was favored by Innocent VIII on May 5th and again on August the 8th, 1490 [113]. Pope Alexander VI gave him another benefice on the 29th of April, 1494 [114], and he rose to the height of his career, when his cousin the Pope, whose acolyte and chamberlain he was, made him a canon of St. Peter's basilica in Rome, on the 11th day of November in the year 1496 [115].

Gaetan Marini [116] tells us that he died on the 25th of April, 1500, but mistakes in calling him a cardinal and bishop of Segorve.

Joannes de Borgia, not unlikely a brother of Alfonse, is named a nephew of Alexander VI, of whom he also was a continual commensal courtier. He had received several benefices, and pope Innocent VIII had honored him with the title and lucrative office of a papal notary. This Pontiff favored him again on the 28th of November, 1491 [117]; but he was dead on the 12th of the following month of January, when cardinal Roderic de Borgia was granted several of his benefices [118].

---

112. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Sixti IV. Bullar., Lib. X, Regest., 560, fo 186vo.

113. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Regest. 748, fiis. 214vo and 259vo.

114. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Bullar., An. I, II, III, Regest., 785, fo 9vo.

115. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Regest. 801 : Alex. VI. Bullar. An. IV, V, T. XXX, fo 86.

116. Degli Archiatri Pontifici. Vol. I, p. 225.

117. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Inn. VIII, Bull. An. VII, VIII. Lib. LXII. Regest. 759, fo 213vo.

118. Ibid., Inn. VIII, Bull. An. VII, VIII. Lib., LXIV. Regest., 761, fo 337vo.

Only one paternal aunt, Juana de Borgia, wife of Bartholomé Serra, is allowed to pope Alexander VI by the Osuna document [119]. Yet, we meet with several individuals by the surname of Castellar [120], and with a cardinal de Loriz, all of whom in pontifical documents, are repeatedly called his nephews or consanguineous relatives, and who were singularly favored by him. The inference that they were the sons of two other aunts of the Pontiff is but natural and seems unavoidable ; and when we consider the time at which some of these Castellar and de Loriz were born, we must presume that their mothers were daughters of Rodrigo Gil de Borgia by his second wife. Raymond Castellar, whom Alexander VI calls his " consanguineus ", and is, under this title, reported in the Index of the Vaticano-Urbinas Library, was probably the husband of the older of those ladies. He was a nobleman who, in advanced years, lived in Valencia, perhaps not in brilliant circumstances ; for his cousin, the Pope, granted him a yearly subvention of five hundred gold ducats, in semi-annual payments on St. John the Baptist's day and at Christmas. Thus we find it recorded that Raimond de Castiglar had received in Valencia the full allowance of five-hundred ducats before the 9th day of July, 1498, and that the half-yearly sum of two-hundred and fifty ducats due on St. John's day, had been paid to Raymond Castellar before the 28th of July, 1499 [121]. Again, on the 13th of November, 1501, the Holy Father ordered the sum of five-hundred ducats, which would become due to his bloodrelation, Raymund Castellar, at the next feast of St. John's natal day [122].

---

119. Fita, Estudios Hist., T. VI, p. 101.

120. Castelar, Castella, de Castella, Castèglia, de Castiglar.

121. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Div. Cam. 1497-1499. Lib. III, Armar. 29, n° 52, f° 93 ; and Ibid. Div. Cam. 1497-1501. Lib. IV. Armar, 29. no. 53, f° 248.

122. Archiv. della Soc. Rom. di Stor. patria. Vol. IV, p. 116 ; from Archiv. di Stato, Roma : Cam. Apostol. Mandati, an. 1501-1502, carte 79*tergo*.

Jerome " Raymundi " Castellar, likely his son, is mentioned on September the 2d, A.D. 1500, as a cleric of noble parentage and a nephew of Alexander [123] ; and the same Jerome Raimundi de Castella, the knightly nephew of the Pontiff, afterwards appears as a sacristan of the cathedral of Barcelona, to receive new favors [124], and, on the 18th of February, 1502, is made also a beneficiary of the cathedral of Valencia [125].

Cardinal John Castellar, undoubtedly a brother of Jerome Raymundi, was another nephew, as he is designated in papal documents, of Roderic de Borgia, vicechancellor of the Church and bishop of Porto, afterwards pope Alexander VI. Giaconius [126] states that Johannes Castelar, alias de Castella, was born in the diocese of Valencia from the highly-noble family de Castellar and was a blood-relation of Alexander, the Roman Pontiff.

On the 23d of August, 1493 [127] pope Alexander VI nominated his nephew, Johannes Castellar, archbishop of Trani in Apulia and, on the 7th of June, 1495, sent him to govern the city of Perugia [128].

His faithful services were rewarded by his elevation to the high dignity of cardinal priest, with the title church of Santa Maria in Transtyberim [129]. The twenty-two cardinals present in Rome approved the Pontiff's choice [130].

---

123. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 837, fo 51 and 92vo.
124. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 843, f° 247.
125. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 866, f° 112.
126. Vitae Pont. Rom. T. III, col. 202.
127. Gams, Series Episc. Art. Tranum, p. 934.
128. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 826 : Alex. VI, Bullar. An. VII, VIII. T. LV, f° 27.
129. Villari, Disp. di Ant. Giustinian, Vol. II, p. 29, footn.; Becchetti, Ult. 4. Sec., T. VI, p. 327.
130. Acta Consist. Vatic., ap. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III. S. 466, footn. 2.

The last preferment bestowed upon John Castellar was the archdiocese of Monreale, which he was appointed to govern on the 9th of August, 1503, a few days after the death of its former incumbent, his first-cousin, the elder cardinal Giovanni de Borgia [131].

Cardinal de Castellar died the 1st of January A.D.1505 [132].

A lady de Borgia, presumably the youngest aunt of Alexander VI, married a Valencian gentleman, Galceran de Loriz, by whom she had several children and, in particular, a son named Francis Galcerandi de Loriz [133], whose surname is, in several documents, given as Loris de Borgia—in Spanish, Loris y Borgia—uniting the family names of both father and mother. Ant. Giustinian [134], the contemporary ambassador of Venice, admits that Francis de Loriz was considered as a relative of Alexander VI, but the relationship, he asserts, was very distant, and caused only by his affiliation to the cardinal of Monreale who was the Pope's nephew. Çurita [135] states that Francis de Loriz was a relation of pope Alexander, and, in all pontifical letters referring to him, he is simply designated as his nephew. Ad. Gottlob [136] confounds Francis Loris y Borgia with cardinal Francis de Borgia, a son of Juan de Borgia. The two were first-cousins.

When in his twenty-third year, on the 19th of March, 1497, Franciscus Loriz de Borgia was elected bishop of Terni in Umbria. Being a nephew of our holy lord the Pope, he was exempt of all clerical fees on that occasion [137] and, when the

131. Gams, Series Episc. Monreale.
132. Ibid., Art. Tranum, p. 934.
133. De Loris, Loriz or Lloris.
134. Villari, Disp. Vol. I, p. 248.
135. Hist. del Rey Don Hern. Lib. 3, Cap. 39, f° 166vo.
136. Aus der Camera Apostolica, S. 275.
137. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 813, f° 319 ; Codex Barberin, XXXII, 242.

officials of the apostolic treasury lay claim to the annates and other dues from the diocese of Terni, the Pope specially excused him from paying them [138].

Çurita [139] tells us that, when cardinal Cesar Borgia resigned all his ecclesiastical revenues and dignities, the Pontiff made his relative, Don Francisco de Loriz, Cesar's heir to the diocese of Elna or Perpignan.

Perhaps the most important position ever held by Francis de Loriz was confided to him on the 1st day of June in the year 1502, when, with ample powers, he was sent as commissary general of the papal army under the command of Cesar de Borgia, against the deposed lord of Camerino and other disloyal feudatories of the Church. Working in accord, the two nephews of Alexander VI achieved brilliant results, one of which was an honorable agreement with the city of Bologna, to cement which, bishop Loriz was willing to give in marriage one of his sisters to Annibale, the first-born of Giovanni Bentivoglio, lord of Bologna [140].

He also, from the beginning of this campaign, won the valuable good will of Louis XII, king of France, at whose request the united dioceses of Valence and Dié were, on the 16th of the following July, reserved for him, in case they should become vacant [141].

These signal services entitled him to higher rank. He was raised to the dignity of cardinal deacon with the title church of St. Sabina, on the last day of May, 1503 [142], and was afterwards promoted to the church of Santa Maria

---

138. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Alex. IV, Div. Cameralia, 1497-1499. Lib. III. Armar. 29, no. 52, fo 72vo.

139. Hist. del Rey Don Hern. Lib. III, Cap. 39, fo 166vo.

140. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest, 872 : Alex. VI. Secreta an. 4 ad 8, f° 93 ; Barberin, Cod. XXXII, 242 ; Ant. Giustinian : Villari, Dispacci. Vol. I, p. 247.

141. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 851 : Alex. VI. Bull. an. IX, X, T. LXXX, fo 851.

142. Villari, Disp. Vol. II, p. 29, and footn.

Nova. The compiler of the Barberini Codex mistakes in saying that cardinal de Loriz was proclaimed on the 8th day of June 1503.

We have no information about his further career and death.

Notice should here be taken of the cousin of Alexander VI, cardinal de Loriz's sister, just mentioned.

ARTICLE VII. — UNIDENTIFIED COUSINS OF POPE ALEXANDER VI.

Should the Pontiff have been as careless of the reputation of his relatives as he is alleged to have been of his own, we would know the lineage of one more of his distant cousins, or, possibly, of his nephews ; but in designating a certain Roderic de Borgia, he only states that this " nepos " and member of his household was born of a prelate and a single woman. Roderic, a cleric of Toledo, when about twenty years old, received the title and prebend of an archpriest of Guadalaxara, on the 30th of January, 1496 [143] ; the revenue of three parochial churches, on March the 18th, 1502, and still another parish, on the 13th of April of the following year [144].

We find in the records of that time the names of other de Borgias, who are not honored with the title of " nepos ", nor even reported as consanguineous or relatives of Alexander VI, but sufficiently indicated by the circumstances of name, time, preferments and favors to be his relatives on his father's side. We say, on his father's side, because

143. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 796 : Alex. VI. Bullar. An. III, IV. T. XXV, fo 52vo.

144. Ibid, Regest 859 : Alex. VI, Bullar. an X, XI. T. LXXXVIII, fiis relatively, 121, 122vo, 124.

there is not the least probability of their being brothers of the Pontiff, nor could they be identified as his regular nephews, that is, as children or grandchildren of his sister, Joanna ; for these are all fairly well known, as we shall see hereafter. Such were :

Francis de Borgia, born in Xativa, in whose favor the cardinal, his namesake, resigned the diocese of Teano.

The three de Borgias who seem to have, by turns, filled the same office, as follows :

On January 11th, 1503, Aloysius de Borgia, vicecastellan of Tivoli, received one hundred and thirty-five florins, the salary of two months, commenced the 10th of that month [145].

The vicecastellan of Tivoli, Franciscus de Borgia, who, on the 14th of March, 1503, received one hundred and thirty-five florins as salary for two months [146].

Alphonsus de Borgia succeeded Franciscus in the vicecastellany of Tivoli, and received the pay for the next two months, on May the 13th, 1503 [147].

The first, Aloysius governed again after two more months, the same castle, and was paid the usual bi-monthly sum of one hundred and thirty-five florins, on the 14th of July, 1503, and again on September the 23d of the same year [148].

The Civiltà Cattolica [149] mentions still another vicecastellan of Tivoli, Lodovico de Borgia ; but we found no trace of him.

James Borgia, a Roman cleric and scholar, became in the month of March, 1495, rector of the parochial church of Chabea in the diocese of Valencia, and was on that occasion freed, by order of the Pope, from annates and fees due to the apostolic treasury [150]. He made his appearance again

145. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Introitus of Exitus. Vol. 533, at the date.
146. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Introitus et Exitus. Vol. 533, at the date.
147. Ibid.
148. Ibid.
149. Ser. 8. Vol. IX, p. 722.
150. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Alex. VI. Div. Cam. 1495-1497. Amar. 29, n. 51, fo 5vo.

in July, 1500, being then a commensal member of the papal household, and was excused once more from paying the taxes of several benefices recently granted to him [151].

Martin Borgia, a cleric of the diocese of Valencia.

Francisca Borgia, wife of Philip Cardador. At the pious request of this lady, pope Alexander VI granted on the 7th of December, 1493, to her and to her husband, as also to Francis Feram and his wife, to their children and eight persons of their choice, all in Xativa, the privileges of choosing a confessor to be endowed with special faculties in their favor ; and of having a private chapel, in which H. Mass could be celebrated before daybreak, in places subject to interdict [152].

Johannes de Borgia, castellan of Ostia under pope Calixtus III [153], perhaps another cousin of Alexander VI, was not identical with his namesake, the canon of Girona afterwards a cardinal, as Pastor [154] supposes ; the latter being, at the time, only ten years old : too young to occupy a responsible military position.

A prelate, named Johannes Marades, was a relative, " consanguineus ", of pope Alexander VI ; but we failed to discover the nature and degree of his relationship. He was, in the year 1495, the chief chamberlain of the Pontiff when he was made bishop of Toul, then in Belgium, to the satisfaction of Maximilian, the emperor elect. Johannes Marades acted as one of the witnesses when, on the 4th day of August, 1495, the representatives of the Holy League swore in the Vatican to defend and protect the Supreme Pontiff forbid-

---

151. Ibid. Alex. VI, Div. Cam. 1497-1501. Lib. III. Armar. 29, n. 53, f° 126.

152. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Alex. VI. Secret. an. II, Lib. IV. Regest. 870, f° 54.

153. Roma : Archiv. di Stato, Bulletar. Calisti de a° 2°, f° 4vo and many more fos, ap. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I. S. 597, footn. 3.

154. Ibid.

ding Charles VIII of France, under pain of excommunication, from invading Italy again, in case that the King should attempt to take revenge against him [155].

A certain Adoardus Borgia appeared as a witness, on the 25th day of August, 1500, to a notarial act preparatory to the marriage of Angela de Borgia, Jofre's daughter, with Francesco Maria della Rovere [156].

We finally found the name of another de Boria, Otto or Otho. He appears only in Osuna documents [157] as a witness of two spurious notarial acts. In both he is styled a Magnificent Lord, and in the former he is officially said to be either " the cousin or the paternal uncle "(!) of Giovanni, second duke of Gandia, while in a copy of the original he remains only his cousin [158]. It is our opinion that this Otto was a mere imaginary personage, named a witness, because, being unreal, he could never testify to the forgery of those papers.

It may be here the place to observe that the learned historians Pastor [159] and, indirectly, the Bollandist Matagne [160], wrongly consider all or most of these cousins as having received from Calixtus III the honor of his family name. Their gratuitous assertions are prompted by their unacquaintance with Alexander's paternal uncles.

---

155. Vienna, Filiale des K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staatsarchivs, Maximiliana, Original paper marked 1497, Aug. 10, and inclosed leaf.

156. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. II, s. 75.

157. Fita, Estud. Histor. T. VI, p. 117 and 119.

158. Ibid. p. 117, footn. 2.

159. Ibid.

160. Rev. des Quest. Hist., T. IX, p. 468.

Rodrigo Gil de Borgia

by Sibylla Doms — by Dona X.

Rodrigo Gil, Galceran Gil, Jofre — Juan — Giovanna

by Isab. de Borgia — by Bartholome Serra

Card. Giovanni, Galceran — Alexander VI. — Card. Francis. — Card. James. — John,

Giovanni, Galceran

(Rodrigo Gil, Galceran Gil or Juan)

Dona X. — Roderic, — Alfonso, — Doña X.

by Raym. Castellar — by. Galceran. de Loriz

Jerome, Card. Giovanni — Card. Francis, Doña X.

Francis de Borgia
Roderic de Borgia
Franciscus de Borgia
Aloysius de Borgia
Alphonsus de Borgia
James Borgia

Martin Borgia
Francisca Borgía, wife of Philip Cardador
Joannes de Borgia
Johannes Marades
Adoardus Borgia

CHAPTER III.

Maternal Relatives of pope Alexander VI.

ARTICLE I. — UNCLE AND AUNTS OF POPE ALEXANDER VI.

Of possible brothers or sisters of Alexander's maternal grandparents nothing transpires in history. His nearest known relations on his mother's side, were her illustrious brother Alfonso de Borgia, afterwards pope Calixtus III, and her sisters.

Gregorovius [1], Cittadella [2] and von Reumont [3] speak of only two of Domingo de Borgia's daughters : Isabella and Caterina, the former of whom is wrongly assigned by Gregorovius [4], Pastor [5] and others, as wife of an imaginary Jofre Lanzol of Valencia. Only one or two of earlier authors ever knew either Giovanna, the oldest, or Francesca, the youngest sister of pope Alexander's mother.

Dante del Re [6] has lately published a few items of a small Folio entitled " Libre de Rebudes del An. MCCCCLII ", or Book of Receipts of the year 1452, which is preserved in the Archives of State in Rome. The items were entered by Benedetto Sancio, procurator of the Cardinal and bishop of Valencia, who, at the time, was Alfonso de Borgia ; and are registries of payments made to the cardinal's four sisters, namely, to the Hon. Lady Johanna de Borja, the Hon. Lady

---

1. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 4.
2. Sagio di Albero genealogico e di Memorie sulla Fam. Borgia.
3. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. III, P. I, s. 563.
4. Ubi supra.
5. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s. 586.
6. Discorso critico sui Borgia, in Archivio della Società Romana di Storia patria. Vol. IV, p. 112.

Caterjna del Milla, Lady Ysabel de Borja and the Hon. Lady Francescha de Borja [7]. The same names of Alexander's aunts and mother are reported in the same order by the first genealogical Osuna tree [8].

This record, although very concise, affords us many interesting particulars regarding the children of Domingo and Francisca de Borja.

Alfonso de Borja is reported in the Osuna tree, as the first of these children and described as doctor of both civil and canon law, bishop of Valencia, afterwards made cardinal of the title of the Quattro Coronati or of the IIII Crowned, by pope Eugene IIII and, elected pope Calixtus the Third, during the month of April, in the year 1455.

Alfonso de Borgia was born on December the 31st, 1378 [9], of noble parents [10], at the castle of Canales, a suburb of Xativa, and baptized in the collegiate church of that city [11]. At the age of fourteen years he went to study at the University of Lerida where he graduated as doctor of both civil and canon law, was soon recognized as the most eminent jurist of his time, and chosen to fill the chair of jurisprudence at that famous seat of learning [12]. In consideration of his profound knowledge and brilliant teaching, he was appointed a canon of the cathedral of Lerida by Peter de Luna, who was recognized as Pope Benedict XIII by the king of Aragon [13].

Soon after, he held the important office of Vicechancellor of his Alma Mater, which he resigned towards the end of the

---

7. See Document 19.
8. Fita. Estudios Histor., T. VI, p. 100.
9. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s. 500, footn. 3.
10. Platina, in Cal. III; and Gobelinus, Comment. Pii II, Lib. I, ap. Raynaldi, Annal. ad an. 1455, n. XVII.
11. See Document 11.
12. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Cal. III, Secret. Lib. IX, An. III, IV. Regest. 462, fo 150vo.
13. Aeneas Sylvius, de Europa, c. 58; Platina, in Calix. III, ap. Raynaldi, ubi supra; Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste. Bd. I, s. 500.

year 1423, when appointed bishop of the former diocese of Corbio or Vigue in Catalonia [14].

Alfonso V, king of Aragon and of both Sicilies, called him to his court, to be a member of his privy council, at first, and his secretary, soon after ; and, observing his talents as a diplomat, he also employed him in several important negotiations [15]. Alfonso de Borgia profited by the confidence of his royal master to make himself useful to pope Martin V, who granted him, as a reward, the administration of the diocese of Majorca [16]. He also prevailed upon the King to make him repudiate the successor of Benedict XIII, with the final result that the long-lasting schism came to an end, by the resignation of Aegidius Muñoz, antipope Clement VIII, and his submission to the Roman Pontiff, Martin V, on the 26th day of July, 1429. Muñoz obtained the diocese of Majorca and Alfonso de Borgia was made bishop of Valencia in Spain, on the 20th of August of that same year [17].

The new bishop of Valencia remained the faithful adviser and agent of his king of Aragon, procured him a treaty of peace with John II of Castille and rendered him great services in his kingdom of Naples ; but, a true Catholic, he declined an embassy to the Council of Basel, which had now become a schismatic assembly [18] ; and rather endeavored to fully reconcile Alfonso V and pope Eugene IV. The Pontiff offered him the well-earned Roman purple, as soon as he made his appearance as the kingly envoy of peace, who begged, however, that the honors be postponed till he should have accomplished the object of his mission [19]. Upon the conclusion of the desired treaty, Alfonso de Borgia was pro-

14. Villanueva, Viage Literario, T. XVI, p. 40.
15. Platina, ap. Raynaldi, ubi supra ; Pastor, ubi supra, p. 501.
16. Raynaldi, ubi supra.
17. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s. 210. footn. 4 ; Gams, Series Episc. p. 88, Art. Valencia.
18. Pastor, ubi supra, s. 501.
19. Raynaldi, Annal., ad an. 1455, n. XVII.

claimed cardinal of the Four Crowned, on the 2d of May, 1444 [20].

The cardinal of Valencia, as Alfonso was generally called, remained in Rome at the Pope's request. He continued to live in that same modest simplicity which he had observed as a bishop, and soon secured the reputation of being upright and impartial. All Rome spoke of his honesty, moderation, prudence, business experience and extraordinary knowledge of canon law [21]. He spent his eleven years of cardinalate in the loyal and friendly service of popes Eugene IV and Nicholas V, without accepting any further benefices or dignities. He was not unwilling, however, to follow an established custom, by interceding for the advancement of a few nephews or friends. St. Antoninus [22] declares that he was a man of virtue, just and fair, and enjoying a good and honorable renown. Severe on himself, he was kind and mild toward others ; the poor and afflicted always found help and consolation from him. He was the patron of the San Spirito charitable institution, and, in his last will, left a legacy of fifty thousand ducats, for the purpose of transforming his cardinalitial palace into another hospital for the poor [23].

The Humanists of the time, however, as Pastor [24] justly remarks, when seeing that they could expect but little money from Calixtus III, revenged themselves by slandering him. The labor of disproving some of their calumnies might have warned the great historian against becoming Calixtus' accuser himself, by charging that Pontiff with the vice of nepotism, especially in exalting to the dignity of a cardinal

---

20. Auctores passim.
21. Platina, ap. Raynaldi, ubi supra ; Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s. 501.
22. Raynaldi, Annal. ubi supra.
23. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s. 502, footn. 5.
24. Ibid., s. 505.

his nephew, Roderic de Borgia, whom the same pagan revivalists and later enemies of the Borgia pope have misrepresented as an immoral and wicked man [25]. Pastor's censure, however, seems to be undeserved, while he states at the same time, that every cardinal present in Rome approved the nomination, and that until that day no evidence had been found unfavorable to Roderic's character during his uncle's reign. We shall, in due time, notice that, also before that reign, his conduct had been not only blameless but very promising.

There is no need of expatiating on the history of Alfonso de Borgia as pope Calixtus III. It has been published without any important discrepancies by several authors.

The election of this Pontiff took place on the 8th day of April, 1455 [26].

During the pontificate of his predecessor, Calixtus III had been a terrified witness of the fall of Constantinople and of the sanguinary inroads of the Mohammedans into the neighboring islands and provinces, and of their ever extending conquests in the Balkan peninsula. Hardly crowned, he sent forth, on the 15th of May, 1455, an encyclical to all Catholic countries, in which he urged peace among Christian princes, granted indulgences to all who would assist towards the holy war against the Turks, prescribed collections of pious donations of the laity and of the tithes of ecclesiastical revenues, and set the 1st day of March of the following year as the date for a general expedition [27]. The selfish kings of Europe made great promises but they lay hands on the crusade collection-boxes and used the contents to further their private wars ; and thus they defeated the projects of

25. Pastor, Ibid., s. 586, 588.
26. Raynaldi, Annales Eccl., ad an. 1455, n. XVII ; Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s. 498.
27. Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles., ad an. 1455, n. XIX ; Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s. 517.

the Pontiff [28]. The Italian minor states and cities readily assented without any practical result, and mercenary Venice, although most exposed, in her Eastern colonies, to the assaults of the Turks, plainly refused any so-operation, for fear of endangering her profitable commerce with Constantinople and the Mohammedan provinces [29].

Calixtus was the only European potentate who realised the threatening danger to civilization. He exhausted his treasury by sending, already in September, 1455, into the Aegean and the Ionian Seas a small fleet [30], which performed several daring achievements and divided the forces of the Grand Turk. What little sums of money could be gathered and saved outside of Italy he ordered to be forwarded to Hungary, the next object of Mohammed's warlike preparations ; and helped the courageous John Huniades [31], who with a few of his noble friends and a few thousand poorly-armed crusaders saved the beleaguered city of Belgrade, the bulwark of central Europe, on the 22d day of July, 1456, while his King had fled to the Emperor in Vienna for personal safety [32].

The miraculous victory filled with exultation the cowardly hearts of every European court ; Venice itself, the avowed friend of the Turks, celebrated the great event. And, indeed, if the festive crowds had taken up swords instead of torches, and followed the fleeing remnants of Mohammed's army, Christianity would have been spared many massacres of Christians fiercely renewed till our very time.

Calixtus III, aware of the opportunity, went to work with renewed courage and confidence, to stir up from their lethar-

---

28. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s. 512, 523, 524 ; Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles. and an. 1455, nis XXX, XXXI ; ad an. 1456, n. VIII, seq.

29. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s. 542.

30. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s. 517.

31. Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles., ad an. 1456. n. XXXIX.

32. Auct. passim.

gy the Emperor and the kings of Europe. The results, however, of his endeavors were worse than useless. The Turkish disaster was not to them an enticement to further Christian victories, but an argument for security and inaction.

Ladislas of Hungary sent home the bands of common people that were gathering to fight under his command. The German princes promised to consider the Pope's pressing appeals at their useless conventions, whilst some of the hierarchy answered by bitter complaints of the avarice of the Pontiff, who had sold his plate and jewels and had pawned his mitre, to support and increase his fleet against the common foe [33]. Calixtus complained that France had not, till May 1457, granted him a penny of the crusade collections. King Charles VII politely gave him, as compensation, a pledge for thirty well-equipped vessels of war ; but these he sent out against Catholic England [34]. At the same time, a portion of the French clergy appealed to the future council against the Pontiff's so-called exactions. The other kings and princes of Europe simply paid no attention to Calixtus' repeated entreaties, and the Turks profited by their shameful inertia to repair their losses and continue their savage incursions into the islands and territories nearest to Constantinople.

The only resistance which they encountered on the mainland was from Stephen, king of Bosnia, who, encouraged by the Pope, refused to pay them tribute any longer [35] ; and from the hero, George Kastriota Scanderbeg, the lord of Albania, whom Calixtus helped with moneys on several occasions and with the vessels of his fleet [36]. This fleet or,

33. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s. 536 ; Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles., ad an. 1456, n. XL.

34. Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles. ad an. 1457,n. LIV, and n. LIX.

35. Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles., ad an. 1457, n. XVII.

36. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s. 575-577 ; Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles., ad an. 1457, nis XXI and XXV ; ad an. 1458, nis XIV and XV.

rather, papal flotilla was, for years, the most effective safeguard of Europe, strengthening the Rhodian knights, recoving several islands from the Turks, and capturing, in August, 1457, no less than twenty-five of their vessels [37]. The pontiff continued, till a few days before his death, to lavish upon it all his resources.

No more admirable example of perseverance under discouraging circumstances than that of pope Calixtus III is to be found in history. Abandoned by the powers of Europe in his efforts to save it from ruin, he tried to muster up what forces he thought available in partly-subjugated Asia and Africa. Several times he dispatched envoys to Zarojacob, king of Ethiopia, wrote to the Catholics of Georgia and Pereia, and succeeded in receiving valuable assistance from the warlike Turcoman, Usunhassan of Persia [38].

It is evident, however, that without the co-operation of the Western princes he could secure no final success. He, therefore, resolved to try a new means to arouse all kings and princes of Christianity by calling them or their representatives, on the 29th of November, 1457, to a general congress that was to open in Rome during the following month of December. Much was expected from a solemn discussion of the Mohammedan question, but Otto de Caretto wrote, on February the 4th, 1458, that as yet no prince nor envoy had put in an appearance. The Pontiff renewed his invitations, even to Usunhassan. The deliberations finally commenced in the month of March and finished in June without any apparent result [39].

---

37. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s. 579; Raynaldi, Annal., Eccles., ad an. 1457, n. XXXI.

38. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s. 559; Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles. ad an. 1456. n. XLV; ad an. 1457, nis LXVI and LXIX.

39. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s. 585; Raynaldi, Annal. Eccl., ad an. 1457, no XXXVI.

This was Calixtus' last effort in the cause of religion and humanity against Mohammedanism, the great object of his pontificate. After an illness of forty days, he died on the 6th of August, 1458, on the feast of the Transfiguration of Our Lord, which he had promoted to higher solemnity, in thanksgiving for the wonderful victory of Belgrade.

It would seem that all the time and activity of pope Calixtus III must have been absorbed by his incessant labors for a general crusade, and yet he found leisure to discharge the duties of a careful pastor of the Church, and to defend the authority of the Supreme Pontiff and the rights of the clergy in Germany, France and Portugal [40], to condemn superstition and heresy in Lombardy and England [41], and to attempt the return of Bohemia to unity and faith [42].

Human society is also indebted to him for the severe measures he took to repress highway robbery, murder and other such crimes often committed with impunity, especially in France ; and to abolish in Portugal and all southern Europe the heartless abuse and enslavement of suffering Eastern Christians and refugees [43].

It would be giving but common praise, to add that his private life was a model for all to follow.

Such were, briefly told, the most important deeds of Alfonso de Borgia, Roderic de Borgia's only maternal uncle, before and after his elevation to the Apostolic See.

---

40. Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles., ad an. 1455, nº XXXVII.
41. Idem, Ibid. ad an. 1457. nº XC ; Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I. s. 608.
42. Idem, Annal. Eccles., ad an. 1458, nº I.
43. Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles., ad an. 1455, nº XXXVIII, and ad an. 1456, nº LXV.

ARTICLE II. — POPE ALEXANDER'S AUNTS JUANA AND CATHERINE DE BORGIA.

Calixtus' oldest sister was Lady Juana de Borja. The first Osuna record [44] states that this daughter of Lord Domingo de Borja married Don Mateo Marti [45], a nobleman of Xativa, but had no children.

Her brother, Calixtus III, granted her, on the 26th of October, 1455, the favor of a domestic chapel and the right of choosing a confessor [46]. She made her soul the principal heir of her estates, that is, she willed these to charitable and pious institutions, with the exception of certain legacies that she bequeathed to her sister, Isabel, wife of Don Jofre de Borja [47].

We feel inclined, however, to think that the report of her dying without children may be deficient in some detail, when we learn that pope Alexander VI was granting a semi-annual subvention of three hundred ducats to Calzeran Martinez, jointly mentioned with some of the Pontiff's nearest relations of Valencia, as we find it ordered under date of the 8th of July, 1498 [48], and recorded as paid to his " conjunctus " or relative, Galcerand Martini, on the 28th of August of the same year [49]. Or was Galcerand a nephew of Johanna de Borgia's husband, and a relation of the Pontiff by courteous exaggeration only ?

---

44. Fita, Estudios Hist., T. VI, p. 100.

45. Or Martin, Martini, Martinez.

46. Arch. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 455, fo 115 ; " Item Simile (to a brief of the same date conferring those privileges upon her sister Isabella.) " pro Joanna de Borja, germana prefati dom. nostri ", ap. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s. 586, footn. 2.

47. Fita, ubi supra.

48. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Alex. VI. Div. Cameralia, 1497-1499. Lib. III. Armar. 29, no 52.

49. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Introitus et Exitus, Vol. 530, post. fol. 185, ap. Gottlob, Aus der Camera Apost. s. 77.

The same question might be put in regard to Bartholomew Martini, a Valencian, who graduated as doctor of theology, was the companion of the young man Roderic de Borgia at the latter's departure from Spain, and his majordomo, after Roderic had become a cardinal [50]. Bartholomew Martini was afterward made bishop of Segovia and raised to the cardinalitial dignity on the 19th of February, 1496 [51].

Catalina de Borja was Alexander's second maternal aunt. The following particulars regarding her are remembered by the Osuna genealogical tree [52] : She married Juan del Milá, a nobleman of Xativa, a son of Juan del Milá and of Lady Geraldona, his wife. Her children were Don Perot, [53] del Milá and Don Llois Juan del Milá, bishop of Segorve and of Lerida, and cardinal of the Holy Roman Church, of the title of the IV Crowned. .He died in the year 1504, in Spain, in the town of Belgida, and lies buried in the castle of Albaida, which he bought and which remained the principal seat of his relations of the house del Milá.

The husband of Catherine de Borgia was John del Milá [54], the IVth Lord of Mazzalaves [55], who owned distinctive armorial ensigns, consisting of a shield, whose upper half was a field of or, and the lower of argent bearing a lion rampant of gules [56]. He served in the army of John II of Aragon and spent during the war of rebellion of Catalonia great sums of money towards the support of his fleet [57]. To him and

---

50. Ximeno, Escritores del Reyno de Valencia, T. I, p. 66.
51. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 827.
52. Fita, Stud. Hist. T. VI, p. 100.
53. Pietro.
54. Also written del Milla, Milan or Milano.
55. " I Borgia ", p. 42 ; ref. to Escolano, Hist. de Valencia, VI, 23 ; IX, 34 ; Çurita, Anal. XVI, 39 ; Expelly, Della Casa Milano, I.
56. Nicolà della Tuccia, Cron. p. 80.
57. " I Borgia ", p. 46, ref. to Escol. Hist. de Val. IX, 34.

Alexander's aunt were born seven children : Pietro, Ausias, Andrew, John Lewis, Damieta, Francina and Geraldona [58].

Pietro, the eldest son, first became a page of king Alfonso, the Vth of Aragon and the 1st of Naples and Sicily, and was afterwards his counsellor and grand-chamberlain [59]. He and his brother Ausias followed the King to his southern domain, where Pietro chose, among the native nobility, Covella del Doce or Cubella de Aduche, a descendant of the former royal house of Naples [60], for his bride, and was the first of the house del Milá to ally with a family of the Neapolitan kingdom [61].

Pietro del Milà was, in the year 1449, made governor for life of the castle and city of Tropia in Calabria, and was, the following year, granted the revenues of its custom-house [62]. On the 6th of October, 1450, he was appointed governor and castellan of Monteleone, while the fortress of Barleta was also under his command [63]. With the consent of the King, given on the 16th of September, 1452, he exchanged with John Toreglia his castellany and governship of Barleta for those of Ischia [64] ; and Tropia, with other territories, was afterwards granted to him in fief by king Ferdinand I [65]. In the year 1451 he was grand chamberlain of Both Sicilies [66]. He died in Naples about the year 1466, the Vth Lord of Mazzalaves [67].

---

58. " I Borgia ", p. 46, ref. to Expilly, Casa Milano. I.
59. " I Borgia ", p. 49, ref. to Escolano, IX, 34, Executor. in Reg. Cancell. Neap. an. 1445-1449, and Giannone XXI. Art. De grandi ufficiali.
60. Paris, Bibl. Nation. Cod. 20288, f° 337, and Cod. 20280, f° 82.
61. " I Borgia ", pp. 46, 49.
62. " I Borgia, " p. 49, ref. to Executor. in Cancell. Neapol. an. 1449-1450.
63. " I Borgia ", p. 49, ref. to Executor. an. 1452.
64. " I Borgia ", p. 49, ref. to Executor. ad an. 1452.
65. " I Borgia ", p. 49, ref. to Escolano, IX, 34.
66. " I Borgia ", p. 50, ref. to Çurita, Anal. XV. 65, and Summar, VI, 1.
67. " I Borgia ", p. 51, ref. to Escolano, IX, 34, and Expilly, II.

Pietro had five children : John [68] the VIth Lord of Mazzalaves ; Antonetto or Falconetto ; Francina, wife of Nicholas di Toraldo, Lord of Mola di Bari ; Lucrezia, wife of Michael Coscia, the IVth lord of Procida, and Babo.

Lewis Jofre del Milá, Pietro's oldest son, lost his Neapolitan fiefs through the ephemeral conquest of Naples by Charles VIII king of France [69], and retired to Spain, where he married Isabella Lanzol, a daughter of Pier Guglielmo and of the sister of Alexander VI. Thus, " I Borgia " [70]. The second Osuna genealogical tree [71] reports already this particular, and adds that Isabella became the mother of Don Lewis del Milá, who succeeded his father as Lord of Mazzalaves.

This relatively ancient record is probably the first to make the mistake of " I Borgia " and Expilly in calling Giovanni or John, this husband of Isabella Lanzol, whereas his baptismal name was Lewis Jofre ; for we find it so expressed in a bull dated the 10th of July, 1487, in which pope Innocent VIII, on the occasion of his marriage, dispenses with the bridegroom in the impediment of the second degree of affinity [72].

ARTICLE III. — ADRIANA DEL MILA.

It is strange that " I Borgia " does not mention another of Pietro's daughters frequently spoken of by contemporaries and in papal documents. Adriana [73] del Milá [74] was, indeed, a child of the Vth Lord of Mazzalaves, first-cousin of Alexan-

---

68. Or rather Lewis Jofre.
69. " I Borgia ", ref. to Escolano, IX, 34.
70. p. 52, ref. to Expilly, II.
71. Fidel Fita, Studios Hist. T. VI, p. 101.
72. See Document 23.
73. Or Hadriana.
74. Or Milana.

der VI [75] and, consequently, a second-cousin of that Pontiff [76]. She was married to the Roman baron Lewis Orsini, Lord of Bassanello near Città Castellana, and owner of the palace Orsini on Montegiordano in Rome [77], who left her a widow, already before the year 1489, as Gregorovius states [78].

Indeed, she was a widow and full of anxiety, already in the year 1485. The relatives of her late husband, the Orsini barons, had again taken up arms against their suzerain, pope Innocent VIII ; in consequence of which her properties were exposed to the assaults of the papal soldiery. She addressed to the Pontiff a supplication, in which she protested her loyalty and devotion to the Church, and offered to assist him with all her means. Her cousin, Roderic de Borgia, then cardinal vicechancellor, supported her request, and pope Innocent VIII issued, on the 10th of December, 1485, an order to his governor of the Patrimony, to consider Hadriana and her orphaned child as his faithful and devoted subjects, and to protect the castle of Bassanello with its dependencies from all damage that might be done by his troops or by others [79].

She had by Lewis Orsini one son, Ursinus or Orso Orsini who, being a cousin of Roderic de Borgia, married in the palace and in the presence of that cardinal, on the 21st of May, 1489. His bride was Julia, daughter of Pedro Luis

---

75. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 23, and 24, ref. ibid. footn. 1, to two dispatches sent by Gianandrea Boccaccio, bishop of Modena, in the year 1493, to Ercole, duke of Ferrara.

76. Archiv. della Soc. Romana di Stor. Patria, Vol. IV, p. 115 : footn. by Dante del Re ; Archiv. Stor. Ital. Ser. 1a, Append. Vol. II, p. 305.

77. Gregorovius, ubi supra ; de l'Epinois in Rev. des Quest. Histor., Vol. 29, p. 398.

78. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 23, 37.

79. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Innoc. VIII. Brevia, an. 1485, T. II, Armar, 39. Vol. 19, fo 78.

Farnese and of Giovanella Gaetani, probably not yet twenty years old [80].

Adriana del Milá, Ursinus's mother, afterwards dwelt at the residence which cardinal Roderic de Borgia had prepared for the youngest orphan children of his nephew, William Raymund de Borgia. The cardinal confided to her the care and practical education of Lucretia de Borgia, his niece, who consequently passed a considerable portion of her life in the company of her cousin.

No author could tell exactly, the time when Adriana took the charge, but Gianandrea Boccaccio, the envoy of Ferrara in Rome, wrote on the 13th of June, 1493, that the Pontiff's cousin had always been in her own house the governess of the young lady [81]; that means, as long as he knew of and, probably, ever since Lucretia's arrival from Spain. It is no wonder, therefore, if on several occasions we find Adriana del Milá together with Lucretia de Borgia, and if, on the latter's bridal journey, the elderly widow accompanied her to Ferrara [82].

Adriana had also been appointed by pope Alexander VI to a regular office in the Vatican : the superintendency of the domestic concerns of his house ; and was allowed a monthly salary of fifty gold ducats, which were paid to her, although at no stated times in the beginning.

Through the bankers de Spanochiis she received five hundred ducats for her services of ten months, finished at the end of June, 1497 [83]. Of further payments we find the following records, namely, on the 29th of August, 1498, the papal treasurer handed to Lady Hadriana Milá the sum of four hundred and sixteen ducats and sixty bolognese, as stipends of her

80. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 37, 38 ; von Reumont in Archiv. Stor. Ital. Ser. 3. Vol. XVII, p. 325.

81. Gregorov. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 23, 24, footn. 1.

82. Archiv. Stor. Ital. Ser. I. Append. Vol. II, p. 305.

83. See Document 18a.

engagement ended on the 1st day of the previous month of June [84]. On the 10th of January, 1499, the Pontiff ordered the reimbursement of three hundred gold ducats, paid by his depositories to his cousin Hadriana, for services of six months commenced on the 1st of the previous month of August and to finish at the end of the present January [85]. A similar order was issued on July the 28th, 1499, for the repayment of another three hundred ducats remitted to her [86]. On the 6th of March, 1500, the Pontiff ordered to repay to the heirs of Ambrose de Spanochiis, four hundred ducats, which they had advanced to Adriana del Milá, for her services of eight months [87]. Her salaries were afterwards paid regularly every other month. An order of payment for two months was issued on the 24th of July 1501 [88]. On the 24th of December, 1501, she received one hundred and four florins and twelve bolognese, as wages for the months of December and of the next January [89], and she was paid her bi-monthly allowance on the 1st day of July and the 5th of August, 1502 [90]. On the following 23d of December she received another payment of one hundred and four florins and twelve bolognese [91], and credit for another two-months' term on the 23d of June, 1503 [92].

Adriana del Milá happened to receive, four days only before the death of pope Alexander VI, the last compensation of her services down to the end of the following month of September, 1503 [93].

In the month of June, 1499, Hadriana, now bearing the title of a Roman baroness, had bought from the pontifical Camera a small villa, a " vigna ", outside the Porta Pertusa,

---

84. See Document 18b.
85. See Document 18c.
86. See Document 18d.
87. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI, Div. Cam. An. 1497-1501. Lib. IIII. Armar. 29, no 53, fo 86vo.
88. See Document 18h.
89. See Document 18i.
90. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Introitus et Exitus, Vol. 532, at the dates.
91. Ibid. Vol. 533.
92. Roma, Archivio di Stato, Camera. Apost. Mandati 1501-1502, carte 54tergo, ap. Archiv. della Società Rom. di Stor. Patr. Vol. IV, p. 116.
93. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Introitus et Exitus. Vol. 533.

in the tract called Montorio, for the sum of three hundred gold florins paid to the Pope and forwarded by him to his treasurer, on the 1st of July [94].

At the death of pope Alexander VI she withdrew from public notice, living a retired and quiet life with her children, Orso and his wife, at their palace in Rome and their castle of Bassanello.

To Orso or Ursinus Orsini and Julia Farnese was born in A. D. 1492, Laura Orsini, their only child and heiress. " The Magnificent and Generous Lord, Ursinus de Ursinis, the father and legal administrator of Lady Laura, his legitimate and natural daughter, affianced her, on the 2d of April, 1499, when she was seven years old, to Frederic, the twelve-year-old son of Raymund de Farnesio ", who formerly was a captain of the papal army [95]. The marriage did not follow however ; and Laura, not long after, became an orphan through the demise of her father. Her relative, the Roman baron Paolo Orsini, profited by the sad occasion to claim a portion of the orphan's inheritance ; but, to procure a friendly settlement of the lawsuit, several noblemen had given security to Paolo ; and as they afterwards withdrew, Alexander VI, in behalf of the interests of his helpless cousin and of public peace, assumed their responsibility and gave the papal treasury as caution in the sum of two thousand ducats, about the 1st day of March, 1503 [96].

Laura Orsini was married in the pontifical palace and in the presence of pope Julius II on the 16th November, 1505, to Nicholas della Rovere, the Pontiff's nephew [97]. She

---

94. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Introitus et Exitus. Vol. 531, at the date.

95. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. II. Document 18.

96. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Alexander VI, Div. Cam. 1501-1503. Lib. V. Armar. 29, nº 54, fº 146.

97. Burchard, Diar. T. III, p. 405 ; von Reumont in Archiv. Stor. Ital. Ser. 3a. Vol. XVII, p. 325 ; Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 557.

became the heir of her mother, Julia Farnese, whose death was announced in Venice by the ambassador Marco Foscari in a dispatch from Rome, dated the 22d-23d of March, 1524 [98].

The vicious slanders of many writers will compel us to study the moral character of Julia Farnese ; but for the present we shall only repeat a remark of H. Matagne who writes [99] : " The odious part which the scandal mongers have made Julia play, is not proved to be truthful by one serious document, and is, moreover, altogether improbable, considering the condition of the families and persons produced on the stage ".

ARTICLE IV. — AUSIAS AND CARDINAL LEWIS JOHN DEL MILA.

The second del Milá, first-cousin of Alexander VI, Ausias, was a chamberlain of king Alfonso I and a not-inglorious warrior. He took for wife Louise d'Alagno [100], and when Ferdinand I was persecuting the Alagno house, leaving his spouse and small children, he fled to Spain, where he died in the year 1465 [101].

His children were James, Balthasar and Diana ; the last being married to Alfonso Sanz.

Balthasar was the principal condottiere of the duke of Calabria till the latter was sent a prisoner to Spain. He afterwards led a private life in Naples [102].

Cardinal Lewis John del Milá was another first-cousin of

---

98. Rawdon Brown, Calendar of State Papers. Vol. III, p. 358, ap. H. Matagne in Revue des Quest. Hist. Vol. XI, p. 188.
99. Revue des Quest. Hist. T. IX, p. 474.
100. " I Borgia ", p. 53.
101. " I Borgia ", p. 57, ref. to Expilly, III.
102. " I Borgia ", p. 64.

pope Alexander VI, the fourth son of John del Milá and of Catherine de Borgia [103].

He was born in Xativa in A. D. 1432, and when he was in his fifteenth year of age, pope Nicholas V made him, on August 8th, 1447, a canon of the collegiate church of his native city [104].

His uncle, Calixtus III, named him, in the year 1455, bishop of the diocese of Segorve to which was united that of Alvarazin [105], and on the 13th of June of the same year the new bishop of Segorve was sent, with the faculties of a legate " a latere ", as papal vicar and governor of the city and district of Bologna, where he made use of his leisure time by studying canon law, together with his cousin, Roderic de Borgia, at the famous university [106]. He remained in office till the 24th day of August, 1458, when, hearing of the illness of his uncle, he hurried to Rome [107].

His faithful services under trying circumstances earned for him the cardinalitial dignity, to which he was raised, with the approval of the Sacred College, on the 20th day of February, 1456 ; and he received, as title-church, that of the Four Crowned, formerly held by Calixtus III himself [108].

Gregorovius [109] pretends that Calixtus III assumed into the Sacred College another Milá, John, bishop of Zamora ; but the family name of this prelate, who received the purple on

---

103. 1st genealogical tree of the Osuna Archives, ap. Fita, Estud. Hist. T. VI. p. 100 ; Auctores passim.

104. See Document 3.

105. " I Borgia ", p. 58 ; Fidel Fita, Estud. Hist. T. VI, p. 100, footn. 1 ; Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Cal. III. De Curia, An. I. T. V. Regest. 440, fo 11.

106. Jacob of Volterra, Diarii della corte di Roma dall' anno 1479 sino all' anno 1484 ; Vienna, Haus-Hof- u. Staatsarchiv. Cod. 987, fo 71.

107. " I Borgia ", p. 58 ; Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s. 587 and footn. 5, ibid. ; s. 607, footn. 4.

108. Platina in Calixt. III ; Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s. 588, 591.

109. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 4.

the 17th of the following month of December, was de Mella, not del Milá [110].

Fidel Fita [111], following the faulty information of Villanueva [112], evidently mistakes when he says that the cardinal was promoted, in the year 1460, to the episcopal See of Lerida by pope Paul II, who, in fact, did not ascend the pontifical chair before A. D. 1464. Villanueva [113] further erroneously asserts that cardinal del Milá afterwards resigned this diocese of Ilerda. We learn from the papal archives [114] that the cardinal resigned on the 12th of November, 1459, his diocese of Segorve, and was on the same day promoted to that of Lerida, and granted a yearly pension of one thousand Aragonian gold florins from the former episcopal see, by Pope Pius II, whom he was then following at the Congress of Mantua, and who had, already on the 14th of the previous month, assigned to him a similar pension from the revenues of the diocese of Vicenza [115]. On the 23d of March, 1461, and on other dates including September the 1st, 1463, the same Pontiff bestowed several more favors upon Lewis John, bishop of Lerida and cardinal of the Four Crowned [116].

Whether the prelate was further employed in ecclesiastical affairs we could not ascertain ; but we find it stated that he withdrew from active life and from Italy, to rest in his castle of Albaida in the diocese of Segorve.

At what date he retired we did not find, but we observed his absence from the conclave that elected pope his first-cousin, Roderic de Borgia, on the 11th of August, 1492 and,

---

110. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd I, s. 593 ; alibi.

111. Estud. Histor. T. VI, p. 100, footn. 1.

112. Viage Literario, T. XVII, p. 43.

113. Ibid., followed by " I Borgia ", p. 58, refer. to Raynaldi, Annal.

114. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 473, fo 62.

115. Ibid. fo 76.

116. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 506 : Pii II. Secret. Lib. IX, fo 75 ; and Regest. 514 : Pii II. Secret. Lib. 17, fo CXXVI.

already in the year 1481, Giacomo Volaterrano [117] made the following censorious entry : " Lewis cardinal of the Four Crowned leads since nearly four years a quiet life in his diocese of Lerida ; if we may call quiet the life of a man who has abandoned the Apostolic See, to which he was given by our Lord, together with the other princes of the clergy, as a helpmate and an adviser, and seeks not the things that are Jesus Christ's but his own, who attends to himself and not to the people, and who, forgetful of his priestly duties, enjoys rest among his friends and relatives ". By a bull of pope Alexander VI, dated July the 30th, 1496, Cardinal Lewis John is allowed to remain away from the Roman court, and yet to retain his cardinalitial rights [118].

If, however, he did not lose his privileges, neither was he excused from contributing as a cardinal, during each of the years 1501, 1502 and 1503, the tenth part of his income, eight hundred ducats. This sum was used in defraying the expenses of the war against the Turks [119].

He died at Belgida and was buried at Albaida in Spain. The date of his demise is variously given, but it seems to be the 20th of July, 1507.

" I Borgia " [120] justly remarks that the general hatred of historians against the Borgia family has caused much prejudice against the memory of this cardinal. Some writers, indeed, accuse him of having raised several bastards. It is true that among the members of the house del Milá two were unlawfully born : a Francis and his brother Alfonso del Milá, who received from pope Innocent VIII the neces-

117. Vienna, Filiale des K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staatsarchivs, Cod. 987 : Diarii della corte di Roma di Giacomo Volterrano dall' anno 1479, sino all' anno 1484, fo 71.

118. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 800 : Alex. VI. Bull. an. IV, V. T. XXIX, fo 244.

119. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 440 and footn. 1, ibid.

120. P. 58.

sary dispensation to be admitted as clerics and afterwards to receive ecclesiastical benefices and dignities [121]; but the document does not fasten the disgrace upon the man with whom paternity would be most odious. It, rather, states, as might be expected on such an occasion, " ... as you suffer under the blemish of illegitimacy, we will that the manner in which you underwent it, whichever it may be, be considered as sufficiently expressed herewith... ", although no name of his father be mentioned.

Francis and Alfonso del Milá seem to have redeemed by their conduct the sins of their parents, since the former was appointed in the year 1494 as sacristan of the church of Saragossa and the latter, as canon and dean of the chapter of Xativa [122]. Francis further obtained, in the year 1498, a canonry in the same church of Saragossa [123].

The eldest daughter of John del Milá and of Catherine de Borgia was Damieta, who married Gerard [124] lord of Castelvert [125], and sire of the counts of Olocan [126]. The name of his family is not mentioned, but while we see his daughter, married to a Borgia second-cousin, sign her name as " Borgia de Cathaneis ", we may readily assume that he belonged to one of the noble Cathanei [127] houses, numerous at the time [128].

When pope Calixtus III had succeeded in gathering a small fleet to oppose the incursions of the Mohammedans, unaided as he was by European princes and noblemen, he

---

121. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 683, fo 377vo.
122. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 883 : Alex. VI. Bull. Div. an IX, X, XI, t. V, fo 203.
123. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 828 : Alex. VI. Bull. an. VII, VIII, T. LVII, fo 148.
124. Seras or Geraldus.
125. Castelvert or Castervert.
126. " I Borgia ", p. 46, ref. to Expilly, I.
127. From Capitanei, as Gregorovius remarks.
128. Cfr. Imhof Genealogia XX. Illustrium in Hispania Familiarum.

encountered new difficulties in finding loyal officers for his vessels. In his need he had recourse to, and pressed into service, his own nephews, among whom are named Geraldus de Castelvert and the husbands of two sisters of Alexander VI. In writing to them their uncle congratulates them upon their courageous, manly and energetic conduct, and proposes to them reasons for making still greater efforts [129]. With these praises singularly disagrees, however, the strange report of Aeneas Silvius, who heard that cardinal Scarampo had imprisoned two of the Pontiff's nephews for devastating the island of Cyprus [130]. Was not the information incorrect, or was not the cardinal unduly severe with the Pope's nephews, whom he blamed for his appointment as Legate to the East and his removal from Rome [131] ?

Gerard, the Lord of Castelvert and of Olocan, had at least two children, namely, a son who followed him as count of Olocan, and a daughter, Violanta, usually called Vannoza, who married William Raymund Lanzol y de Borgia, a son of Giovanna, sister of Alexander VI [132].

Two other first-cousins of pope Alexander VI, daughters of John del Milá, were Francina, wife of George Aveglia, and Geraldina who died single [133].

As noted already, the Pontiff's youngest maternal aunt was Francisca de Borgia, and the only information about her is from the first Osuna record stating that she became a " beata, " a nun [134].

With this name we conclude what may be considered a

129. See Document 24.
130. Pastor. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s. 586, footn. 4.
131. Pastor, Ibid. p. 530.
132. " I Borgia " ubi supra.
133. " I Borgia ", p. 46, ref. to Expilly, 1.
134. Ap. Fidel Fita, Estud. Hist. T. VI, p. 100.

fairly complete enumeration of the uncles, aunts and cousins of pope Alexander VI ; and we proceed, to look for his brothers and sisters, his nephews and nieces.

MATERNAL RELATIVES OF POPE ALEXANDER VI.

Domingo de Borja and Francina de Borja

Alfonso, or Calixtus III. — Giovanna, married to Mateo Martí (Galceran Martinez) — Catherine, married to John del Milá — Isabella, mother of Alexander VI. — Francisca, a nun

Pietro (1), Ausias (2), Andrew, John Lewis, cardinal — Damieta (3) — Francisca, Geraldina,

(1) Pietro del Milá

John or Lewis Jofre, married to Elisabeth Lanzol y de Borgia — Antonetto, Francina, Lucretia, Babo, Adriana (4)

Lewis

(2) Ausias del Milá

James, Balthasar, Diana.

(3) Damieta del Milá married to Gerard de Cathaneis, Lord of Castelvert and Olocan — (4) Adriana del Milá married to Lewis Orsini

X., Violanta or Vanozza married to William Raymund Lanzol y de Borgia — Orso Orsini married to Julia Farnese

Pedro Luis, Giovanni, Cesar, Lucretia, Jofre. — Laura Orsini married to Nicholas della Rovere

Francis and Alfonso del Milá

CHAPTER IV.

Brothers of pope Alexander VI.

ARTICLE I. — SOME UNKNOWN BROTHERS AND SISTERS.

The information given by ancient historians of pope Alexander VI concerning his nearest relatives is so meagre that the late von Reumont [1], in his genealogical tree of the Borgias, grants to that Pontiff but one brother, Pedro Luis, and one sister, Juana ; and Pastor does not as much as mention the interesting Tecla de Borgia, his second sister. The Osuna record itself [2], although compiled within the sixteenth century, does no more than report Tecla's name. Gaspar Escolano [3] states that he saw old Valencian papers, admitted also by Çurita [4], from which it follows that Jofre and Isabella de Borgia had three daughters, all married into the highest nobility of Spain ; namely, the oldest, Dona Juana, the wife of Pedro Guillen Lanzol, baron of Castelnov; the second, Dona Tecla, married with Vidal of Villanova, and the third, Dona Beatrix, the wife of Don Eximen Perez de Arenos.

From no historian, however, do we hear an inkling of other brothers or sisters of Alexander VI, to whom, then cardinal of St. Nicholas in the Tullian prison, pope Paul II allowed, on the 10th of October 1470, to transfer their corpses, together with that of their father, the knight Jofre de Borgia, from the church of the Franciscan friars of

---

1. Gesch. der Stadt Rom. Bd. III, I, s. 563.
2. Fidel Fita, Etudios Hist. T. VI, p. 101.
3. Hist. de Valencia, Lib. VI, Cap. XXIII. Vol. 2. col. 198, or seq.
4. Anales de Aragon, V, 36.

Xativa to a chapel which their uncle, Calixtus III, had built in the St. Mary's collegiate church of that city [5].

Among the deceased suggested by this interesting apostolical brief we readily count, Pedro Luis and Tecla, the former of whom died in the year 1458 and the latter in 1459 ; but at least one other brother and another sister are clearly intimated. Who were these?

Historical records suggest their names, and of one of them we have sufficient, unmistakable indications. In fact, when Calixtus III was employing in Rome his two nephews, cardinal Roderic and Pedro Luis de Borgia, he had in his service, as a confidential officer of his fleet, another kinsman, a nephew [6], named Michael de Borgia, who could not be but a brother of the two former ; for at the time that the Pontiff was requisitioning the help of his nephews, he had none by the name of Borgia, related to him, besides the sons or grandsons of his sister Isabella ; the children of Rodrigo Gil de Borgia, Jofre excepted, being in no way known to history.

According to Raynaldi [7] and Pastor [8] pope Calixtus III announced, on the last day of August, 1457, to cardinal Scarampo, his legate in the East, that he was then sending a reenforcement of three galleys to his fleet, and also that his kinsman, Michael de Borgia, would bring to him a supply of money. Shortly after, he issued a safe-conduct for the knight Michael de Borgia, his blood-relation, whom he was about to dispatch to his fleet, as commander of one galley well armed and otherwise provisioned [9].

---

5. See Document 17.

6. Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles. ad an. 1458, no. XVI.

7. Annal. Eccles. ad an. 1457, nº XXXIII. refer to Cal. III, Brev. Lib. I p. 118.

8. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s. 580, footn. 1, ref. to the same document, under the signature of Lib. 7, but same fo. — It may not be out of place to remark here that the codices preserved in the Vatican archives had their signatures altered in the course of time.

9. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest., 449 : Calix. III. De Cur. II, III, T. XIV, fº 55vo.

Between the 20th and the 24th of the next following month the Pontiff sent forth, indeed, two more vessels, with Michael de Borgia as one of the captains [10].

Michael faithfully delivered the promised money to the legate Scarampo, in spite of Anthony Olzina, a high naval officer, who had been pardoned a former treachery and who was now attempting to rob his vessel of the treasure and of other supplies, as we learn from a papal brief dated the 15th of March, 1458, by which the legate is ordered to duly punish the faithless thief, should the latter ever fall into his hands [11].

Captain de Borgia was not to remain long in Aegean waters ; for the Pontiff, in fulfilment of a promise made already in the month of June, namely, of helping George Kastriota Scanderbeg with one galley, before long, and with more from time to time [12], had now, on the 10th of September, 1457, given orders to his legate, to send at least a part of the fleet to the assistance of the Albanian hero [13]. Commander de Borgia was selected with his galley to proceed to the place of danger, in the spring of the following year. He showed himself worthy of the trust confided to him, and the Pontiff, his uncle, wrote to him as follows :

" To Michael de borga Calixtus etc. Beloved son, Blessing etc. There was here with us the beloved son Michael Tarba whom you sent to us ; from whose report and from your letter, which he has carefully handed to us, we have learned of your good services and the reason why you sailed away from our fleet and came to Scanderbeg. We, therefore, highly praise you in the Lord for your devotedness

10. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Calix. III, Brev. T. 7. Armar. XXXIX, nº 7, fº 123vº.

11. Pastor, ubi supra, Bd. I, s. 529, footn. 2 ; Cal. III, Lib. Brev. 7, fº 153vº.

12. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s. 576 ; Raynald,i Annal. Eccles. ad an. 1457, nis XX-XXII, XLI, ref. to Calix. III, Lib. I. Brev. p. 96.

13. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s. 576, footn. 4 ; Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles. ad. an. 1457, nº XXIV.

to us and to the Apostolic See and for your obedience ; and we exhort you to persevere and continue, as we confidently expect from you. Your junction with Scanderbeg, who was in the greatest distress, has highly pleased us, because he has thus received assistance through you from us, at the right time, while you have done what he needed the most etc... ".

Çalixtus III further assigned to his nephew his next honorable duties, namely, to join again the body of the pontifical fleet, and, in accordance with his devotion to him, to try with a generous and willing heart to continue in its service, nay to encourage its men and even its commander general, the cardinal legate, to perseverance and to deeds becoming the men of a papal navy. Moreover, writing as to an influential confidant, he gave him important information of what he was doing and intended to do for the benefit of the fleet, telling in particular that he had remitted four hundred ducats in favor of Michael's own galley... " Given etc. the III[d] of June, 1458 " [14].

This document affords the last intelligence which we obtained in regard to Michael de Borgia. Did he fall in one of the next encounters with the Turkish vessels ; or did he, after the demise of the Pope, his uncle, and the disbandment of the pontifical fleet, return to Spain and die in the obscurity of a quiet and retired life ?

Nearly a month before Michael first entered the papal navy, another blood relative of Calixtus III and undoubtedly Michael's brother, Gabriel de Borgia, was placed at the head of three galleys, which the Pontiff sent forth on August the 31st, 1457, as a reenforcement to his fleet in the Aegean Sea [15]

---

14. See Document 25.

15. Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles. ad. an. 1457, n° XXXIV, ref. to Cal. III. Brev. Lib. I. (now. VII) p. 120.

Balan [16] also mentions Gabriel de Borgia and says that he came with eight galleys to the rescue of Scanderbeg, who, with the help of the pontifical marines, defeated his renegade nephew, Amasa, and compelled the Turks to sue for peace. Balan adds that, after the victory, Gabriel was ordered by the Pontiff to join the fleet under the legate Scarampo. We suspect, however, that there may be here some confusion with the last report about Michael, his brother.

Still another de Borgia, Baldassare, considering his family name and his description as a nephew of pope Calixtus III, together with his enlistment in the pontifical navy, was a brother of pope Alexander VI. The slight information we have of him, far from flattering, reports him as imprisoned for misbehavior in Cyprus [17]. He may, however, claim the benefit of a doubt which we have raised when speaking of the lord of Castelvert.

The Borgia name of a second Michael, his age and designation as kinsman of Calixtus III make him appear to be a son of some older brother of pope Alexander VI, but our notes at hand afford no clue, as to which one was his father. We only find that this Michael de Borga, " consanguineous " with Calixtus III and in his tenth year of age, obtained a canonry and prebend in the cathedral of Bosi in Sardinia, on the 2d day of June, 1457 [18], and that the same Michael Boria, kinsman of Calixtus III and a member of his court, in his eleventh year, was made a canon of St. Justa on the 2d of the following month of December [19].

---

16. Storia d'Italia, Vol. V, p. 171, ref. to Raynaldi ad an. 1458, and to other historians — We failed to find in Raynaldi the alleged authority for the statement.

17. Archiv. Stor. Ital. ser. 3. Vol. 17, p. 322 ; Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s. 586, footn. 4.

18. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Cal. III. De Curia, an. II. III. Tom. XIII. Regest. 448. f° 77vo.

19. Ibid. T. XV. Regest. 450, f° 97.

ARTICLE II. — PEDRO LUIS DE BORGIA.

The official records and the diaries of Rome were kept better than the logbooks of the pontifical fleet ; and, as a consequence, we are better acquainted with Pedro Luis de Borgia than with the other brothers of pope Alexander VI.

Pedro Luis was a son of the sister of Calixtus III, Isabella, and of Jofre de Borgia [20] and, consequently, a nephew of that Pope [21] and a brother of Roderic de Borgia, afterwards Alexander VI [22].

He was born at Xativa in Spain [23] one year before his illustrious brother [24]. The second Osuna genealogical tree [25] reports Don Pedro Luis as the senior of Rodrigo, and Voigt also calls him the elder of the two brothers [26]. Pastor, however, says [27] that Pedro Luis was one year younger than Rodrigo.

His education, commenced at home, was probably completed at the College of Valencia, and his social rank and talents were soon recognized by Alfonso, king of Aragon, who called him as a chamberlain into his court [28].

A promising cavalier of great beauty, kindly disposition and pleasing manners [29], a most splendid knight, as he is

---

20. " I Borgia ", p. 11.
21. Nicola della Tuccia, Cronaca di Viterbo, p. 64 ; Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 465 : Calix. III. Officiorum Lib. I, an I, II, III, fiis 153, 203vo, 235 ; Regest. 467 : Calix. III. Officia, fo 50.
22. Nicola della Tuccia, Cronaca di Viterbo, p. 257 ; Aeneas Sylvius, Hist. de Europa, Cap. LVIIII.
23. Document 1.
24. Gregorov. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 5.
25. Fita, Estudios Hist. T. VI, p. 101.
26. Enea Silvio, Bd. III, s. 118.
27. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s. 594.
28. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 465 : Calix. III. Officiorum Lib. I, an. I, II, III, fo 153.
29. Nicola della Tuccia, Cron. di Viterbo, p. 65 ; Aeneas Sylvius, Hist. de Europa, Cap. LVIII.

called by Gaspar of Verona [30], Pedro Luis entered the service of his uncle at the age of twenty-three years [31].

During his long cardinalate and during the very solemnities of his coronation, Calixtus III had been a sad witness of the disloyalty and the feuds of the Roman barons, who abused the power and dignities granted to them by the Supreme Pontiffs, to down their rivals and advance their own family interests; and thus continually disturbed the City and the Papal States; and it is no wonder if, as Pastor [32] admits, he should have tried to find, among his relatives, officers obedient and true to himself and disinterested in the conflicts of the Italian nobility.

Pedro Luis de Borgia conducted himself, in minor charges, so as to merit the recommendation of the Sacred College to the honors of Chief Commander of the Pontifical army, and to allow the Pope himself to praise his magnanimity, loyalty, constancy and tried military skill, when appointing him as Captain General of all papal troops and hired army leaders, on the 2d day of February, 1456 [33]. Pedro Luis took the customary oath of this high office on the 14th day of the same month [34].

The position in which his qualities were tested was probably that of Castellan of Sant' Angelo, which title he prefixed to the one of Captain General of the Holy Roman Church, when signing a letter of the 22d of April, 1456 [35].

August the 21st, 1456, was a red-letter day for him. By a first pontifical diploma he was made governor in temporal affairs of the cities of Terni, Narni, Todi, Rieti and Orvieto,

30. De Gestis Pauli II, ap. Muratori III, p. 1035.
31. Voigt, Enea Silvio, Bd. III. s. 118.
32. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s. 585.
33. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 465: Calix. III. Officiorum Lib. I, an. I, II, III, fo 153.
34. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 467: Calix. III. Officiorum, an. II, III, T. II, fo 50.
35. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s. 595, footn. 1.

as also of the castles of Stronconi, Collescipione, Carbio, Otricoli, Abbey Ferentino, Val di Marca and of other towns, territories and districts [36].

The governorship of the insignificant place of Val di Marca accounts for the pompous title of " Duque de la Marca " bestowed on Don Pedro Luis de Borja by the Osuna record [37].

Through a second papal appointment dated the 21st day of August, 1456, we learn that Pedro Luis had been, a few days before, delegated as castellan of the fortress of Spoleto, and that he was now constituted pontifical lieutenant and governor general of the said city, of its county, territory and district ; governor also of the fortified towns of Cassia, Norcia, Vissi, Monteleone and of The Arnulfi ; furthermore of the castle of Fritaldi, of Collemarchio, Gualdi dei Capitani and Sangeminiano [38].

Pedro Luis, thus being the official representative of the Sovereign Pontiff in the county, sometimes called the duchy, of Spoleto, has often been styled Count or even Duke of Spoleto [39] ; but we found no document conferring upon him either one of these distinctions. Achille Sansi [40] calls him " Duke or Governor " of Spoleto, and informs historical searchers, that very many of his letters are preserved in the archives of that city.

On the same 21st of August, Pedro Luis was named governor also of Foligno and Nocera, of the towns and castles of

---

36. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Regest. 465 : Calix. III. Officiorum, Lib. I, an. I, II, III, ro 203vo.

37. Fidel Fita, Estud. Hist. T. VI, p. 101.

38. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 465, fo 205.

39. Osuna record, ap. Fita, Studios Hist. T. VI, p. 101 ; Moreri, Dizion. Art. Borgia, p. 45 ; Voigt, Enea Silvio, Bd. III, s. 118, who assigns the year 1457 for the grant of this ducal title ; " I Borgia " ref. to Muratori a. 1458 ; Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 5.

40. Saggio di Documenti Storici tratti dall' Archivio del Comune di Spoleto p. 31, note.

Trinio, Montefiascone, Menania, Monte di Tivilo and Gualdi di Nocera, of Vallosa Tupini, of the castle of Jani and of all others subject to the former governor of these localities, whom he was to replace [41].

A few weeks later, on the 10th of September, 1456, he was further made governor of Assisi, Amerino, Città Castellana, Nepi, and the castle of Luna [42].

With the honors he had received their burdens. He was soon needed by the towns of Cassia and Nocera whose inhabitants were making mutual complaints and who lived in constant strife and contention ; but the young governor by his prudent exertions succeeded in pacifying and reconciling them among themselves. This action was so highly appreciated by the Pontiff, that on the last day of January, 1457, Pedro's commission was renewed with the addition of the title of papal lieutenant of the two fortified places [43]. The great confidence which his uncle placed in him was ever increasing.

On the 2d [44] of February, 1457, he obtained, with its usual salary, the governorship of St. Peter's Patrimony in Tuscany, and of all its cities, towns, castles and places [45], and was dispatched to Viterbo, the capital of his new jurisdiction, where Paul Santa Fida, bishop of Syracuse, the incumbent administrator, was making himself and the papal authority odious to the people, by his severity and continual exactions. Pedro Luis arrived in the city, on February the 10th, and at once dismissed the bishop and ordered him to Rome. The Viterbese manifested their satisfaction by their friendly reception of the Pontiff's nephew and two copious donatives [46].

---

41. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 465, fo 205vo.
42. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 465, fo 208.
43. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 465, fo 235.
44. " V. Non. febr. ".
45. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 465, fo 236.
46. We learn these and the following particulars from an eye witness, one of the comittee

Nicola della Tuccia remarks on this occasion that Pedro Luis was about twenty-four years old, a handsome young man, pleasing, virtuous and very reserved with women. The lord Borza, he continues, had with him five hundred horse and five hundred foot, the greater number of whom were Italians and the others were robbers [47], who were stealing continually ; but to prevent their nocturnal raids, he made arrangements with our councilmen to have the city well guarded during the night.

After winning the good will of the people, Governor de Borgia set to work to execute a special order of Calixtus III, who wanted a fortress to be erected on the site where one had formerly stood, in order to contain within their rights and duties the factious and turbulent inhabitants of Viterbo. On the last day of February he commenced to search for the ancient wells, and on March the 8th he lay, with festive ceremonies, the memorial cornerstone of the stronghold, which, with the help of the whole province, was completed that same year.

Serious circumstances induced the Pontiff to recall his captain to Rome ; and Pedro Luis left Viterbo on the 10th

---

that presented the gifts, Nicola della Tuccia, in his Cronaca di Viterbo, pp. 64, 65. Following were the articles donated : " Il comune di Viterbo fé un presente al detto messer Borza ; e perche io fui uno delli ministratori scrivero quello donammo: Sei scatole di coriandoli, due scatole di pinnochiata, otto torcie, quindici libre di candele di cera, due libre di cinnamomi, due di zenzaro, una e mezza di pepe, mezza di garofani, quatr'oncie di zaffrano, cento libre di pesce grosso, una cesta d'ova, libre venticinque di cascio pecorino, libre venticinque di sale, some cinquanta tra fieno e paglia, some quindeci di farina, due some e mezzo di pane fatto, venti some d'orzo. Tutte queste cose mandammo il venerdi 10 di febraro. Nel sabato li mandammo poi otto castroni vivi, sei capretti, trenta para di capponi e galline, sei sommate, trenta barili di vino tra bianco e vermiglio. Fu poi ordinato e donatoli un bel bacile, e boccale d'argento valutato ducati d'oro sessanta.

47. Sic, on p. 64 ; but oń p. 251, without making any national distinction, he reports their larger portion generally as being robbers and thieves.

of April, 1457. He rested on his way in the city of Nepi, while his troops stopped at Subri and Cività Castellana, to be in the midst of the possessions of the Orsini and the Colonna families and to observe their hostile movements [48].

The rivalry of these barons had long proved a calamity to Rome and its neighborhood ; yet, to observe an ancient custom rather than follow a prudent policy, Calixtus III had, the previous year, named one of their members, John Anthony Orsini, count of Tagliacozzo, as Prefect of Rome [49]. When the latter died in the year 1457, the two houses again renewed their petty wars in spite of their Suzerain and to the great detriment of his subjects, in order to enforce their claims upon the count's succession in the Roman prefecture [50]. Moreover, both factions remained in forcible possession of certain places which the Pope contended to belong to the direct administration of the Church [51]. Pedro Luis de Borgia, therefore, was sent, at the head of the papal army, against the Orsini, and, about the 1st of July, 1457, he invested and attacked the castle San Gregorio, held by cardinal Orsini and his brothers. At the end of the first combat, the defence sent messengers to lord Borgia to ask what he wanted from them. He answered that he wanted the castle to be surrendered to the Church. They rejoined that they agreed to it, and gave him the keys without much ado. Thereafter the captain pitched his tents before the castle of Crispino ; but his camp was surprised by one of the cardinal's brothers, who achieved a fine feat of arms and wounded about a hundred of de Borgia's men. On Friday, the 8th of that month, the Pope summoned before him cardinal Orsini,

48. Nic. della Tuccia, Cron. p. 66.

49. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s. 596, footn. 1.

50. Della Tuccia, ubi supra ; Platina, Vita Calix. III, post medium.

51. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s. 595.

who sent word on Saturday that he would appear that evening ; but, instead, he left Rome with all his belongings for Monterotondo and followed the further wars of his house against the Colonna count Averso. Thus Nicola della Tuccia writes [52].

We did not learn the final result of this brief campaign, but it seems that captain de Borgia did not spare the Colonna any more than the Orsini, for we notice that he captured also from them the town of Castelnovo and its stronghold, besides several other places, which they did not recover before the death of pope Calixtus III [53].

It is no wonder, nor need we ascribe it to nepotism, if, under those circumstances, the Pontiff should have withheld the highest office at his command, the prefecture of Rome, from the most troublesome nobility of his States and entrusted it to a man proved loyal to him and who was able to protect the Roman city and territory [54]. Calixtus III appointed, with the advice of the Sacred College, the captain general of his army as Prefect of Rome, on the 19th of August, 1457 [55].

This promotion was highly approved of by the aldermen and the most prominent citizens of Rome, who solemnly called at the Vatican palace to thank the Pope for the nomination, and beg him to grant to the new prefect the castles which, of old, were attached to his office [56]. Their request was, at first, not taken into consideration, but, a year later, on July 31st, 1458. Pedro Luis became a vicar or papal lieutenant of a series of castles, towns and places considered as dependencies of the Roman prefecture [57], to wit : Capra-

52. Cron. di Viterbo, p. 253.
53. Nic. della Tuccia, Cron. p. 256 ; Gregorov. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 5.
54. Platina, Vita Calix. III, post medium ; " I Borgia ", p. 11.
55. Nic. della Tuccia, Cron. p. 253 ; Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s. 596,n. 2. See Doment 26.
56. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s. 596.
57. Voigt, Enea Silvio, Bd. III, s. 118.

rola, Civitavecchia, Montagnola, Vetralla, Carbognano, Rispampano, Orcla, Tulpha Nova, Gratianello, Monte Romano, Valeriano and some other places [58].

His latest promotion did not make the prefect forget the duties of his former offices. On the 26th of June, 1458, we meet him again in Viterbo, where once more he was honored with the donation of abundant provisions and delicacies and of a silver cup containing a hundred and fifty ducats. His hired soldiers, however, repaid the citizens' friendliness with the exercise of their rough and thieving habits ; yet, women again and wheat were safe. It was here, on the last day of that month, that Pedro Luis was informed of the death of Alfonso, king of Naples ; and, to comply with special orders, he at once commenced to engage many more men at arms, and soon departed for Rome [59].

He found his uncle, the Pope, greatly disturbed by the action of Ferdinand, a bastard of the late king of Naples, who, in spite of the suzerain, the Roman Pontiff, had taken possession of the Neapolitan throne, and, in contempt of treaties and plain justice, was holding the Roman fiefs of Benevento and Terracina [60]. On the last day of July, 1458, Calixtus III appointed, with the approval of the College of Cardinals, his loyal nephew as his vicar of the two cities [61]. This last office procured to Pedro Luis the titles of Duke of Benevento and Count of Terracina in the writings of a few authors, following the interpretation of a contemporary

58. Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 154, footn.

59. Nic. della Tuccia. Cron. p. 68 ; Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s. 601, footn. 5.

60. Borgia, Benevento, III, 386 ; Voigt, Enea Silvio, Bd. III, s. 118 ; Balan, Storia d'Italia, Vol. V, p. 174 ; Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 155 ; Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s. 602, 604.

61. Voigt, Balan, Pastor, ubi supra.

Milanese ambassador, who adds to these still the one of Marquis of Civitavecchia [62].

To cast odium upon the Borgias, some ambassadors and diarists, paid by princes hostile to Calixtus III, have accused this Pope of secret intentions to make his nephew king of Naples. Machiavelli [63] condenses their reports, when saying that the Pope intended, " designó ", to give the Neapolitan kingdom to Pedro Luis de Borgia. It is but natural, if a Bower [64] should affirm the disparaging charge ; but even Pastor [65] considers these alleged intentions as probably true. Balan [66], on the contrary, justly remarks that to prove the accusation there is nothing beyond the bare say-so of the Pontiff's adversaries. Tomacelli [67] reports that when the dean of the cardinals proposed Pedro Luis de Borgia as the only man fit to wear the crown of Naples, the Pope was not willing to listen to it ; and Costanzo [68] writes that among the pretenders, namely, Ferdinand, the usurper ; John, king of Navarra and brother of the deceased King ; Don Carlos, John's first-born, and René of Anjou [69], Calixtus III preferred Alfonso's legitimate heir, the king of Navarra.

Pastor [70] further relates, as not improbable, a rumored project of the Pope, to make his nephew king of Cyprus or emperor of Constantinople ; but the great historian should have followed the example of Ferdinand of Naples, who smiled when he was told that the project was accomplished already [71].

---

62. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s. 705.
63. Istor. Fiorent. Lib. VI, Cap. XXXVI, p. 265.
64. Hist. of the Popes. Vol. 3, p. 240.
65. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s. 600.
66. Storia d'Italia. Vol V, p. 174.
67. Storia del Reame di Napoli dal 1458 al 1464.
68. Lib. XIX, p. 470, apud Balan, ubi supra.
69. Voigt, Enea Silvio, Bd. 3, s. 24.
70. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s. 600.
71. Pastor. Ibid. footn. 3.

Historical facts displacing those mischievous suppositions are set forth in a bull of Calixtus III, dated the 12th day of July, 1458,[72]. The Pontiff declares that through the demise of Alfonso I, the fief of the Neapolitan kingdom is escheated to the immediate domain of St. Peter's Patrimony, and forbids all inhabitants of that realm taking the oath of allegiance to Ferdinand, the intruder.

Çurita, Pontanus and others, partisans or servants of Ferdinand, blame the Pontiff for not sanctioning his intrusion, notwithstanding the better rights of other pretenders. They allege that pope Eugenius IV had legitimated him and that his father Alfonso had, by last will, conferred the kingdom upon him ; but they must have known that a simple legitimation of birth did not, according to the feudal laws, entitle to inheritance of feudal estates ; nor could Ferdinand have derived any right from Alfonso, who held the kingdom as a life tenure only, and who, as Çurita himself records, had solemnly sworn that none should succeed him in it, if not born from legitimate marriage ; and he had never since succeeded in inducing Calixtus III to relieve him of that oath required at his investiture[73].

Calixtus III concludes the more important part of his bull by stating : " If any one pretends to have a right in or to the kingdom or thinks that he is in any way interested in it, we declare ourselves ready to do full justice to each, as we owe it to all ".

In fact, Pedro Luis de Borgia did not become king of Cyprus, emperor of Constantinople, nor king of Naples. Neither did he remain long in possession of the honorable offices entrusted to him.

72. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 453, fo 138. ap. Raynaldi Annal. Eccles. ad an. 1458 no XXXII ; Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s. 601, footn. 1.

73. Raynaldi, Annal, Eccles. ad an. 1455, no XXXVI ; ad an. 1458, no XXXIV ; Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom. Bd. VII. s. 155.

Calixtus III had become seriously ill towards the middle of July, 1458. On the 30th, a rumor spread that he had died, and both the populace and the barons of Rome commenced their disturbances and misdeeds, as usually on vacancies of the Apostolic see. The College of Cardinals garrisoned the capitol and requested possession of the fortress of Sant' Angelo, which, together with other strongholds and their defenders, was on the 4th of August consigned to them by its castellan, Pedro Luis, upon the payment of twenty-two thousand ducats due him [74]. The peaceful advice of cardinal Roderic de Borgia had influenced his brother to make this generous surrender.

Meanwhile the Colonna and especially the Orsini prepared for revenge on the Pontiff's agent, watching the roads by which he might possibly escape their hands. When all hopes of Calixtus' recovery were given up, Pedro Luis de Borgia, accompanied by the prothonotary George Caesarini, cardinal Barbo and his brother, cardinal Roderic, left the Vatican palace and the City by devious paths, hurried to Ostia and from thence sailed to the fortress of Civitavecchia, which was guarded by a Spanish castellan under his command. His flight took place a few hours before Calixtus died, on August the 6th, 1458 [75]; or rather, according to Infessura [76], and Gregorovius [77], late in the evening of the previous day, when he furtively went beyond Ponte Molle, boarded a small vessel and sailed to Civitavecchia, where he landed about the very time of his uncle's demise.

---

74. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s. 603, 605 and footn. 5, s. 705; Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom. Bd. VII, s. 156.

75. Nic. della Tuccia, Cron. p. 256; Balan. Storia d'Italia. Vol. V, p. 174, ref. to Cannesius di Viterbo ap. Muratori, Rerum Ital. Script. III, II, p. 1003; Pastor. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s. 606.

76. Diar. in Cod. I, 74, Biblioth. Vallicellana, Rome fo 35.

77. Gesch. der Stadt Rom. Bd. VII, s. 156.

Here he was safe from his enemies and not without some degree of confidence for the future ; because, well provided with financial means, he was still holding several fortresses in the Pontifical States. The successor of Calixtus III, pope Pius II, elected on the 19th of the same month, deemed it necessary, however, for the restoration of peace, to dismiss his Spanish officials, and cardinal Roderic de Borgia again influenced his brother to come to friendly terms with the new Pontiff. By an agreement entered into on the 3d of the following September, Pedro Luis resigned all his offices and all his holdings, ordering his castellans to surrender into the hands of the Pope all his fortified places [78]. His orders were obeyed as long as he lived, although some of his lieutenants claimed the payment of their salary and other dues before they would open the gates [79]. As an instance, della Tuccia [80] relates how, upon the order of Pius II, the Spanish castellan of Viterbo delivered without any objection the stronghold of that city to a priest, who called himself the parish priest of Le Grotte. After Pedro's death, however, his lieutenant of Assisi sold the fortress to Jacobo Piccinino, the Pontiff's enemy [81].

His sorrows, dangers and reverses had, indeed, shattered Pedro Luis' health, already impaired by the effects of a protracted illness during the foregoing winter [82]. He became sick and, soon after, died [83] a natural death and not

78. Nic. della Tuccia, Cron. p. 257 ; Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. II, s. 16.
79. Pii II. Comment. p. 36.
80. Cron. p. 71.
81. Nic. della Tuccia, Cron. p. 257.
82. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s. 596, footn. 3.
83. With fever, Gobellinus says, Pii II. Comment. p. 36 ; suddenly according to Gregorovius, who compensates this mistake by the one of lentgthening his life till the month of December.

of poison as Branca da Talini [84] has reported ; on a Tuesday evening, 26th of September, 1458 [85].

He was mourned and buried by his garrison of Civitavecchia, and his remains, shipped to Spain, were laid to rest in the church of the Franciscan friars in Xativa, his native place ; and, in the year 1470, transferred to a chapel of the collegiate church [86]. As a memorial, his ensigns still adorn the bridge of Ponte Molle in Rome.

Pedro Luis had left behind seventy thousand ducats in the fortress which he had occupied until death. The Pontiff, Pius II, claimed both, and sent cardinal Roderic de Borgia and his treasurer, Nicholas da Pistoia, to take possession ; but the castellan, a certain Gazeran, refused to surrender the cash ; yet finally he agreed with the cardinal on an equal division of the moneys, and to pay, with part of his own share, the salaries of two constables and the cost of the mourning garments for the garrison [87].

We cannot help admiring the heroic self-sacrifice of cardinal Roderic de Borgia, when we see him accept the papal commission of obtaining for the Church the riches of his injured brother, which he himself might have claimed.

The morals of Pedro Luis de Borgia have been most severely judged by the enemies of the Borgia family. By Raynaldi he is incidentally called a man contaminated by many vices [88]. Moroni [89] exhibits him as a bad man, like all other nephews of Calixtus III without distinction. In the

---

84. Rome, Bibl. Barberin. Cod. LIV, 22, fo 11vo.

85. Nic. della Tuccia, Cron. p. 257 ; Platina, Vita Calix. III; Osuna second geneal. tree, ap. Fita, Studios Hist. T. VI, p. 101, which doubts between Rome and Civitavecchia, as the place of his demise ; Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. II, s. 16.

86. See Document 17.

87. Nic. della Tuccia, Cron. p. 257.

88. Annal. Eccles. ad an. 1458, no XLI.

89. Dizionar. Art. Borgia, p. 45.

same sweeping manner Häusle [90] condemns as immoral and worthless all nephews of that Pontiff ; Pastor [91], likewise, designates as an unworthy set the Borgias generally, who were favored by Calixtus III, and Pedro Luis, in particular, as a dangerous man. " I Borgia ", finally, says that he was improvident and of vicious habits, and repeats the charge of Platina that, namely, while placed in office to stop the disturbances of the Orsini and of the Colonna houses, he was partial towards the latter [92].

It is remarkable, however, that all these sentences are recklessly passed without any proof of guilt, without an allegation of any special crime or wrongdoing. Nay, we notice to the contrary, that when Nicholas della Tuccia had critically observed the conduct of Pedro Luis, he praised him as a man gentle and virtuous, especially in regard to women. Della Tuccia bitterly complains of Pedro Luis' soldiers, who, likely, were not better than the soldiery of that period ; yet, he states, at the same time, that the captain took strong measures to prevent their robberies and succeeded in preventing them from stealing necessaries of life or insulting women. That he was not worthless or underserving, sufficiently appears on the one hand, from the commendations of the Sacred College, the thanks of the Roman people at his promotion and the praises of the Pontiff ; and on the other, from his successful conflicts with the powerful Roman barons. To these he was a dangerous man, indeed; but one could not help admiring his gentleness and humility in giving up to the cardinals and to pope Pius II his offices, titles and strongholds for the proposed benefit of the Church. He may at first have been friendly to the Colonna house, but his favors were at an end, when his official duties called

90. Kirchenlexicon, Art. Calixtus III.
91. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd I, s. 614 ; Bd. II, s. 15.
92. " I Borgia ", p. 11.

upon him, to earn their hatred by depriving them also of some of their ill-gotten castles.

We feel, furthermore, inclined to consider Pedro Luis de Borgia as a pious Christian, when we notice that he enjoyed the privilege of a private chapel or portable altar, given to him on the 2d of June, 1456 [93].

It is a mooted question whether he left any children. The Civiltà Cattolica assigns cardinal Giovanni de Borgia the elder as son to Pedro Luis, but the latter was too young at Giovanni's birth to be his father, and the two were in reality first-cousins.

Von Reumont [94] grants him a son : Juan, bishop of Melfi made cardinal in the year 1496, that is, cardinal Giovanni de Borgia the younger ; and the more liberal Citadella [95] gives him two children : cardinal Giovanni de Borgia the younger, and a certain Silvia. Yet, Pedro Luis died sixteen years before Giovanni the younger was born, and of a Silvia de Borgia we did not hear anywhere else.

In a catalogue of relatives of Alexander VI, compiled during the seventeenth century [96], figures a Ludovicus Borgia, a cleric, son of Peter Borges and nephew of Alexander VI, but hardly any authority attaches to this compilation of an anonymous scribe, evidently as ignorant as negligent.

" I Borgia " [97] referring to Platina's Life of Calixtus III, writes, to the contrary, that Pedro Luis had no descendants ; and such is the statement of Çurita [98]. The Généalogie de la Maison de Borgia, extracted from Joseph Pellicer, the offi-

93. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Callix. III. Secret. Lib. V, an. I, II. T. XXIII. Regest. 458, fo 13.

94. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, III, I, s. 563.

95. Saggio di Albero Genealogico e di Memorie sulla Famiglia Borgia, ap. Civiltà Catt., and Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 6, footn. 1.

96. Bibl. Barberin. Roma, Mscr. Cod. XXXII, 242.

97. P. 11.

98. IV, 55, ap. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 6, footn. 1.

cial chronicler of Castille, Leon and Aragon, and from Peter Ribadeneira [99]; equally states that he died without any children. Gregorovius [100] says that he is not known to have left any progeny or to have been married; and, that he died unmarried appears from the fact of a rumor, whether false or true, that he was about to wed a niece of cardinal Colonna, the year before his death [101].

---

99. Paris, Biblioth. Nation. Fonds franç. Cod. 20288, fo 337.

100. Ubi supra.

101. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s. 595, footn. 4, and s. 699.

CHAPTER V.

Sisters of pope Alexander VI.

ARTICLE 1. — JOANNA DE BORGIA AND HER CHILDREN.

The sisters of Alexander VI, are, as could be expected, less known thans his brother, Pedro Luis de Borgia ; yet we possess some items of positive information, and historical incidents of the time afford us a few indications, concerning three of these noble ladies : Juana, Tecla and Beatrix de Borgia.

Dona Juana [1] de Borja was the oldest sister of pope Alexander VI [2], and probably the oldest child of their parents, being the mother of Jofre Llançol y de Borja who was but a decade of years younger than his illustrious uncle.

She married a man of her own social condition, a Knight of the city of Valencia, named Pedro Guillen [3] Llançol de Romaní [4]. His principal title was Lord, or, more correctly, Baron of the castle and valley of Villalonga, in the diocese of Valencia [5], sometimes called Castelnon [6], or Castelnov [7] ; and when we consider the catalogue of titles and possessions of his grandchildren, Pedro Luis and Giovanni, dukes of

---

1. Johanna, Joanna, Giovanna, Jeane.

2. Second Osuna Genealogical Tree, ap. Fita, Estud. Hist. T. VI. p. 101 ; and Çurita, Anales de la Corona de Aragon, Lib. XVI, Cap. 32.

3. Petrus Guillelmus, Pietro Guglielmo.

4. Second Osuna Genealogical Tree, ap. Fita, Estud. Hist. T. VI, p. 101 ; Çurita, V. 36, or ubi supra ; Gaspar Escolano, Storia di Valencia, Lib. VI, C. XXIII. Vol. 2. col. 198, or seq. ; Auctores passim. See Documents, 13, 14.

5. Osuna Tree, ubi supra ; Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 472 : Pii II, Secret. Lib. IV, T.XXXIV, fo 3 ; alii.

6. Généalogie de la Maison de Borgia, Paris. Biblioth. Nation. Fonds franç. Cod. 20288, fo 337.

7. Gaspar Escolano, ubi supra.

Gandia [8], we will readily admit the statement of historians saying that the nobleman Lanzol was very wealthy, probably the owner also of other estates.

In the year 1460 he was an envoy and representative of pope Pius II, with the kings of Castille and of Aragon, to transact business for that Pontiff and the Roman Church. A passport for him and a suite of fifteen men was issued at Mantua on the 26th of August [9]. Von Reumont [10] adds that Guglielmo Llançol, the consort of Giovanna de Borgia, was for a time the prefect of Rome. This may be, but his wife never left her native Spain [11].

We know that Pedro Guillen died before the year 1473, from the fact that his son, Jofre, was, in that year, the owner of his principal estate, the barony of Villalonga, as we shall notice hereafter.

Let it incidentally be remarked here that the alliance with the Borgias resulted in other papal preferments for the Lanzol family.

Thus we find in the Vatican archives [12] that Johannes

---

8. Pedro Luis was lord of the Barony of Lombay : Fita, Estud. Hist. T. VI, p. 122. In a questionable document : Ibid. p. 124, his brother Giovanni is titled Lord of the Place de Chela in the diocese of Valencia ; and to him he wills the Duchy of Gandia, the Barony of Lombay, the Place de Gallimera Belreguard, Ceresa, Alcodar, the Places of the Alquerias and others, their products, revenues and rents.

9. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 501 : Pii II. Secret. Lib. IV, fo 3 : " Pius etc. Universis etc. Cum dilectus filius nobilis vir petrus Guillermus Lenzol dns. loci sive Baronie de Villalonga Valentin. dioc. nuntius et orator nr. impresentiarum ad carmos in Xo filios nros. Castelle et Aragonum reges per nos destinatus, ad easdem partes pro nris. et ro. ecclie. peragendis negotiis se conferre habeat etc. Ltra. passus in forma... usque ad numerum quindecim. Datum Mantue etc. Septimo Kl. Sept. anno secundo ".

10. Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. 3. Vol. XVII, p. 332.

11. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 5 ; Dante del Re, referring to Çurita, V. 36. ap. Archiv. della Soc. Rom. di Storia, patria. Vol., IV, p. 116, footn.

12. Regest. 439 : Cal. III. De Curia, an. I. T. IV, fo 198.

Lanzol, not improbably Pedro Guillen's brother, was, in April, 1451, a canon [13], and in the year 1455, a canon and provost of the cathedral of Valencia and the Vicar General of pope Calixtus III as bishop of that diocese ; and he was chosen by the Pontiff as special delegate to several parts of the world, his safe-conduct to this effect being dated November the 24th of that year.

A certain Mathew John Lensol, noble by both parents, a cleric of Valencia and cousin of Cardinal Giovanni de Borgia the younger, was a member of the household of pope Alexander VI, and received favors from him on the 3d of December, 1496 [14].

Mention is also made in the anonymous Barberini compilation [15] of three other Lenzols : a Jerome Lenzol, said to be a nephew of Pedro Ludovico de Borgia, cardinal of S. Maria Nova, was provost of the cathedral of Valencia ; John Lenzol, a cleric of Valencia, was legitimated and allowed to retain orders and benefices previously received. Cardinal Roderic de Borgia had admitted him as a member of his household, when pope Sixtus IV bestowed upon him, on the 7th of July, 1484, a simple benefice in the parochial church of St. John's hospital in Valencia, which had become vacant through the death of Roderic, still another Lenzol [16]. He remained a " familiaris " of pope Alexander VI, and obtained the rectory of Besqueian in the diocese of Urgel, in the year 1494 [17]. Finally, Joannes Lensol received the office of Master of the stables of pope Alexander VI. On the 16th of December, 1496, he was repaid by the papal

13. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 395, fo 132.
14. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Alex. VI. Bullar. An. IV, V. T. XXXIII. Regest. 804, fo 89.
15. Cod. XXXII, 242.
16. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. : Sixti IV. Bullar. Lib. XCVIII. Regest. 648, fo 69vo.
17. Ibid.. Regest. 794, fo 270. Cfr. Regest. 827 : Alex. VI. Bullar. An. VII, VIII. T. LVI, fo 80vo ; and Regest. 686 : Innoc. VIII. Secret. an. II, ad. IV. T. V, fo 305.

treasury the sum of twenty-six gold ducats, which he had spent in buying two horses for use at the palace[18], and received on the 15th of July, 1498, seventy-four florins, which he had advanced for five hundred and forty bundles of hay destined for the fortress of Ostia[19].

Pedro Guillen Lanzol had by Joanna de Borgia a long series of glorious descendants, but the various statements regarding the names of his children form one of the worst-confused tangles of all history, which no genealogist would undertake to unravel without the aid of the pontifical archives, assigning their age to several of these children, either rightly or wrongly ascribed to him.

The Vatican archives afford us an important chronological detail for the solution of the difficulty, by telling the age of Jofre Lanzol y Borgia, whom they expressly state to be a son of Petrus Guillelmus Lansol, lord of Villalonga, and a nephew of cardinal Roderic de Borgia[20]. Jofre, indeed, who was not Joanna's eldest son, is reported to be about ten years old on January 30th, 1453[21]. From this datum we may safely infer that his mother was born before the year 1425.

The age of Joanna de Borgia thus established permits us at once to remove from the list of her children the cardinal Giovanni de Borgia the younger, whom Alfred von Reumont[22] declares to be one of her sons. The mistake is also made by the Archivio della Società Romana di Storia patria[23], saying that Giovanni Borgia " juniore ", made car-

18. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Introitus et Exitus. Vol. 528, at the date.
19. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Introitus et Exitus. Vol. 530, at the date.
20. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 472 : Pii. II. De Curia, an. I, II. T. 5, fo 168. See Document 27.
21. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 428, fo 177vo.
22. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. III, I, s. 563, and Archiv. Stor. Ital. ser. 3. Vol. XVII, p. 332.
23. Vol. IV, p. 124.

dinal in the year 1496, was a son of a sister of Alexander VI. Those writers may have been misled by a Vallicellana manuscript asserting this Giovanni to have been a nephew of His Holiness, being born of his sister [24].

It is noticeable that Pastor [25] likewise calls the cardinal Giovanni a son of the Pope's sister. In doing so he refers [26] to Sanuto, Panvinius, Raynaldi, and Burchard ; but Sanuto is of dubious authority, and Panvinius, the author of many mistakes in regard to the Borgias. The editor of Raynaldi, " Lucae, 1475 ", at the passage indicated [27], does not hint at a sister's son, nor even expresses the word " nepos ", which would mean a second-nephew, in this case ; while Burchard [28] explicitly states Giovanni to be, not the son of the Pontiff's sister, but " sororis Beatitudinis Sue nepotem ", her grandson.

That Giovanni the younger was no son of Joanna de Borgia sufficiently appears from the fact that when he was born, namely, about the year 1474, his pretended mother would have been no less than fifty years old, and her husband had died more than a year before. The best historical authorities, moreover, as already the Osuna Genealogical Tree [29], report him as Joanna's grandson. The learned H. Matagne, who wrote at first [30] that the cardinals Jean and Pierre-Louis Llançol were sons of Jeanne, sister of Alexander VI, discovered his error and accurately stated afterwards [31] that these same cardinals, Giovanni de Borgia the younger and Louis, were children of Geoffroy Borgia, son of pope Alexander's sister, and in reality second-nephews of that Pontiff.

---

24. Rome, Biblioth. Vallicel. Cod. I, 61, f° 3 : " Ex sorore Sanctitatis Suae nepotem ".
25. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 354.
26. Ibid. footn. 3.
27. 1496, n° 39.
28. Where we are direct to Diarium II, 264.
29. Ap. Fita, Estudios Hist. T. VI, p. 101.
30. Rev. des Quest. Hist. T. IX, p. 468.
31. Rev. des Quest. Hist. T. XI, p. 191.

This remark of the modern Bollandist justly includes the cardinal Pedro Luis de Borgia, whom we must also eliminate from the number of Pedro Guillen Lanzol's immediate descendants, for the additional reason, that, while he was born in the year 1480, Pedro Guillen's wife, Joanna de Borgia, could have been his mother still less than of Giovanni, his much older brother.

Ciaconius [32] led astray several subsequent historians, by saying that cardinal Petrus Ludovicus Borgia was a son of a sister of Alexander VI ; and he wanders even farther away from historical truth, when he generously grants to Joanna de Borgia another fictitious son, by making this cardinal a brother of Giovanni the elder, archbishop and cardinal of Monreale. Moroni [33] copies both mistakes of Ciaconius, and so also Cittadella [34]. Reumont [35] and the Archivio of the Roman society " di Storia Patria "[36] renew the former error, in designating cardinal Pedro Ludovico de Borgia as nephew of Alexander VI through Giovanna, his sister.

Cittadella [37] presents one more child to Pedro Guillen Lanzol, to wit, Angela, the sister of cardinal Pedro Luis ; but let it be noticed here that Angela, cardinal Pedro Ludovico's sister, was an enrapturing, pretty maid in the year 1502, and married only four years later [38] ; when her pretended mother, Joanna de Borgia, had she still been alive, should have counted more than eighty-one years.

As noticed, the cardinal Giovanni the elder is wrongly considered by some historians as a son of Pedro Guillen Lanzol and Joanna de Borgia. We have already corrected this error, and it may suffice here to rectify an accessory

---

32. Vitae Rom. Pontiff, p. 167.
33. Dizion. Art .Borgia, p. 50.
34. Saggio di Albero genealogico e Memorie sulla Famiglia Borgia, ap. Civiltà Cattolica. Vol. IX, ser. 8, p. 721.
35. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, III, I, s. 563.
36. Vol. IV, p. 130.
37. Ubi supra.
38. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 262, 317.

statement of Matagne, copied, with the addition of another mistake, by the Civiltà Cattolica [39]. He said : The cardinals Borgia the younger and Louis were second-nephews of Alexander VI and nephews of cardinal Jean de Borgia the elder ; from which expression it might be inferred that the last-named was their father's brother, a son of Joanna de Borgia. In fact, however, Giovanni the elder was their father's second-and their own third-cousin, being a son of their father's paternal grand-uncle, Galceran Gil de Borja.

It was evidently unjust to burden Pedro Guillen Lanzol and Joanna de Borgia with all those children of their relatives, but most modern historians have tried to compensate the injustice, by depriving them, in a negative manner at least, of the children that were their own.

There is hardly a Borgia oftener mentioned in contemporary records and documents than Jofre Lanzol y de Borgia, expressly designated as son of Petrus Guillelmus Lanzol, baron of Villalonga, and as nephew of cardinal Roderic de Borgia [40]. Yet, he has been so generally overlooked that even Cittadella, the Borgia's genealogist himself, never heard of him. Neither does Imhof [41] nor Pastor utter his name.

In regard to Roderic, another son of Pedro Guillen, Dante del Re [42] says : " Of this other consanguineous or relative of pope Alexander VI, as a Rodrigo de Borgia is here [43] stated to be, I have found no mention made by any writer, not even in Citadella's essay of a Borgia genealogical tree ".

William Raymund, the first-born of Joanna de Borgia, is reported only by the learned modern historian, Imhof [44].

---

39. Rev. des Quest. Hist. T. XI, p. 191 ; and Civiltà, ser. 8. Vol. IX, p. 721, respectively.

40. See Document 27.

41. Genealogiae XX Illustrium in Hispania Familiarum.

42. Archiv. della Società Rom. di Storia patria. Vol. IV, p. 116, footn.

43. Namely, in Archivio di Stato in Roma, camera Apost. Mandati, an. 1501-2, carte 79tergo.

44. Genealogiae XX Illustrium Familiarum in Hispania, p. 24.

Finally, Isabel, her daughter and youngest child, is hardly ever mentioned.

ARTICLE II. — WILLIAM RAYMUND LANZOL Y DE BORGIA.

We attach great importance to the " Arbol de la familia de los Borjas, caballeros de la Conquista ", that is, to the list of names of, and the short notices regarding, the children of Mossen Domingo de Borja ; and so also to the " Arbol Segundo ", as far as it enumerates the children of Mossen Rodrigo Gil de Borja, as both are given by Fidel Fita [45] ; because we find them supported in their details by collateral documentary proof ; with the sole exception of the cardinalitial title of the grandson, Juan de Borja, which was that of Stae. Susannae and not, of Sancte Marie in via lata. Yet, we object to the deficiency and probably wilful deceit [46] of the next following paragraph, in which is reported the progeny of Doña Juana de Borja and D. Pedro Guillen Llançol. It tells of only one son, D. Jofre Llançol y de Borja, and of a daughter, Doña Isabel, while it neglects another, probably their youngest son, Roderic, of whose history we shall, in due time [47], relate several particulars. Worse yet and, no doubt, with the purpose, executed two lines farther, of slandering pope Alexander VI, it simply ignores their first-born son, William Raymond Llançol y de Borja [48].

45. Estudios Hist. T. VI, pp. 99 and 100.

46. The " Arbol Segundo " was composed in the year 1564, as appears from the note : " Vivia el año pasado 1563 ", on page 102 of Fita, Estudios Historicos, Tomo VI ; thus at a time when hatred and prejudice against pope Alexander VI, were violent still.

47. Infra, Ch. XI, Art. VI.

48. It is no rashness to say that suppression, suppression also of documents, has played an important role in the systematic denigration of pope Alexander VI. The folios 218 to 270 of the Vatican Register 880 are missing or torn away, while a preserved " Rubricella " indicates that the lost folios contained, among others, the following records in regard to mem-

We know from various documents that their son, Jofre de Borgia, was admitted to the ranks of the clergy and received ecclesiastical benefices. We also have seen that the clerical career was not the one of his choice or vocation, for he abandoned it as soon as his grandmother Isabella procured him a suitable estate and revenue, by giving him her barony of Anna. From these facts it is evident to any common historian, though but slightly acquainted with the feudal laws and customs of the time, as they are lasting still to a great extent in England, that Jofre was not a first-born, but a younger son, who had been given, like many other cadets of his near relatives, to the service of the Church, and confided to her care for support. His brother, Roderic, followed the other profession open to a noble cadet, that of a condottiere or soldier of fortune, to make a living or attain prosperity.

There can be no doubt, therefore, that, in the Osuna report of Johanna de Borgia's children, there is a second deficiency, the important one of the name of her eldest son. James William Imhof, who has made it the work of his life to look up the genealogy of the most eminent Spanish houses, fills the lacuna, when he states that this first-born of Pedro Guillen Llançol and Giovanna de Borgia was Don William Raymond [49], who, like his brothers, Jofre and Roderic, changed his surname into that of de Borgia.

This William Raymond should not be confounded with his younger namesake, the son of his brother, Jofre Lançol y de Borgia, and, consequently, his nephew ; who was a condottiere of pope Alexander VI and the second successor of

---

bers of the Borgia family, not improbably refuting slanders against the Pontiff.

" Cesar S. Me. Nove Cardli conceditur Indultum Visitandi ".

" Alfonso de Milla datur Indultum percipiendi frumentum in abundantia ".

" Francisco de Borgia datur Monitorium. ".

49. Genealogiae XX Illustrium in Hispania Familiarum, p. 24.

his other uncle, Roderic Lançol y de Borgia, as Captain of the Vatican palace guard, until he died a few days before that Pontiff [50].

Historical incidents allow us to conclude that, as oldest son of Pedro Guillen Lanzol, William Raymund obtained the largest share in his parents' heritage : several seigniories and the estate of Gandia.

We found, indeed, in a Spanish document, the signature of which we forget, the statement that the Borgia family was for many years in possession of the territories of the former duchy of Gandia. James William Imhof [51] relates how Pedro Atharès left his duchy to his Borgia heirs, down to William Raymund de Borgia's first born son, Pedro Luis. Further on, we shall meet this same son, as owner of the property to pay off the debts that encumbered it, and to buy from the Spanish King the rights and title of a duke of Gandia.

Imhof [52] states that William Raymund married Violanta commonly called Vanotia, daughter of Seras or Gerard, Lord of Castervert, who, as we learn from the monograph of Expilly [53] and from " I Borgia " [54], originated the counts of Olocan.

Gerard, Vanotia's father, had married Dona Damieta, a daughter of Giovanni del Milá and of Caterina de Borgia, a sister of Lewis John del Milá, cardinal of the title of the Four Crowned [55], whose brother-in-law he had thus become [56]. It is obvious, therefore, that his children, Violanta or Vanotia, in particular, and, by marriage, William Ray-

---

50. Infra, Ch. XI, Art. V.
51. Genealogiae XX...
52. Ibid.
53. Della Casa Milano, I.
54. P. 46.
55. Idem, ibid.
56. Cfr. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Cal. III, Brevia, Armar. XXXIX, nº 7, fº 76vº.

ST. ALBERT'S COLLEGE LIBRARY

mund de Borgia, were that cardinal's first-nephews ; and that their sons, as grandchildren of his sister, were his true and natural second-nephews.

It is of importance to notice here that William Raymund is the only de Borgia gentleman, indicated by any author or any historical source, to have married a niece of cardinal Lewis John del Milá ; and, consequently, the only de Borgia whose children really were the nephews of the cardinal of the Four Crowned.

Little is known of William Raymund, the elder, after the systematic suppression of records, of which we have just noticed one instance, in the second Osuna genealogical tree, and of which we will, further on, meet another, in a document where his name is erased. From information regarding his children we derive that he governed and not unlikely increased his vast domains, attended to the education of his young children, and inspired his oldest son with the faith and courage that made Pedro Luis a hero when yet a mere youth ; but he himself did not perform any deeds whose records have been preserved ; although he rendered services to country and king, which Ferdinand of Spain never forgot [57]. This statement agrees with an interesting letter of the diplomatic agents of Ferrara in Rome. During the negotiations between the Sovereign Pontiff and the duke Ercole of Este regarding the marriage of William Raymund's daughter, Lucretia, and Ercole's son, Alfonso, the duke made himself disagreeable by his mercantile pleadings ; but there is no inkling of any difficulty arising from Lucretia's alleged bad repute or her pretended ignominious origin ; which, however, no decent family could have overlooked, as Gregorovius rightly remarks [58]. The vilification of the Borgia family had not yet commenced. Ercole needed no apology

57. See Document 37. — 58. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 177.

for his son's future spouse ; but, proud duke as he was, he wanted to exalt her by the publication of her relatives' illustrious achievements, and ordered his envoys to carefully inquire into them and report to him. These answered from Rome on the 18th of October, 1501, that they discovered nothing worthy of notice in the Borgia house, besides the deeds of the two popes, Calixtus III and Alexander VI. They were ignorant of the bravery of Lucretia's brother, which we shall report farther on, and of the family records, calculated to stir the nephews of Calixtus III to acts of valor against the Turks [59] ; but they excused themselves by referring to their own master's knowledge of the quiet and delicate way of living of the nobility in Spain, and especially in Valencia at the time [60]. This last remark could, evidently, not be meant but for Lucretia's parents.

William Raymund died in the year 1481 [61], leaving his widow with a large family of children, some of whom were small infants yet, and the youngest, it seems, still unborn ; for Jofre de Borgia is said to be the son of a widow. He was fortunate enough in having an uncle of a compassionate nature. Cardinal Roderic de Borgia, who till death befriended all unfortunates, took pity on his nephew's orphans and became a second father to them [62].

This charity has cost him dear ; his enemies have spared

---

59. See Document 24.

60. Gregorov., Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 205-206. It is to be regretted that neither the original nor the signature of this correspondence be given.

61. Infra, Ch. V, Art. IV, Girolama and Ch. IX, initio.

62. No writer before this time, nor, in fact, before the death of pope Alexander VI, ever accused or suspected Roderic de Borgia of any act of immorality, of having a concubine or of being familiar or unreserved with any woman ; yet, on the occasion of Vanozza Borgia de Cathaneis' second marriage, the future Pontiff got all at once a whole family of half-grown children, of whom we did not find him in contemporary writings to be formally named the father; but who, in popular language were called his children, and the most of whom were afterwards legitimated, through forged documents, as his natural children.

no means to transform his virtue into shameful vice ; downright forgery has been resorted to at the period of anger and revenge, and even of late years, while the learned world, including Protestant scholars like William Roscoe, will no longer admit without scruple the ancient accusations against him; the disparaging discussions about his pretended immorality and paternity have grown so frequent and interminable, that his history, that is, the narration of his life and actions, has been not only obscured, but neglected and almost reduced to a scandalous chronicle, of which the mother of William Raymund de Borgia's children, Vanotia Borgia de Cathaneis, is made the corresponding victim.

ARTICLE III. — VANOTIA BORGIA DE CATHANEIS.

Several authors of the period following the death of pope Alexander VI, with the exception of Çurita, copy from one another in accusing that Pontiff, in terms borrowed from an anonymous lampoon, that we shall expose in the next volume, of having held Vannoza as an almost legitimate wife. They are positive and dogmatic in naming him the father of her children, but deign not, that is, cannot, produce even the least proof of their slanderous assertions.

Mariana [63] calls " Zanozia ", a common girl of Rome, Gregorovius reproves Litta for saying that she was a member of the Farnese family, Ranucius' daughter [64], while von Reumont blames [65] Oderici, Litta's continuer, for making the same mistake, and further, for naming her " Rosa called Vannoza ". Yet Burchard, who knew her well, mentions

63. Ranke proves, Zur Kritik neuerer Geschichtschreiber, s. 60 fl. Ed. 1884, that John Mariana is no original writer and cannot be considered as a source of History.

64. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 10.

65. Archiv. Stor. Ital. ser. 3. Vol. XVII, p. 323.

her by either appellation [66]. The familiar nickname, Vannoza, was very common and assumed by ladies variously named in baptism. There were in Rome, at the time, Vannozas de Nardis, de Zanobeis, de Pontianis and others [67]. She is designated also as " Vanotia Catherina " [68]. Dennistoun [69] reverses the names and calls her " Caterina Vanosia ". Bérault Bercastel [70] gives her the name of " Lucrèce Vanosia ", and Moroni likewise calls her " Lucrezia Vannozzia "; but at another place he adds : " de Catani " as her surname [71]. Jovius attributes to her the family name " de Vanotti " [72]. Tommasi, in his history of Cesar Borgia, calls her " Caterina ", while others, he says, name her " Rosa la Vanozza ", because, he adds, I think that such is the cognomen of her house [73]. Some other writers styled her " Perpetua ", perhaps from her signature, " Perpetua oratrice ", your perpetual beggar, Vannoza.

But why all this divergence about the very name of a Pontiff's pretended accomplice ? Does it not suggest little knowledge and great imagination among the discordant revilers of pope Alexander VI ? Why did they not rather, while deriving all their calumnies from an anonymous satire as stupid as malicious, prudently agree to give also her name and surname as they are clearly expressed in it ? There it is asserted that, before Roderic de Borgia came to Rome—which he actually did at the age of fifteen or sixteen years—he lived for a long time with a Spanish widow, that had two daughters, with whom, as they grew up, he also misbeha-

66. Diar. T. II, pp. 220 and 387.
67. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia. Bd. I, s. 10.
68. Rome, Bibl. Vittor. Eman. Mss. Sessoriani, Cod. 394, fo 48.
69. Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino. Vol. I, p. 303.
70. Hist. de l'Eglise, T. 10, p. 533.
71. Dizion. Art. Valenza, p. 290, and Art. Arcispedale del SS. Salvatore, p. 289.
72. Vita di Gonzalvo, p. 212.
73. Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom. Bd. VII, s. 315.

ved. After the mother's death, he put one of her girls into a convent and retained the other " in lieu of a lawful wife ". The name of this mistress, that gave him five children, was " Virginia Vanoccia " [74]. Thus was Vannoza called by her original slanderer, and that name was good enough, not to be contorted in various ways, to the detriment of the later calumniators' credibility.

Some more serious authors have, however, without abandoning the principal accusations of the satire, given up the name attributed by it to pope Alexander's alleged concubine. They have rightly preferred the name " Vannoza, or Vannoza Borgia ", or more fully " Vanotia Borgia de Cathaneis ", found as signature on her original letters, that are preserved in the archives of Modena [75], and on her tombstone and other monuments, where it is engraved as " Vanotia Cathana " [76]. In a manuscript of the year 1525, kept among the archives of the Confraternity of the Gonfalon, in Rome, Marcanthony Altieri remembers her liberality and also calls her " Madonna Vannoza of the house Catanei ".

Matagne remarks [77] that Vannoza added sometimes to her surname the one of Borgia, and adds with more venom than tact : " On en comprend la raison ". The reason is not hard to find indeed ; for she simply signed her name, as other noble ladies did, with the name of her former husband, William Raymund de Borgia, the father of the children of whom she was justly proud. Matagne, no doubt, intimated her supposed intercourse with the Borgia Pope ; but would

---

74. Rome, Bibl. Vatic. Urbinat, Cod. 1641 ; Bibl. Vittor. Eman. Mss. Jesuitici, nº 1558 ; Bibl. Vallicell. Cod. P. 201. fº 6.

75. Seven of which are adressed to cardinal d'Este and two to her daughter, Lucretia. — H. Matagne, Rev. des Quest. Hist. T. XI, p. 192 ; Gregorov. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. II, s. 158-162; Adinolfi, Il Canale di Ponte, p. 13.

76. Forcella, Iscrizioni, Vol. I, p. 335, nº 1276 ; A. Belli. Ospitale delle Donne, p. 33.

77. Rev. des Quest. Hist. T. IX, p. 472.

she have been the honest, religious and prudent lady, that she is represented on her tombstone to have been, if she had boasted of a sinful and scandalous life ? And, should she have been profligate enough to assume, for such a disgraceful reason, the name of Borgia, in her letters to a cardinal of the Church; could she have allowed herself to thus insult and brand, as a sacrilegious bastard, her own child, Lucretia, a duchess of Ferrara, in her correspondence with her ?

John Mariana, born a century after Vannoza and always far away from Rome, gratuitously asserts, and Raynaldi [78], with several other historians, repeats upon his authority, that she was the mistress of cardinal Roderic de Borgia. Moroni [79] takes a step further and affirms that, although married with Dominic Arignani, she was a famous courtesan.

This latter crimination, incredible in itself, is rejected by even Gregorovius, who remarks [80] that, if it were true, epigrammatists and novelists would have spoken of her ; and the same historian virtually admits that it is without any foundation ; in fact, a malicious invention devoid of any historical proof. " It is wrong ", he says [81], " to represent Vannoza as another Messalina, for the conditions of her life are not sufficiently known " ; and history does not mention any particular of the first half of her life. He is compelled again to acknowledge [82] that " we know not in what circumstances she was when she made the acquaintance of cardinal Borgia ". All that Gregorovius pretends to know is that Vannoza was, already in the year 1480, the mother of several children recognized by the cardinal as his own ; but we will observe, in an Appendix to this volume, that such a recognition was, in reality, never made. Does Gre-

78. Annal. Eccles. An. 1492, nis XXVI and XXVII.
79. Dizion. Art. Valenza, p. 290.
80. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 11.
81. Gesch. der Stadt Rom. Bd. VII, s. 315.
82. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 11.

gorovius admit this our denial, since he emphatically declares [83] that " there is but one authentic witness, Vannoza's funeral monument, to name cardinal Roderic de Borgia's children together with their mother " ? But this statement itself is misleading, because the children mentioned on the monument are not Roderic's children, nor are they indicated thereon as his children.

The absolute silence of all history on Vannoza's younger life is of significance ; it is an eloquent refutation of the charges brought against the cardinal. Could he, indeed, have carried on, for more than a score of years, an intrigue with this woman, have frequented her house or been visited by her, and have raised half a dozen of children with her, without the notice of the lascivious poets, without the comment of the Roman diarists, such as Sigismondi dei Conti, who would have hid no such a scandal ? Would not the cardinal or, at least Vannoza, have become an interesting subject of the biting correspondence between the neighboring Pasquino and Marforio ? Would not someone of the cardinal's subjects or foes have furnished to Gregorovius sufficient scabby material, to let him speak more positively than he does when, after describing Vannoza's imaginary home, he says [84] that " here she possibly entertained sometimes the Cardinal or his Spanish friends ". This universal silence has compelled Gregorovius himself to acknowledge that his frequent insinuations and calumnies against the conduct of cardinal de Borgia towards Vannoza, and, in fact, towards any other woman, are absolutely devoid of all foundation. He speaks as a historian when he says : " For the sake of justice it behooves us to confess that the mysteries of his life when a cardinal remain unknown to us,

83. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 19. | 84. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 17.

because there is not spoken of them by any one who has looked upon them with his own eyes "[85].

As there is nothing in history to implicate Vannoza in misbehavior with cardinal de Borgia, so is there nothing to allow us any suspicion of intimacy between her and pope Alexander VI. There is no record of any visit that she might have made at the apostolic palace, there is no contemporary poet, ambassador or writer of any kind, to say, that she ever met him or wrote to him. Gregorovius himself states[86] that " never did she permit herself, nor ever did Alexander concede her, any influence at the Vatican. Very seldom does her name appear in the news of the time, and nowhere is it mixed up with the history of the Borgia house, not even by her fiercest enemies "[87]. All the information that we may happen to find of her tends, on the contrary, to her greater honor.

Pastor[88] and, in accord with Infessura, the Civiltà Cattolica[89] assure us that Vannoza was, in the year 1474, married to Dominico de Arignano, at the persuasion of cardinal de Borgia. This latter secondary assertion is unnatural, and Gordon himself[90] vigorously objects to it. Gregorovius does not admit here the authority of Infessura nor any such marriage to have taken place at any time[91]. Moreri[92] recognizes the union, but calls the husband Dominique Arimano. Fidel Fita gives his name as Ariñano[93]. Finally, Matagne[94] is puzzled by the inscription of a monument in the Roman hospital " della Consolazione "; for, while at the right of the altar there is a memorial stone bearing the name

85. Gesch. der Stadt Rom. Bd. VII, s. 363.
86. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 53.
87. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 318.
88. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 261.
89. Ser. 8, Vol. IX, p. 729.
90. History of Alexander VI. Append. p. 404.
91. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 12.
92. Grand Diction. Art. Alexander VI.
93. Etud. Hist. T. VI, p. 98.
94. Rev. des Quest. Hist. Vol. IX, p. 472.

of " Vannozia Catani Borgia ", there is in the large hall for men, another with the record : " Vanotia Catani Borgia de Carignano ". " Why de Carignano ? We do not know, but, " he says, " does it perhaps express some reference to Dominic de Arignano ? " This guessing is a proof of the writer's knowledge. While the one stone recalls besides the name of Vannoza's house, that of her first husband and father of her children, the other commemorates also the man whom she married, when she had become a widow. The " C " of Carignano is but a mechanical mistake, as is the one that we will find also on her tombstone ; or perhaps had de Arignano, likely a Spaniard and dead many years, been but imperfectly known in Rome.

The systematic denigration of pope Alexander VI has required not only the forgery of false documents, but also the suppression of authentic names and information, of which we have pointed out a couple of instances, and we shall meet another before long. Hence the penury of historical data in regard to Vannoza's marriage with Dominic de Arignano, attested though it be by the monument of the hospital della Consolazione and by subsequent historians.

Directed by the event of William Raymund de Borgia's death, in the year 1481, and by a few later facts, we may, in the absence of more definite particulars, say that Vannoza made use, after some time, of her right to second nuptials ; and went to her new husband, according to the laws or customs of the time, like a single woman, unencumbered by any children ; leaving her eldest son, Pedro Lewis, to govern himself ; her son, Giovanni, in charge of the first-born of the family, and she sent to Rome her three youngest children, entrusting them to the charitable care of their uncle, cardinal Roderic de Borgia.

The cardinal is reported to have hired a house for them and to have placed them in the guardianship of their elderly

cousin, Adriana del Milá, the widow of the Roman baron, Ludovico Orsini [95]. After becoming a Pope, he still paid, on the 6th of May, 1495, the rent of their dwelling in the Borgo, as we see from an item of the papal accounts [96].

It is highly probable that Vannoza was, also this time, married in Spain, with some relation of her aunt Beatrice de Borgia, the wife of Ximen de Areños, whose family name was easily italianized into de Arignano, just as de Borja had been changed into de Borgia, and de Arignano was afterwards incorrectly rendered as de Carignano and de Arimano.

Vannoza was now advanced to a certain age, and there is no record of any children by this her second husband. She naturally grew tired of her loneliness, she wished to be were she could meet her and William Raymund de Borgia's youngest children, and induced her husband to move to Rome. Or, it is also possible that de Arignano had been invited by pope Alexander VI to come and accept some official position in the civil administration of the Pontifical States, since Boccaccio writes to Ferrara that Cesar de Borgia had been seen—he ironically says, born—in the house of Vannoza's husband, who was, at times, present in Rome, and, at times, travelling to and fro, on business all over the territory of the Church [97]. However this may be, it is certain that Vannoza became a regular inhabitant of Rome, " the noble lady Bennosa of the city of Rome " [98], the

---

95. Cfr. Dispatch of Gianandrea Boccaccio, ap. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 24, n. 1.

96. Dicta die, May 6th 1495, solvit similiter prefatus dns. Thesaurarius florenorum auri largos centum sexaginta, per mandatum factum die III presentis, Smo dno. nro. ppe., pro quadam pensione posita in burgo, in qua stant certi consanguinei Smi dni. nri. ppe. prefati, pro duobus annis finitis in Kal. Januarii proxime preteriti : Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Introitus et Exitus, Vol. 527 fo 187.

97. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 65.

98. Fita, Estud. Hist. T. VI, p. 128.

" Vannotia Romana " of Jovius [99], and that she lived there till her death, which occurred in the year 1518.

The senseless lampoon, which is the original and sole foundation of the vilest calumnies against pope Alexander VI, places the arrival of Vannoza from Spain into Italy and Rome at the end of the year 1490!

No mention is found to have been made anywhere of the time at which Dominic de Arignano died.

Several other men have been foisted, as husbands, upon Vannoza Borgia de Cathaneis.

Pastor [100], Gregorovius [101], Pasquale Adinolfi [102] and the Civiltà Cattolica [103] conspire to assert that, in the year 1480, Vannoza was married to a Milanese, named George della Croce ; and the three last of these historians assure us that she had by him a son, Octavian ; as also, that cardinal de Borgia obtained for him the position of a writer of apostolic letters.

Adinolfi and the Civiltà affirm, in particular, that George della Croce was a nobleman, and Gregorovius not only agrees with Adinolfi that he was a rich man, but says that he was of a wealth and social standing sufficient to let him build for himself and his family a mortuary chapel in the church of Santa Maria del Popolo [104]. He was, moreover, an honored member of the court of the Sovereign Pontiff. And yet, such an ideal, gallant and qualified suitor, who would have been welcomed by any marriageable lady of Rome, chose, according to the system of those enemies of pope Alexander VI, a vile concubine, a woman about forty years old and, just then, in a disgraceful condition, who gave birth, that same year 1480, to a sacrilegious daughter,

99. Elogiorum Lib. IV, p. 130.
100. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 261.
101. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 12.
102. Il Canale di Ponte.
103. Ser. 8. Vol. IX, p. 729.
104. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 20.

Lucretia de Borgia, as we shall see in due time. We ask them whether such a story is susceptible of belief ?

They further say that Vannoza had a son by George Croce ; we suppose shortly after her marriage, in the year 1481, or in 1482. If so, she must have been miraculously prolific, to thus give, at the same time, Octavian to della Croce and, according to the same historians, to Cardinal de Borgia, his youngest son, Jofre de Borgia, who was born towards the middle of the year 1482 [105]. There is no need of any comments, if they should object that Octavian, who, they say, had died already in 1486, was possibly born after Jofre.

They, finally, assert, to the dishonor of cardinal de Borgia, that, through his patronage and exertions, George della Croce obtained a scriptorship of apostolic letters. Adinolfi should have known better, for he copies [106] a bull of pope Sixtus IV, dated the 14th of July 1480 [107], by which the Pope appoints—not a Milanese nobleman, but—a Milanese clergyman, George " de Cruce "—was it " della Croce ?—, his honorary attendant, to the position of a scriptor of apostolic letters, left vacant through the free resignation of Charles de Martellis, its previous incumbent. He commands the cardinal Vicechancellor, under whose supervision George de

105. See infra Jofre de Borgia.
106. Il Canale di Ponte, p. 77.
107. Sixtus etc. Venerabili fratri Roderico Episcopo Portuensi S. R. E. Vicecancellario Sal. etc. Hodie dilecto filio Magistro Georgio de Cruce clerico Mediolanensi Scriptori et familiari nostro officium Scriptoriae litterarum apostolicarum per liberam resignationem dilecti filii Caroli de Martellis nuper dictarum litterarum scriptoris de illo quod tunc exercebat in manibus nostris sponte factam et per nos admissam vacans contulimus et assignavimus... Quocirca fraternitati tuae per apostolica scripta mandamus prefatum Georgium... ad officium Scriptoriae hujusmodi nec non liberum exercitium, honores, onera et emolumenta recipias et admittas ac recipi et admitti facias ut est moris. Non obstantibus... Contradictores per censuram ecclesiasticam appellatione postposita compescendo. Datum Romae apud S. Petrum Anno etc. MCCCCLXXX Pridie Idus Julii Pontificatus nri. an. IX.

Cruce was to enter, to admit him to the office, its honors and emoluments. This simple notification, sent to the President of the Roman Chancery, of the nomination of one of his inferiors, contains nothing to justify the suspicion of his intervention in the appointment ; while the orders given him, not to reject de Cruce, sufficiently denote that any statement to that effect is, under the present circumstances, a mere malicious invention.

Let us not, however, stop at this trivial detail, but allow the same authors to continue their unhistorical narrative.

Gregorovius relates [108] that George della Croce, together with his son, died in the year 1486. Thereupon, he adds, or, as Pastor [109] more expressly states, Vannoza de Cataneis was married, that same year, to Carlo Canale of Mantua, whom the Civiltà Cattolica [110] and Adinolfi [111] declare to have been also of noble extraction. Vannoza was now forty-four years old, but must have been still very desirable, for the corpse of her lamented della Croce can hardly have grown cold, when the noble Canale secured her as his wife. Indeed, Gregorovius gives as a document [112], the Latin marriage contract between " the honest woman Mrs. Vannotia, widow of the late... (sic), and apostolic scriptor, and the distinguished gentleman, the Lord Charles Canale of Mantua. The act is dated the 8th of June, 1486.

This defective official instrument is quite curious, for it states that, before the nuptials, she gave to him, as dot, a thousand ducats in gold, the promise of securing for him a position of solicitor of apostolic bulls, and the promise of such jewels as they had agreed upon. The authors above quoted cannot, forsooth, help seeing here the hand of car-

108. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 20.
109. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 261.
110. Ubi supra.
111. Il Canale di Ponte, p. 13.
112. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. II, s. 6.

dinal de Borgia, all the less, since they observe that the document was written by Camillo Beneimbene, the family notary of the Borgia house, Gregorovius says [113]. Nor can there be any doubt, although it be not stated by Adinolfi, that it was in consideration of Vannoza, if Carlo Canale was named a Scriptor of the Sacred Penitentiary, between 1490 and 1493, and, in 1498, was made governor of the Torre di Nona prison [114].

Gregorovius shows [115] that, notwithstanding Vannoza's advanced age, her union with Carlo Canale was blest with children.

The Civiltà assures us that Vannoza outlived all her husbands.

But why lose any more time on further particulars of this Vannoza? The two last marriages, especially that with della Croce, are not only historically untrue, but morally impossible, if Vannoza is supposed to be the same lady that is the mother of the Borgia children; nor is she indicated as such in the act of her marriage with Carlo Canale, where her surname may have been suppressed. To admit the historical value of Adinolfi's monograph, " Il Canale di Ponte ", we must commence by considering his Vannoza as a person essentially different from the one that wrote her name as Vanotia Borgia de Cathaneis and as one of the many Roman Vannozas, who probably was totally unknown to the Cardinal and to the whole house de Borgia.

Was not the prejudice of these writers against pope Alexander VI, great enough to obnubilate their minds and prevent them from seeing an obvious distinction, pointed out by Adinolfi himself, when he says at the commencement

---

113. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 22.
114. Adinolfi, Ibid. p. 15; Civiltà Cattolica, ubi supra; Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom. Bd. VII, s. 317.
115. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 22.

of his book[116] : "...Vannozia Borgia who should rather be called Vannoza de Catanei, of a family not ignoble and well liked in Rome... " He thus evidently sets aside the " Vannoza Borgia " who wrote to her daughter, Lucretia, the duchess of Ferrara.

Adinolfi describes his Vannoza as a woman of great activity, " di gran traffico ", who must have been young and beautiful to win the affection of the rich nobleman, della Croce, her first husband, " suo primo marito ". At that time Vannoza Borgia, the widow of William Raymund de Borgia and of Dominic de Arignano, was the mother of six children, and thirty-eight years old, having died in the year 1518, at the age of seventy-six years. In a notarial act of donation, preserved at the Archives of the Capitol in Rome[117], it is also expressly stated that George de Cruce was the first, and Carlo Canalis the second husband of the younger Vannoza de Cathaneis[118]. In this notarial instrument it is said that the lady donor promised under oath not to revoke her donation inter vivos because of possible ingratitude, or the advent of more children, " per supervenientiam liberorum ", or of her entry into some convent. Now, this document was made on the 15th of January, 1517, when Vannoza Borgia was seventy-five years old ! Would it not be mere dotage of the mother of the Borgia children, to speak of, and simple folly for a notary public to write of, the eventuality or the possibility of her getting more children, or even of becoming a nun at that age ? Such expressions and provisos are, however, applicable to Vannoza Canalis de Cathaneis, who married a first time in early youth, in

116. P. 14.

117. See Document 33a.

118. This document offers no ground to say that Vannoza lies in calling de Cruce her first husband, but proves that she could not have previously married Dominic de Arignano. It was the older Vannoza Borgia de Cathaneis who had wedded de Arignano.

the year 1480, and must have been born shortly after the oldest Borgia children, ridiculously attributed to her.

Adinolfi's Vannoza was without consideration from the higher class of society. She had taken a lease for life on an inn or hostelry, called The Lion, at ten ducats a year [119] and made money in conducting it. She was, says de l'Epinois [120], below the rank due to a legitimate mother of duke Cesar and of duchess Lucretia de Borgia. On the other hand, the dignified matron, Vannoza Borgia, was held in esteem and respect by personages of the highest ecclesiastical and secular dignity. Bishop Jovius visited her in Rome [121]; she was a regular correspondent of the highly noble cardinal d'Este [122] and of the duchess of Ferrara, her daughter; her sons, cardinal Cesar and the duke of Gandia, Giovanni, visited her betimes and, together with their noble acquaintances, took supper at her mansion, the very night of Giovanni's tragical death [123].

From this it is evident that Vannoza Borgia's children, although Illustrious dukes and princes, were not ashamed of their mother; and they publicly performed their filial duties in honoring and protecting her. The lord Giovanni Sforza was proud to take his mother-in-law, together with Lucretia de Borgia, his wife, in the beginning of May, 1494, on an extended visit, to his city and castle of Pesaro [124]. When,

---

119. Canale di Ponte, p. 13: Casa con albergo ed osteria del Leone... la presero—she and della Croce—ad affitto a loro vita durante.

120. Rev. des Quest. Histor. T. XXIX, p. 383.

121. Jovius, Vita Magni Consalvi, Lib. III, p. 272.

122. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 356.

123. Burchard, Diar. T. II, p. 387-388. It is significant that Burchard does not mention the name of Carlo de Canale, neither on this occasion nor when relating the robbery of the house of Cesar de Borgia's mother by the French in the year 1495: Ibid. p. 220.

124. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 74 and n. 1, referring to a dispatch of Jacomo Trotti from Milan to the duke of Ferrara, dated the 11th of June, 1494.

on the 2d of September, 1503, the duke of Valentinois went, for security's sake, from Rome to Nepi, he took along Vannoza, his mother, to save her from the sword of the Orsini, who hated not only the duke but every Spaniard [125]. From Gregorovius [126] we further learn that the duke of Squillace did not feel disgraced or ashamed, when placing his son, eight or nine years old, under the care of his own mother, Vannoza, at whose home Girolamo Sacrati met the child in A. D. 1515. At her death, greater honors were paid to her remains than had ever been accorded to those of the most aristocratic Roman lady.

Vannoza de Catanei is represented by Adinofi as a business woman, that made money and took an excessive pleasure in hoarding it in her coffers, " vagheggiando oltremodo il mettere in arca " ; from which she did not extract it but to improve her inn, or to acquire other hostelries and houses. Vannozā de Borgia was of a quite opposite disposition. Her only occupation seems to have been doing charity by large donations, by works and advice, as it is expressed on a memorial tablet in the chapel of the hospital " della Consolazione " for ladies [127].

We will soon hear more of her charitable works.

It is not said, as of della Croce, that Carlo Canale was a rich man, and we may presume that Vannoza de Catanei, left, at his death, with the burden of his small children, was losing in business and compelled to alienate some of her property. She tried every way to save of it what she could,

---

125. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 301.

126. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 357, refer. to the Modena archives.

127. « Elenco
Delle Matrone
Che in diversi tempi
Prestarono Soccorso
Alle povere inferme
Con Largizioni
Con opere e coi Consigli
1527
Vannozia Catani Borgia »
A. Belli, Ospedale delle Donne, p. 20.

says Gregorovius, who ascribes to political causes the danger of her ruin, as if pope Julius II was to despoil her, in order to take revenge on her pretended son, Cesar de Borgia [128]. She, therefore, he adds, transferred, on the 4th of December, 1503, her house located on the piazza Pizzo Merlo, to her chapel in the church of Santa Maria del Popolo, but reserving for herself its usufruct for life. The condition was that the Augustinian friars should celebrate three anniversary Masses : for Carlo Canale on the 24th of March, for George della Croce on the 13th of October and for herself on the anniversaries of her death. The historian here refers to an original act, preserved in the archives " Sancta Sanctorum ", he says. We have not this document at hand and do not question its contents ; and yet, we wonder how Vannoza could still dispose of the house on Pizzo Merlo, when we recall to mind the statement of the same Gregorovius [129] that, namely, in making his will, on the 9th of October, 1485, George della Croce bequeathed that property, provided his son Octavian should die without children, as he did ; to the chapel which he had built in the same church del Popolo, and where he was to be buried. Gregorovius refers, this time, to the same archives " Sancta Sanctorum ", Armadio IV, Mazzo VI, n° 20.

Be this as it may ; but, from the notarial act of donation just mentioned it clearly appears that Vannoza Canale de Cathanei was also in straitened financial circumstances in the year 1517. Her grant of an inn, " Taverna della Vacca ", of a little resort or vigna, and of two small accounts due to her, has more of the nature of a sale than of a benefaction. She reserves for her lifetime the usufruct of what she gives, and the principal beneficiaries of her liberality,

---

128. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 353, 354.

129. Gesch. der Stadt Rom., Bd. VII, s. 316, footn.

the hospital of the Divine Savior and its board or directors are obliged, under pain of forfeiting the gift, not only to distribute to other institutions of charity the half of the granted values, but also to pay or to assume the payment of various sums due by her or to become due. They must, at her death, bear the expenses of her funeral and of yearly anniversary Masses for her deceased husbands and for herself. They must pay to Ranerius de Trottis, her servant, all his wages from the time of her second husband, Carlo Canale's, death till the death of Vannoza herself.

So also to Master Christophel, the tailor, ten ducats.

Item, to Marguerite, the notary's daughter, her godchild, one hundred ducats, as part of her marriage dot.

Item, to John of Mantua ten ducats, borrowed from him.

Item, to the priest Francis, who lent her his services, thirty-one ducats, and other such accounts that indicate a condition bordering on poverty [130].

Vannoza Borgia, on the contrary, was and remained until death a wealthy and prominent matron of Rome. On the 27th of May, 1504, the Governor of the City considered her as responsible enough to receive into her house the sum of three hundred thousand ducats from the treasurer of her son, who was said to be on his way to Naples, whither the duke Cesar had fled. The Governor, probably by order of the Pope, searched for the treasure all through her house [131]. Yet, she did not suffer otherwise, neither in person nor in fortune. The large benefactions devised by her last will sufficiently prove that she was not in need of sacrificing any property to secure its revenues for the rest of her life. Her legacies alone to the Confraternity " del Gonfalone " were bringing four hundred ducats of income in the year 1525.

130. See Document 30a.
131. Villari, Dispacci di Ant. Giustinian, vol. III, p. 123.

From the circumstances that accompanied her pretended last marriages and from the foregoing two series of opposite facts, it is evident that the dignified dowager of William Raymund de Borgia and of Dominic de Arignano is altogether different from the widow of della Croce and of Canale. In spite of them all, however, Matagne seeks to prove [132] the identity of the two ladies with the aid of one monument, if monument it can be called, which forms an exception to the three that he quotes himself and to the " Elenco " of the hospital that he mentions. There is, he says, in the large hall of the Hospital della Consolazione for ladies an Inscription commencing with the words : " Vanogza Catanea Madre del Duca Borge " ; and it states that, by an act of the 15th of January, 1517, she did stipulate that three anniversary Masses be celebrated for her deceased husbands, George Croce and Carlo Canale and for herself ; thus confusing the mother of Cesar de Borgia with the wife of those two men. He confidently declares that the monument cannot be suspected, because its publisher, A. Belli [133], is full of praises for Vannozia and her son. Strange logic that is. Not the dispositions of a late publisher ought to cause or prevent controversies about the value of any document or monument ; but the intrinsic qualities of this one establish its utter unreliableness. Matagne confesses [134] that this stone was erected as late as the year 1608, that is, a century after the events ; and yet, he adds, in spite of a principle of history, that it has the value of a contemporary witness. He calls it a renewal of a contemporary instrument ; but the strange names of " Vanogza " and " Borge " were not copied from an authentic paper ; where, moreover, the addi-

---

132. Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. IX, p. 473.

133. Ospitale delle Donne presso S. Maria della Consolazione, Roma, 1835.

134. Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. XI, p. 189.

tion of " Madre del Duca Borge " would have been uncalled for, to say the least. The stone was placed at a time when the memory of the Borgia house and of pope Alexander VI, in particular, was universally calumniated, and the exceptional designation of " Madre del Duca Borge " was added to this Inscription undoubtedly with the intention with which Matagne is upholding it yet. What else could have been the object in placing the stone ? Or was it perhaps a vain attempt to give the power of a binding obligation to some faint remembrance of some pious foundation—of the ilk of that December 4th, 1503— ; but, if so, why add to Vanogza the insulting qualification of Mother of a bastard son, long since disgraced ?

Shall a monument of that sort impair our conclusion drawn from a number of facts related by the very enemies of pope Alexander VI, when we state that Vannoza Borgia de Cathaneis never married a della Croce or a Canale ?

We had already written those lines, when we had the good fortune of obtaining from Rome a copy of the original instrument of January the 15th, 1517, mentioned by Matagne, by which Vannotia de Cataneis—not " Vanogza Catanea " —institutes the three anniversary Masses : one for her first husband, George de Cruce, another for her second spouse, Carlo Canale, and a third for herself. But the words : " Madre del Duca Borge " are not to be found in the whole document ; nay, they are irrelevant to, and even incompatible with, the contents of the notarial act [135]. They are simply an awkward, malicious addition and another example of bold forgeries, intended to calumniate pope Alexander VI and the Borgia house. Truth and justice demand that the chisel be applied, at this late day, to correct the mendacious monument of the hospital della Consolazione.

---

135. See Document 30a.

If it were only for the fun of it, we should not neglect to report one more marriage of the mother of the Borgia children. Modern historians have read of it, but we have found only one, the publisher L. Thuasne, to admit it as a historical fact. Fita and Thuasne accept as genuine [136] a parchment, kept in the archives of the duke of Osuna in Madrid, which we shall discuss in the Appendix to this volume [137]. From this so-called document it follows, that the mother of Giovanni de Borgia, duke of Gandia and Cesar's brother german,—Vannoza, of course— having here the surname, not of " de Catanei ", but of " Pinctoris " was married a first time to an unknown Master Anthony de Brixia, before marrying della Croce. She had by him several children, among whom a certain John Baptist, a canon of Sta. Maria in Via lata, who was old enough to be appointed as tutor of Giovanni de Borgia, his half brother from the same mother, Thuasne says [138]. John Baptist had another brother, Paul de Brixia, of sufficient age, besides more brothers and sisters, too young for the appointment. From all of which it appears that poor Vannoza must have had her hands full in raising two families of children at the same time ! The Osuna document and L. Thuasne vouch for the truth of it all.

From the scant information that we have of Vannoza Borgia since the time that she arrived in Rome, we may presume that she led a retired and quiet life. We are told that she was robbed of eight hundred ducats and other valuables by the French soldiers in the year 1495 [139], and that her dwelling was searched in 1504. Gregorovius further assures us [140] upon the authority of a pretended

136. Estud. Hist., t. VI, p. 98, n° 18 and p. 116 ; Diar. Burchard, t. III, p. VI.
137. Ch. II, art. IV.
138. Ibid., footn. 3.
139. Burchard, Diar., t. II, pp. 220, 249.
140. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 353.

document of the " Sancta Sanctorum " archives, that Vannoza was, in 1504, disturbed again, by a lawsuit, in which was brought against her the self refuting accusation of having acted as a noncommissioned officer of the papal army, and having sent a troop of Cesar de Borgia's soldiers to steal a flock of sheep from a hostile party !

It is agreed by all writers that she passed her days as an honest widow, " proba mulier ", Jovius says [141], in doing good to the poor and in other acts of virtue and piety [142].

What she did for the Confraternity " del Gonfalone " will be better told by Marcanthony Altieri, a man of consideration in Rome and " Camerarius " of the same pious sodality, who, in the year 1525, gave a detailed account of its property: " We should not forget to mention, ", he says, " the charitable foundations made by the highly esteemed and highly honored Dame Lady Vannoza of the house Cathanei, the happy mother of the Illustrious Lord, the duke of Gandia ; of the Lord duke of Valentinois, of the Prince of Squillace and of Lady Lucretia, duchess of Ferrara. As she was willing to provide the Confraternity with temporal goods, she left to it many jewels of no mean value, and added to them so much assistance, that the Confraternity was enabled, a few years later, to free itself of certain obligations. After this, she left us so many properties, that we derive from them forever, the yearly revenue of four hundred ducats, wherewith to feed the sadly great number of our poor and infirm [143].

Vannoza Borgia died on the 26th of November, 1518.

The Venetian ambassador wrote home : " Day before yesterday Lady Vannoza died, the mother of the duke of

141. Vita Consalvi, lib. III, p. 272.

142. Matagne, Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. XI, p. 192 ; Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 359 ; Aa. passim.

143. Gregorovius, ubi supra, p. 360.

Valentinois and of the duchess of Ferrara, at one time the lady friend of pope Alexander ", he adds. This jeer may have been written by the agent of unfriendly Venice, at a time when hatred against that Pope was still intense among the Italian nobility ; or, it is perhaps an addition made by Marin Sanuto, from whom [144] we here copied, and whose diary is generally very unfair to pope Alexander VI. The letter continues : " During that night I was in a place where I could hear the announcement made after the Roman custom : " Master Paolo makes known that Lady Vannoza, the mother of the duke of Gandia, is dead. She belongs to the Confraternity of the Gonfalone ". She was buried yesterday at Santa Maria del Popolo [145] and was buried with all magnificence, almost like a cardinal. She was sixty-six years of age "—in fact, seventy-six—. " She had made over all her fortune, which is not a little, to St. John of Lateran "—This is erroneous—" The chamberlains of the Pope were present at the funeral, a thing that does not often take place ".

Gregorovius comments upon this last detail, saying [146] that " pope Leo X in sending his courtiers to Vannoza's burial, wanted to honor the widow of Alexander VI, or at least the mother of the duchess of Ferrara. " Can such a thought, we ask, come to the brain of a historian, whom hatred has not demented ? A Pope may not be impeccable, but all history shows him to be incapable not only of thus honoring vice but even of countenancing it. Nor could the intention of pope Leo X have been to honor the duchess of Ferrara, Lucretia de Borgia, if Vannoza had not been her legitimate mother. In this case the special attention of a Pope to a former concubine would justly have been consi-

144. Diar., vol. 26, f° 135.
145. De l'Epinois in Rev. des Quest. Histor., t. XXIX, p. 379.
146. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 361.

dered as a solemn scandal, naturally resulting in the renewed shame of a sacrilegious daughter. His order meant simply what it did, namely, to pay respect to a highly noble Lady, whose charity and other virtues were publicly praised, and of whom, in all her life, not a man had told any special evil. Nevertheless, some years after the death of pope Alexander VI, her name was often abused, to slander that Pontiff.

Had Vannoza actually been as nearly four centuries have painted her, would not the Confraternity of the Gonfalon have rejoiced in secret over the gifts received from her; and yet, would they not have avoided to compromise the respectability of its members, by keeping aloof from the funeral of a woman with a record of such an opprobrious past? They did not, however, follow this diplomatic course of action. Marcantonio Altieri, after reciting the gifts of Vannoza, continues to say: " Thankful for Vannoza's charitable and pious intentions and for all the charitable help given to so many indigent people, our Confraternity resolved unanimously and joyfully not only to celebrate her exequies with rich and honorable pomp, but also to honor the deceased with a proud and magnificent grave. It also took the unanimous resolution of celebrating in the future, on the date of her funeral and in the church del Popolo, an anniversary with Masses, solemnities and the concourse of people bearing candles and torches, with great devotion; in order to recommend to God the salvation of her soul and to prove to the world that we hate and detest ingratitude ".

Since the Confraternity of the Gonfalon consisted of the best part of the nobility and most prominent citizens of Rome, the elite of the City and a large gathering of grateful poor people made of Vannoza Borgia's funeral such an impressive solemnity as had never been witnessed before.

A certain Jerome Picus, who had been appointed as

executor of her last will, placed a beautiful monument over her grave, in the church of Santa Maria del Popolo.

The very location of Vannoza's grave and tombstone is an evidence of her blameless and exemplary life. Would, indeed, the religious rectors of Santa Maria del Popolo have ventured to admit and to exhibit to the perusal of the pious throngs of their popular sanctuary the laudatory memorial of a woman, said to be the vile accomplice of a sinful Pope ?

The inscription was as follows :

" To Vanotia de Cathaneis, famous through her children, the Dukes Cesar of Valentinois, Giovanni of Gandia, Jofre of Squillace and Lucretia of Ferrara, distinguished by her virtue, eminent by her piety, as well as by her age and her prudence, who deserved so well of the Lateran hospital, Jerome Picus, the entrusted commissioner, has placed this memorial, in fulfilment of her last will. She lived seventy-six years, four months and thirteen days. She died in the year 1518, the 26th of November " [147].

The honest Jerome Picus thus recorded what he readily knew of Vannoza Borgia de Cathaneis. He did not consult our modern enemies of pope Alexander VI, who, consequently, found fault with both what he said and what he did not say. H. de l'Epinois blames him for mentioning as an encomium the renown obtained through her " four sons ", and appropriates the remark of von Reumont who says that it is a proof of human frailty and of the indulgence of the

---

147. D. o. M.
Vanotiae Cathanae Caesare Va-
[lentiae Joane Gandiae
Jofre Doscylatii et Lucretiae Fer-
[rariae Duab. Filiis Nobili
Probitate insigni Religione eximia
[pari et aetate et
Prudentia optime de Xenodochio
[Lateranen. meritae
Hieronymus Picus fideicommiss.
[procur. ex test. Pos.
Vix. An. LXXVI, M.IIII, D.XIII.
Obit. anno MDXVIII, XXVI. No.
Vincenzo Forcella, Iscrizioni, vol.
[I, p. 335. n° 1276.
The second line ought to be corrected into : Jofredo Scylatii et Lucretia Ferrariae Ducib (us)...

age [148], which he assumes to have been corrupt. But, if Picus considered it an honor for Vannoza to have been the mother of four sacrilegious bastards, why did he not deem it a glory for her to have been, if indeed, the concubine of a Pope, and mention Alexander VI ? It would have been but another expression of the same profligacy ! It is, however, a mistake to attribute indulgence to a wicked period ; but while scandal mongers thrive best in a vicious community, it was by the better and most virtuous class of people that Vannoza was honored.

Again, from the silence of Picus and of Altieri's panegyric about Vannoza's husband or husbands, de l'Epinois draws an argument for the suspicion of illegitimacy of her children[149]. And why did Picus not mention also her father's and mother's name ? Should the publicist read the " Iscrizioni " of Forcella, he would find more than one memorial stone lacking in such information. Moreover, the Roman Picus may not have heard of William Raymund de Borgia, a Spaniard who never appeared in Rome and died forty years before. Even de Arignano, her second husband, was but little and incorrectly known in the City ; and could not be named, not being the father of Vannoza's glorious children.

Nor does the monument mention but the four youngest of her children, with whom every Roman had been acquainted. It is silent about the two oldest, of whose names Jerome Picus may have been ignorant also, since Pedro Luis never was in Italy, and died in Spain in the beginning of the year 1491, while Girolama was dead already in 1483 [150]. It does not follow, however, that these were no children of

148. Rev. des Quest. Hist. t. XXIX, p. 379, n. 5.
149. Ibid., p. 380.
150. Fita, Estud. Hist., t. VI, p. 98.

Vannoza, because in the act of marriage of Girolama [151], this lady is stated to be the sister of not only Pedro Luis but also of Giovanni de Borgia, and these two are declared " germanorum fratrum ", brothers german.

ARTICLE IV. — DAUGHTERS OF WILLIAM RAYMUND LANZOL Y DE BORGIA.

We shall presently speak of the four sons of William Raymund de Borgia : Pedro Luis, Giovanni, Cesar and Jofre.

The suppression of authentic information in regard to William Raymund de Borgia, evident at times, as in the genealogical Osuna tree [152], has been so general, that Imhof [153] has been able to detect only one of his descendants.

His other children have been foisted on pope Alexander VI, in most writings of the period of hatred and revenge, that followed this Pontiff's death. Many historical facts and records disprove the calumny ; but original documents have been so systematically tampered with or eliminated, that indirect testimony only is left, to establish that Girolama de Borgia, her brothers, Pedro Luis, Giovanni, Cesar and Jofre, and their sister, Lucretia, were children also of William Raymund.

Many writers assert that cardinal Roderic de Borgia—in reality, William Raymund de Borgia—had one daughter, Lucretia ; Panvinio [154] allows him two, that are named by Pastor [155] and Fita [156] : Girolama or Jeronima and (passim) Lucretia. These daughters of William Raymund de Borgia are indicated by Vasari, who says [157] that Pinturicchio pain-

151. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. II, s. 4.
152. Fita, Estudios Historicos, t. VI, p. 101.
153. Genealogiae XX Illustrium in Hispania Familiarum, p. 24.
154. Vita Roman. Pontiff. ad Alex. VI, p. 342.
155. Ubi supra, Bd. III, s. 262.
156. Estud. Hist., t. VI, p. 98.
157. Le Vite de' piu eccellenti Pittori, vol. 3, p. 499.

ted in the castle of Sant' Angelo the portraits of several important personages of the time ; among others, those of Cesar de Borgia, of his brother and of his sisters, " e le sorelle ". Gregorovius [158] adds a third daughter, Isabella.

He refers to an Extract from the Archives of the Capitol, Cred. XIV. T. 72. We made a copy of that Extract, which is as follows [159] :

" 1483, April 1st, by Augustin de Martini Capitoline notary. — Archives of the Capitol 92.

Espousals between the noble and distinguished lord Pietro, son of John Mattuci de' Quattro, an apostolic scriptor of the ward of Parione, on one hand, and the noble and prudent lady Ysabella Borgia, on the other; with a dot of two thousand papal gold ducats, due in this manner : 800 ducats on the basement and superstructure of a house and 700 on another house, and the other 500 in ready money, and besides the above, the whole trousseau. The act was passed in a room of the Most Reverend Lord Vicechancellor, in the presence of the Reverend Fathers and Lords the Prothonotary Borgia, the Prothonotary Agnelli and the Roman lord Antony de Porcariis of the ward of Pinea, and the lord James Casanova ".

The only particulars of this paper of interest here are that the lady's surname was Borgia, and that the contract was made in the house of cardinal de Borgia, who is not mentioned as present on the occasion. We see that Isabella was an acquaintance, maybe a relative of the Vicechancellor; but what is there that authorizes Gregorovius or de l'Epinois [160] to call her his daughter, or Yriarte [161] to assert that cardinal de Borgia hesitated not to declare himself her

158. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 19.
159. See Document 31a.
160. Rev. des Quest. Histor., t. XXIX, p. 379.
161. Les Borgia, César, t. I, p. 33.

father ? Moreover, Isabella's paltry dot : two small houses—that did not belong to the cardinal—, and a trifle of five hundred ducats, ought to have sufficed to prevent the slander.

Nor is the above Extract an authentic document. It was made at a later time, when the enemies of pope Alexander VI used every means to revile his memory ; for it is simply an item of the " Notizie di Famiglie Illustri, " gathered in the Codex 72 of the Archivio Storico of the Capitol.

The names of the contractants mentioned in the Extract have given occasion to a vicious interpolation of the Diary of Burchard, where we read [162] : " Receptus fuit de mense Octobris aut Novembris MDI Oliverius Mattucius Romanus, filius D. Petri Mattuccii, civis Romani, nepotis SS. D. N. Pape, ex filia sua, uxore dicti D. Petri Cancellarii Urbis ". Nor can there be any doubt that such an item is a forgery, for it is altogether foreign to the usage and style of John Burchard, who nowhere else makes use of the indefinite term " de mense " to mark the time, but always gives the precise day and date. Much less does he ever express the time of an act or event, by indicating, as here, a space of two months. Neither does he, anywhere else, insert such uncertain time between the days of a preceding month, as it is done here ; but he jots down his items in the form of a diary, in the order of their natural succession. Again, Burchard always states in full letters the number of the years, over their beginnings ; but here, he inserts, in latin figures, MDI, the year's number in the body of his report.

The entry was evidently not made by the precise diarist, but by some interpolator who, caring little for dates, wanted

---

162. Vol. III, p. 162.

to punish pope Alexander VI by his unusual and impertinent addition about " his daughter " [163].

Gregorovius had also discovered the name of Girolama in a notarial record, which he publishes in part [164] and which we copy from him for the benefit of our critical readers [165]. The document is a protocol of a preliminary marriage contract entered into by cardinal Roderic de Borgia in behalf of the virtuous and high-born lady, Jeronima, sister of the excellent and noble youth, the lord Pedro Luis de Borgia and of the infant Giovanni de Borgia, brothers german; and, on the other part, by the Magnificent lord Gabriel de Caesarinis, a Roman nobleman, father and lawful administrator of the conspicuous youth John Andrew, his legitimate and natural son, on the 24th of January, 1482.

It is noticeable that, while the bridegroom is mentioned as a son of a contracting party, the bride is, in the presence of cardinal Roderic, identified as sister of her young brothers. Why not as the cardinal's daughter, if he was her father or the father of her brothers ? It could not be replied that his honor or that of Jeronima was to be saved, when we see his enemies admit as genuine a papal bull in which he is, shortly after, declared five times to be the carnal father of the lady's brothers. In fact, Jeronima was described here as her brothers' sister, because her father was dead ; and the cardinal acted only as one of her near relatives.

In spite of this, Gregorovius concludes from the document that cardinal de Borgia is sufficiently indicated as her father, because he is said to have been " moved by paternal affection " ; but if this expression is a proof of paternity, then every Roman Pontiff has had millions of children, and,

---

163. Confer, vol. V., Annex, Burchard.

164. Lucr. Borgia Bd. II. Doc. I.

165. See Document 31b.

in particular, pope Sixtus IV was the father of Jeronima's brothers here mentioned [166].

One might argue that Jeronima was cardinal Roderic's daughter, because she is declared a sister of two of his sons ; but this would constitute the fallacy of a vicious circle ; for, if Pedro Luis and Giovanni should prove not to be his sons, neither would she be his daughter.

Again Gregorovius may have misunderstood the phrase " veluti filiam recognoscere et tractare " as meaning that he did acknowledge Jeronima as being his daughter. But if so, the notary should have excluded the obvious translation of " like a daughter " or " as if she were a daughter ", by restricting the general idea with the possessive " suam " ; and he would not have made himself ridiculous by a self-evident tautology, when plainly stating in the same breath that the lady was " a member of the cardinal's Borgia house and family ".

Finally, it might be said, the cardinal, as a father, gave to Jeronima her marriage dower. In truth, it is reported that he promised a paltry four thousand ducats, but not a dower that a father, enjoying an income similar to that of cardinal Roderic, would give to his daughter. He followed the customs of the time, by contributing, " as a member of the family ", to the marriage portion of his niece, as his uncle Calixtus III had done before in favor of Roderic's own mother and of his aunts [167].

Jeronima was considered already by Leonetti as a niece of the cardinal, and H. de l'Epinois is not averse to that opinion [168] ; and as she actually was, " existit ", as here

---

166. See Fidel Fita, Estud. Hist., t. VI, p. 118.

167. Gaspar Escolano, Hist. de Valencia, Dec. prima lib. VI, cap. XXIII.

168. Rev. des Quest. Hist. t. XXIX, p. 370-371.

set forth, one of his house and family, and dear to him as would be a daughter, " veluti filiam ", she was undoubtedly an orphan child of William Raymund de Borgia, and the venerable uncle, in his charity, endeavored to act as a father to her in his place.

It seems that the young couple, both Jeronima and John Andrew de Caesarinis, died in the following year, 1483 [169].

169. Gregorov. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 19 ; Fita, Estud. Hist., t. VI, p. 98.

CHAPTER VI.

Pedro Luis de Borgia.

ARTICLE I. — HIS ORIGIN AND GLORIOUS YOUTH.

We have just noticed that Jeronima's oldest brother was the young lord Pedro Luis de Borgia, stated to be of the same parentage as Jeronima's second brother, the child Giovanni de Borgia. In another document, admitted by all historians [1], Pedro Luis is again named the full brother, german, of Giovanni as also of Cesar and of... (Jofre) de Borgia ; and he completes the number four of sons donated by Panvinio [2] and many other writers, to pope Alexander VI, upon the authority of a couple of uncalled-for pretended documents to be considered hereafter.

It is of interest to know who actually were the parents of Pedro Luis. When Ferdinand, king of Spain, elevated him to the highest order of the Spanish nobility, he made the introductory remark, that it behooves princes, for the sake of their own exaltation, to surround the kingly throne with men born of noble and most distinguished parents and, for that reason, so highly honored everywhere ; and he continues saying : Now, therefore, considering your noble extraction, etc [3]. When he confers upon him the rights and title of Duke of Gandia, he mentions again his virtues and the fact of his birth from illustrious and noble parents [4]. We cannot help stopping a moment here, to ask whether king Ferdinand could allow himself, on these solemn occa-

1. See Document 32.
2. Vita Roman. Pontiff. ad Alex. VI, p. 342.
3. See Document 32.
4. See Document 33

sions, the stinging irony and sarcasm of calling noble and celebrated the parents of the new deserving duke of Gandia, if he knew or even suspected him to be a bastard of a sacrilegious clergyman and of a mean Roman girl [5] or worse [6] ? If he could thus insult Pedro Luis de Borgia while he was exalting him, he certainly should not have intended to enhance his own royal dignity, as he stated, by placing such an offspring at his side ; nor would he, shortly after, have admitted him as a first-cousin into his own house, by allowing him as he did, the hand of the daughter of his own mother's brother.

The King does not express the baptismal name of Pedro Luis's father, who was dead at the time, nor the one of his mother. The latter's name has, however, been preserved to us by Mariana [7] and Raynaldi [8]. They call her Vannoza or Zanozia ; and later historians and documents add the family title, de Cathaneis. Pastor [9], referring to Cittadella and Reumont is pleased to be of another opinion, because Pedro Luis is not mentioned on the tombstone of this lady, and yet von Reumont plainly states [10] that, although Pedro Luis be not mentioned on Vanotia's tombstone, he would not quite deny him to be one of her sons. Vanotia was of the high social condition expressed by king Ferdinand of Spain, by no means of a plebeian family, says de l'Epinois [11], who refers to Adinolfi [12], Reumont [13] and Gregorovius [14]. As noted before, a document in the Osuna archives [15] calls her

---

5. Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles. ad an. 1492, n° XXVII.
6. Gregorovius, Luc. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 17.
7. Ap. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 11.
8. Annal. Eccles. ad an. 1492, n° XXVII.
9. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 262, n. 2.
10. Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. 3, vol. XVII, p. 327.
11. Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. XXIX, p. 381.
12. Il Canale di Ponte, p. 13.
13. Gesch. der Stadt Rom., t. III, I, s. 203, 500.
14. Gesch. der Stadt Rom., Bd. VII, s. 315.
15. Fidel Fita, Estud. Histor., t. VI, p. 128.

the " noble Dona Bennosa ", not unlikely a Spanish lady, says de l'Epinois, after considering the principal circumstances of the life of her oldest son.

We can arrive at the given name of Pedro Luis' father in an indirect manner only. There is a papal bull by which the canonical patronage of, and the right of nomination to, the parish church of Gandia were secured to Pedro Luis, the young duke of that city [16], and the employees of the Roman court were on the issuance of that bull to contribute their labour gratuitously, because the beneficiary was the nephew of a cardinal, as it is marked on the record : " Gratis pro nepote R. dni. Cardinalis ". Who was the cardinal ? Pedro Luis was, through his father, a nephew of cardinal Roderic de Borgia, and, on his mother's side, a nephew of cardinal Lewis John del Milá. The enemies of pope Alexander VI could not here recognize the cardinal Roderic, without subverting their system of defamation ; but they fall from Scylla into Charybdis by choosing Lewis John as the cardinal here indicated ; because, as observed before, William Raymund was, through his marriage with Lewis John's first-niece, the Borgia gentleman, and the only one, whose children were rightful nephews of the cardinal of the Four Crowned. If Pedro Luis, the first duke of Gandia, had been a son of the former cardinal, then he must have been a third-cousin only, and no nephew at all, of the latter, To escape the consequence, it does not suffice to give to a distant cousin the name of uncle, " tio segundo " [17], in spite of dictionaries, of the usages of the time and of the Roman court in particular.

In another papal bull, the object of which called for the designation of son of cardinal Roderic de Borgia, if it could

16. See Document 34.
17. Fita, Estud. Hist., t. VI, p. 115. footn.

have been truthfully applied, Pedro Luis is simply qualified as one of his relations [18]; and still another incontestable document will soon be at hand to prove that his own brother-german, Giovanni, the second duke of Gandia, was not a son of cardinal Roderic. Neither was, therefore, Pedro Luis; and he should be referred, as a son, to his own illustrious parents, William Raymund de Borgia and Vanotia de Cataneis.

Pastor [19] states that Pedro Luis and his sister, Girolama, were born in the beginning of the sixties of the fifteenth century; but, as he remarks [20], Oliver [21] is of the opinion that Pedro's birth must be placed in the year 1458. We will let those learned men settle the difference among themselves, and simply observe that, if Oliver had placed confidence in a pretended document which he discovered in the Osuna archives [22], he would not have disagreed with the German historian, since that paper indicates that Pedro Luis was, on the 3d of May, 1483, over twenty and under twenty-two years of age; but he well knew that a forgery could not be a basis of calculation.

Fidel Fita [23] asserts that the children of Don Rodrigo de Borgia were born in Rome. This can mean no more than that, if cardinal Roderic should ever have had any children, these would necessarily have been born in Rome. But there is no historical source giving us any positive information in regard to the place where Pedro Luis de Borgia first saw the light of day. There is neither Spanish, Italian nor, in particular, any Roman history or diary, not even an ambassador's report, to say that he was a native of Rome, had ever lived in Rome or was ever seen in Rome. While we

18. See Document 35.
19. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 262.
20. Ibid., footn. 1.
21. Fita, Estud. Hist., t. VI, p. 95.
22. Ibid., p. 119.
23. Ibid., p. 95.

have several documents, which clearly indicate that, a born Spaniard, he passed his youth and early manhood in his native country, until he died.

After taking into account the principal circumstances of Pedro Luis' history, de l'Epinois very sensibly concludes that he may have been born in Spain and of a Spanish mother [24]. In fact, whatever history tells of him took place in Spain ; and he was, at the time, so universally known to be a born Spaniard, that no forger ventured to foist upon him Spanish papers of naturalization, although he became the owner of large estates in that country. We know that he had his home in Valencia, was an " habitator civitatis Valencie " [25], where he had built the Borgia palace on the square of San Lorenzo [26] ; and he was undoubtedly born in that city, like his brother Giovanni, whom Burchard [27] calls a native of Valencia. He was not only born, but also passed all of his life, in Spain [28].

Pedro Luis, being the first-born son, was from childhood destined to become the head and propagator of his house. Thus Jovius [29] , who strangely calls him Franciscus, prince of Gandia ; although the first duke of Gandia by the name of Francis was the fourth duke, St. Francis de Borgia. When yet a mere youth, he chose, like most prominent young Spanish cavaliers, to join the armies of his Kings in their incessant wars for the liberation of Spain from the incubus of its Mohammedan invaders ; and, from the singular praises repeatedly bestowed upon him by king Ferdinand, it appears that, already before the death of his father, he was usually

---

24. Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. XXIX, p. 380.
25. Fidel. Fita, Estud. Histor., t. VI, pp. 215, 218. See Document 36.
26. Gaspar Escolano, Hist. de Valencia, lib. VI, cap. XXIII, vol. II, col. 202.
27. Diar., t. II, p. 69.
28. De l'Epinois, Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. XXIX, pp. 371, 380.
29. Vita Consalvi, lib. III, p. 272.

to be found in the royal camp, both as an intrepid soldier and a capable captain [30]. His first honorable appointment was that of shield-bearer to the King, and soon after he was made one of his honorary chamberlains [31].

Pedro Luis' bravery in the service of his country and religion increased as he advanced in age. When the Kings issued in the beginning of the year 1485 their appeal to the Spanish nobility to go and revenge, on the infidel Moors, the losses lately sustained in the Axarquia mountains, Pedro summoned the men of his various Seigniories and joined the royal standard planted before the fortress and city of Ronda. The walls and gates of the stronghold were soon bombarded and battered, but the fierce Mohammedans were holding out. A perilous assault and hand to hand encounters were needed to dislodge them. At the first sound of the King's command, Pedro Luis, with axe in his belt and sword in his hand, sprang to the head of his men, ran and dealt the first deadly blows to the defenders, and was the first man to break into the vaults of the fort. In a short time there was nothing left to the garrison but the choice between flight and death.

Upon the sanguinary expulsion of the enemies followed the touching deliverance of the Christian prisoners, several of whom were cavaliers of rank who had not beheld a ray of the sun for months or years. On the capture of Ronda, says Prescott [32], more than four hundred of these unfortunates were led in triumph before Ferdinand and later, before Isabella, who caused them to be conveyed to their homes.

The heroism of Pedro Luis de Borgia had been so conspicuous and efficient that the King, at once and in his very

---

30. See Document 32 and especially 33.
31. See Document 32.
32. Ferdinand and Isabella, vol. 1, p. 497.

camp of Ronda, raised the young cavalier to the highest rank of the nobility of Spain, and opened to him the palaces of her princely houses. The royal diploma reads as follows [33].

We Ferdinand etc. We know it to be becoming, yea, necessary to princes, for the promotion of their royal dignity, to elevate, decorate and distinguish by magnificent titles great men, principally when they are born of noble and glorious parents, and on that account highly respected everywhere. We consider, therefore, the noble extraction, the energy, frugality, prudence and other great qualities with which you are endowed, you our beloved noble lords, Pedro Luis de Borja, our shield-bearer and chamberlain, Cesar de Borja, Joanes de Borja and... (Jofre) de Borja, brothers-german. We are perfectly aware of your supreme devotedness to us and to the aggrandizement of our States ; above all we remember how many and innumerable services, worthy of praise and commendation have been rendered to our Majesty, both in times of peace and of war, by you, the said Pedro Luis de Borja, indefatigable and manly, as it behooves a valiant soldier to be. You unceasingly lend us your assistance now, and we trust that, with the blessing of the Lord, you will give us still greater help, especially in these grand deeds already commenced and partly achieved, in these vast warlike equipments for the struggle which we ardently desire not to abandon, but to continue against the infidel Moors of Andalusia, the wicked enemies of the name of Our Lord and Redeemer Jesus-Christ and of the Holy Catholic religion ; for the glory, exaltation and propagation of the faith. We confide in the aid of God and enjoy the firm and positive expectation of victory, an earnest of which are the evident advantages, which we have obtained so often on various occasions and lastly now, in the acquisition of this

33. See Document, 32.

our important city of Ronda and of all its district, with the places all around it and many others. These successes are beyond our merits, and we owe for so great benefactions many thanks to the kindness of God.

We gladly testify that we ourselves have seen, and have heard it reported and confirmed by many trustworthy soldiers of our army, who recommended you to our Majesty and approved of your conduct, that you, the said noble Pedro Luis de Borja, had no fear whatever to valiantly fight, among others, the treacherous Moors; and to expose yourself to hard and assiduous labors and dangers without shrinking from any of them ; especially when you have, after a manly fight, by dint of arms entered, the first among your companions, the suburb of the said city of Ronda. Through your valor the perfidious Moors were ejected from it and driven into the city, and thus it fell into our hands. As a consequence, We also obtained possession of the said city itself ; for, fearing that we might enter it also by force of arms, as they could readily expect, they surrendered it to us.

Now therefore, We have deemed it to be proper and well-deserved that We should enrich, exalt, adorn and distinguish you, the said Pedro Luis de Borja, and, in consideration of you and of your deserts, your above-named brothers, by the hereinafter expressed favor, honor and title ; in order that, if the recompense is not adequate, you may receive at least some reward for your services, so that a precedent be established for others, by which they be enticed to do as you did and deserve similar remuneration.

So then, by virtue of this our present paper and privilege, which is to remain in full force and vigor for all centuries to come, by our own free choice and declaration, with full knowledge and reflection, We are pleased to exalt, decorate

and distinguish you, the above-said noblemen, Pedro Luis de Borja, Cesar de Borja, Joanes de Borja and... (Jofre) de Borja, and each one of you, together with the progeny and posterity in a direct line of any one of you, forever, by the honor, rank, prerogative and title of " Egregii ", Grandees ; and so We, forevermore, call, pronounce, name, style and entitle as Grandees you and each one of you, and all your offspring and descendants, who may come down in a direct line from you or any one of you ; and we concede etc... namely, that you should be called by that title everywhere and by everybody, and should enjoy all the advantages attached to it...

In testimony whereof we have ordered the issue of the present paper confirmed by the affixing of our ordinary seal.

Given in our auspicious camp of the acquisition of Ronda, the twenty-eight day of the month of May in the year of the Incarnation of the Lord one thousand four hundred eighty-five.

The mark of Ferdinand etc. " Yo el Rey ", I, the King.

We noticed that king Ferdinand remembered in his diploma the services rendered to him by Pedro Luis in time of peace. Fita [34] is of the opinion, that by these was meant the intelligent and loyal support given to the King in the assembly of the cortes of Aragon, Valencia, Majorca and Catalogna, during the month of February, 1484, and in the city of Vittoria, and in the legislature of Valencia during the following month of May.

Already at this time, although not yet a member of the highest nobility, Pedro Luis was a man of great influence in Spain, through his weath and ownership of several large estates, as we may infer from another word of praise given by his King, stating that Pedro had followed his camp with

34. Estud. Hist., t. VI, p. 229.

a large following of soldiers : a particular, which clearly indicates that he had a great number of vassals, or, at least, money enough to hire many men at arms.

ARTICLE II. — PEDRO LUIS DE BORGIA, 1st DUKE OF GANDIA.

While most of his brothers had been destined to the ecclesiastical career, Pedro Luis had inherited nearly all his father's property ; and, since a dubious document need not be false all through, but, to better deceive, must contain some truth ; we may admit from the alleged report of his last will, that he was the owner of the Duchy of Gandia, of the barony of Lombay, of the places of Gallimera Belreguard, Ceresa, Alcodar, the Alquerias and others [35].

The Osuna archives have preserved two interesting, though small, incidents in regard to the barony of Lombay. It is stated [36], indeed, that the lord cardinal Rodrigo de Borja owed to Don Pedro Luis de Borja the sum of 5770 pounds, 15 sols and 9 deniers, and that, on the 2d of October, 1843, the cardinal paid him by the assignment of 5700 ducats against a credit that he owned in the barony of Lombay. Again, there has been kept a record [37] of a lease of the charcoal pits of Lombay, given at the castle of Lombay on the 24th of November, 1485, by Don Pedro Luis de Borja, lord of that barony, to Don Gaspar de Castelvi, lord of the town and barony of Carlet.

The territory of the ancient duchy of Gandia, to which the castle of Bayren or Bagrent belonged, had for generations, been in possession of the Borgia house ; and, from the fact that one de Borgia prelate after another, in particular cardinal Roderic and Cesar de Borgia, enjoyed its parochial

35. Fita, Estud. Hist., t. VI, p. 124.
36. Ibid., p. 120.
37. Ibid., p. 122.

prebend, we may readily infer that the estate had not changed hands. The seigniorial title and rights were lost long ago. Don Luis, son of the last duke, the Most Illustrious Don Alfonso, had, by his testament, transferred all of Gandia's ducal privileges, and fastened upon it an everlasting annual tribute of two thousand florins in favor of the royal Crown [38]. The seigniorial rights were at this time mortgaged to the city of Valencia for the sum of thirty-one thousand timbres ; redeemable, however, by the same amount of money or by a yearly pension representing its interest.

The ownership of the land itself was encumbered with the equitable rights of the grandees Don Andrew de Cabrera and Dona Beatrix de Bovadilla, Marquis and Marquise of Moyá. On the 14th of April, 1485, Pedro Luis lent to these noble parties the sum of two thousand Doubles of gold, undoubtedly with the intention of clearing his title.

Meanwhile, king Ferdinand, who was always in need of money, profited by the youth of Pedro Luis de Borgia and the connivance of the Marquis of Moyá, to make Gandia the object of a sharp business transaction, that was to increase his revenues or to bring him at once a handsome profit. He bought on credit the Marquis' interest in the property of the duchy ; thus leaving to Pedro Luis, who was wishing to become the sole and quiet owner of the estate, only a share in an unequal partnership, or a mere claim against a King of whom he was an immediate vassal.

That Ferdinand had business in view, appears from the fact that Pedro Luis, already on the 13th of October, 1485, gave to his cousin, Jacob Serra, powers of procurator to negotiate the purchase of the King's rights upon Gandia and Bayren. No agreement was then arrived at, however. Did Ferdinand set an exorbitant price, which the new grandee

38. Fita, Estud. Hist., t. VI, | p. 219, and footn.

was unwilling to pay, or had he appropriated and now offered for sale what was Pedro's already? Power was on his side. Disappointed in his plans, he confiscated the Spanish ecclesiastical revenues of Pedro Luis' natural protectors, that is, of his uncle, the cardinal Roderic and of his cousin, Giovanni de Borgia, archbishop of Monreale, disregarded Pedro's claims and threw him into prison. But the Christian world acknowledged in those days a supreme court that would impartially redress all injustice, even of kings and emperors. The proceedings of Ferdinand and of his accomplice, the Queen, were denounced before the tribunal of the Sovereign Pontiff, and Innocent VIII passed upon them the sentence of excommunication. This brought the miserly prince to serious consideration. He made restitution of the stolen moneys, restored Pedro Luis to liberty, and made more reasonable conditions for the grant of a clear title deed of the whole estate of Gandia and even of the seigniorial rights and privileges of its dukedom. The sentence of excommunication upon the King and Queen was revoked on the 2d of December, 1485 [39].

The conditions of the bargain had already been accepted by both parties and the papers duly drawn up. The king of Castille and Aragon affixed his seal and signature on the next day, December the 3d, in the city of Alcala de Henáres, and Jacob Serra, acting as procurator of Pedro Luis de Borgia, did the same on the following 11th.

The official purchase price was sixty-three thousand one hundred and twenty-one timbres, three sols and nine deniers; but the actual payment was to be made in the following easy manner:

First, Pedro Luis was to pay in cash to king Ferdinand the insignificant sum of twelve thousand timbres, which

39. See Document 35.

actually represented the seigniorial revenues and rights of the dukedom, still owned by the royal Crown and, implicitly, the value of the ducal title of Gandia, which could not, of course, be formally sold for money. In the second place, he was to give a receipt to the Marquis and Marquise of Moyá for the two thousand Doubles of gold which he had lent them ; and thereby secure to the King the release of his obligations to those grandees, contracted by buying their claims against the property of Gandia. Finally, he was to assume the responsibilities of the King towards the city of Valencia, namely, to redeem certain seigniorial rights of the duchy of Gandia mortgaged to that community, either by paying to Valencia the bonded sum of thirty-one thousand timbres or by becoming liable to pay the yearly interest. Reciprocally, the King obliged himself to give to Pedro Luis de Borgia a warranty title deed of the entire estate of Gandia and Bayren, to procure the consent of the Spanish cortes to the sale and transfer of the duchy, city and castle, to deliver to him their quiet and unencumbered possession ; and, moreover, to provide that their liegemen and vassals should do him their feudal homage and take the oath of fidelity to him [40].

It is a noteworthy detail, that the Illustrious Lord Enrique Enriquez, the King's grand majordomo, acted on this occasion as a witness to Ferdinand's signature. He was to be the father-in-law of Pedro Luis de Borgia.

The particulars clearly expressed in this act of sale disprove the silly assertion put in vogue by Mariana [41], who twice defames pope Alexander VI, when saying of him : " He was so rich that he bought the duchy of Gandia and gave it to his oldest son, Pedro Luis ". The fact is that

40. See Document 36.
41. Hist. Gener. de España, lib. XXVI, cap. 2.

Pedro Luis was not his son, and that he himself removed all encumbrance from the poperty, and secured the ducal privileges of Gandia with his own money, which he was, furthermore, lavishly spending in the service of his country and religion. The slander has been copied by nearly all historians down to this day ; in particular by Gregorovius [42] and even by Matagne [43] ; and it has been generally believed, thanks to blind prejudice against that Pontiff, although clearly denied by authentic documents [44].

The details of the full acquisition of the duchy of Gandia by the Borgias may not have been published before a relatively late epoch, but already Gaspar Escolano wrote in his History of Valencia [45] that Pedro Luys—not cardinal Roderic—bought the duchy of Gandia from the Catholic king Don Fernando, in the year 1485.

We could not determine whether the misrepresentation of the purchase of the duchy was caused by, or gave occasion to a duplex false document, preserved in the archives of the duke of Osuna in Madrid, and published by Fita [46] and Thuasne [47].

There are, Fita says, two original bulls written on parchment, one of which has still the leaden seal of Sixtus IV appended, but the other has not ; for the rest they are identical. They are a papal confirmation of a gift made by the lord Vicechancellor to his natural children, Pedro Luis and Giovanni de Borgia, on the 4th of February, 1482.

Remarks drawn from diplomatic correspondence, facts, and common sense may suffice to expose the misleading worthlessness of these parchments.

---

42. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 35.
43. Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. IX, p. 469 : " On sait " que Rodrigue acheta le duché de Gandie pour son fils aîné, Pierre-Louis.
44. Cfr. Fita, Estud. Hist., t. VI, p. 223.
45. Vol. II, lib. VI, cap. XXIII, col. 202.
46. Estudios Hist., t. VII, p. 117.
47. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. IV ; See Document 75.

First, They are originals ! If so, their records ought to be found in the Vatican archives, for no original went forth before being officially copied. Yet these two originals were apparently never recorded.

Second, They are identical ! But, if they were genuine, they would not be. Either one would bear the remark that it is a duplicate, and state by what scriptor it was written.

Third, The closing words : " Locum " (sic) " † Sigilli " indicate that the documents were not issued by any papal office, because genuine apostolic letters, whether originals or duplicates, are never invalidated by such an acknowledgment of deficiency of the required bulla.

Fourth, The forger of these parchments was not aware of the fact that pope Sixtus IV had been crowned on the 25th of August, 1471. He dates his writing, " Anno etc. Octuagesimo secundo, Pontificatus nostri anno duodecimo ", in the year 1482, of Our Pontificate the twelfth. This should have been : " undecimo ", the eleventh. Oliver has noticed the error. He, therefore, changed the date to 1483, in his introductory remark, and erroneously explained at the end, that February, 1482, after the Incarnation of Our Lord, was part of the twelfth year of that Pope's reign.

The contents of the duplex parchment evince its forgery not less than its outward conditions. Even two irrelevant details render it quite suspicious :

First, The expression : " fere annis viginti quatuor ", about twenty-four years a vicechancellor, denote that the bull was not, as pretended, given at St. Peter's in Rome, because it was well known at the papal chancery, at whose head was cardinal de Borgia himself, that he was now, not nearly twenty-four, but, nearly twenty-six years the vicechancellor ; appointed, as he had been, on May the 1th, 1457.

Second, We cannot but wonder at finding here a useless

particular, which has no equal in apostolic letters and is impossible of verification ; namely, that the cardinal had made in those twenty-four years, by his cardinalate—which, in fact, yielded nothing—and by his curial office, more than a hundred thousand ducats.

There are in the Osuna parchments ofter particulars of greater importance and more convincing of their falsity.

Third, The pretended bull states that cardinal de Borgia had, already before this time, been allowed to dispose of all his property, even of purely ecclesiastical sources, by last will, codicil or personal donation. Roderic de Borgia had, indeed, been favored, in the year 1472, by pope Sixtus IV, with the right of making a last will [48], although the word " codicil " had not formally been mentioned. He had also been incidentally declared free, in A. D. 1471, to dispose, as before, according to his own will, of all the revenues from his offices, dignities and prebends [49]. The latter statement was, moreover, already superfluous, because, by law and universal practice, any cardinal, any beneficiary had a right to donate to any one whatever he saw fit to give, as long as he was alive. From all this it is evident that pope Sixtus IV had no need, no reason, no excuse to issue a bull like the one under consideration, derogatory in more than one respect, to the honor of one of his most esteemed cardinals.

---

48. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Sixti IV, Bullar., lib. II, t. VII, Regest., 552, f° 94.

49. Ibid. Regest., 551, f° 36. From this record we may derive the forgery of two other documents, preserved in the Osuna archives, and mentioned as genuine by Fidel Fita, Estudios Historicos, t. VI, p. 107 : " Bulas expedidas por el papa Sixto IV, en favor del Señor Don Rodrigo de Borxa, para che pudlese testar de Bienes Eclesiásticos. La primera está dada en Roma a 27 de Enero del año de la Encarnación 1479, ó en la era vulgar 1480. La segunda es un testimonio de la misma Bula, autorizado en Roma, año 1483, por Felipe Neri, Notario Apostolico : ambos originales en pergamino. " The authentic record gives the year 1471, and not 1479 or 1480.

Fourth, The false document continues by making the Pope say that he had granted to cardinal de Borgia the permission of giving away, even to the sons born of him, any amount of money, no matter how excessive. But, of such a grant, there is no record whatever in the Vatican archives.

Fifth, Becoming more daring in his statements, the forger attributes another false testimony to pope Sixtus IV, who is said to have stated that, by several of his letters, " per diversas nostras litteras ", he had qualified, in spite of their illegitimate birth, the young man, Pedro Luis, and the infant Giovanni, the cardinal's children, to receive whatever Roderic de Borgia might offer to them by donation or last will. If that were true, we might ask again what was the need or benefit of the present disgraceful document. But it is false : Not a searcher of the papal records, not even Pastor, has found a trace of a single one of these " divers letters ".

Sixth, Pope Sixtus IV, moreover, not only seems to scandalously rejoice and glory in rehearsing the ignominy of a prominent cardinal, since without any cause, he tells four different times, in almost as many lines that the high ecclesiastic had sacrilegious children ; but also makes himself the guilty one's accomplice, by repeatedly favoring his shameful offspring. The forger has actually, although perhaps unwittingly, overdone his villanous work.

Seventh, It is stated that the vicechancellor made here a donation of seventy-five thousand gold ducats. But we will hear of his unusual liberality towards religious and church purposes, and see him periodically obliged to collect in advance, necessarily at a heavy discount, the income of his benefices. It is, therefore, hardly admissible that he had, at any time, such a great sum of money in his possession.

Eighth, Pedro Luis and Giovanni de Borgia were to spend that sum in buying duchies, counties and baronies, etc.

The two successively owned the duchy of Gandia, but it was not purchased with any money of cardinal de Borgia, as we just saw from the Catalan document, published by no friend of the Borgian house ; and there is not, in all history, the slightest hint at any other titled estate acquired with money by either one or the other. The fabulous donation vanished into imaginary territories and castles in Spain. The duplex bull is thus a fraud, very awkwardly fabricated for the purpose of confirming by repetition, an odious calumny against pope Alexander VI.

Fidel Fita publishes [50] another original parchment from the Osuna archives. It is a notarial act of a papal scriptor, an adjunct to the former duplex bull, stating, as we understand it, that the twenty-five thousand ducats given to the infant Giovanni were payable at Valencia in Spain. The protocol does not exist, and the document is so mutilated that a critical examination is as impossible as useless. Care has, however, been taken to include the unhistoric assertion that the infant was a carnal son of the accountant (!), " comtor ", the Vicechancellor, Roderic de Borgia.

Such documents are not injurious to the honor of pope Alexander VI in the eyes of a judicious reader, to whom they prove that his revengeful enemies did not find in the simple narrative of his actions the desired material for blame, and were compelled to resort to fiction, in order to bring his name into that disrepute which has continued for so long a time.

As soon as Pedro Luis had ratified the signature of his procurator on the title deed of the estate, king Ferdinand issued, on the next 20th day of December, 1485, the solemn diploma through which the title of Duke of Gandia was bestowed upon its newly-confirmed owner.

50. Estud. Histor., t. VI, p. 119.

Following were the principal statements of the document : " We Ferdinand, etc. We have recently sold to you, the noble grandee and Magnificent Lord Pedro Luis de Borja and to yours, the duchy and villa of Gandia and the castle of Bayren, in the manner and under the terms contained in the act of sale. And now we are considering the morals, talents, activity and high-mindedness with which you have been endowed, and the fact that you originate from glorious and noble parents ; and We remember with what experience and knowledge of warfare, with what courage and agility you have served Us in the war which We waged against the king of Andalusia or Granada, the enemy of our faith. Your conduct and bravery themselves, worthy of a grandee, have deservedly induced Us, now that you preside over the duchy and own the soil at one time possessed by dukes, to favor and decorate you and yours with the title and honor of its dukedom. You have, indeed, covered yourself with no small credit and esteem, when, at our service, you have fought during that war at your own expense with a sufficiently numerous following of soldiers, exposing yourself to dangers, avoiding no labor, meeting the enemy hand to hand and filling the place of both a private man and of a captain.

For these reasons then, and since it promotes our own glory to have illustrious men surround our kingly throne, We, by virtue of the present paper to remain in force for all time, erect and promote, with full knowledge and the plenitude of our power, you, the said Pedro Luis de Borja, and your successors to the dignity, name and title of Duke. Be, therefore, you and all your successors in the said duchy of Gandia, from now on and forever, considered, and named dukes of Gandia, and avail yourselves of the ducal honor, name and title ; enjoy, now and in the future, and make use of all the titles, favors, insignia, preeminence, honors, liber-

ties and immunities, which dukes favored with the ducal title, with which by this privilege we gratify and decorate you, are accustomed and allowed to enjoy and make use of in all our kingdoms and territories...

In testimony whereof We have ordered the present document to be made and provided with our golden seal attached.

Given in the city of Alcala de Henáres, the twentieth day of the month of December, in the year after the Incarnation of the Lord one thousand four hundred eighty-five...

I, the King, " Yo el Rey " [51].

We may notice here the false assertion of Moroni saying [52] that pope Alexander VI successively made dukes of Gandia his own sons, Pier Luigi and Giovanni. From the terms of the diploma it is evident that cardinal Roderic de Borgia did not intervene in the elevation of his nephew Pedro Luis, to whom Giovanni afterwards succeeded, as a brother-german, by right of birth. Nor did Moroni know at what time Pier Luigi obtained the ducal dignity, for he pretends [53] that the first cares of pope Alexander VI were to grant special favors to his Spanish nation and to king Ferdinand V, who, for the sake of gratitude, gave to his oldest son, Pier Luigi the duchy of Gandia. We are at a loss to know in what those alleged pontifical favors may have consisted ; but it is an admitted fact that Pedro Luis was dead at this time.

It is probable that Pedro Luis, when entering upon the full possession of the duchy of Gandia, removed from Valencia and took up his principal abode in his ducal city. He certainly commenced to manifest a special concern in the religious institutions of that place, and became a protec-

---

51. See Document 33.
52. Dizion. Art. Valenza, p. 262.
53. Ibid., p. 289.

tor of the convent of the Coletine nuns. These Sisters were governed by Franciscan friars subject to General Ministers, but had been allowed by pope Sixtus IV to submit to the direction of such as had Vicars for superiors. When this privilege was called into doubt, the duke applied to pope Innocent VIII for its confirmation, and his request was granted by a pontifical rescript of September the 22d, 1486.

It may incidentally be noticed that the duke of Gandia is designated in this document [54] as nephew of Lewis John del Milá, cardinal priest of the title of the Four Crowned.

It was St. Mary's parish, however, that enlisted the duke's main attention and solicitude. Its church had suffered considerably from the ravages of time, and its reconstruction, in a sumptuous manner, had been commenced a few years before, but the expenses were so great that the rebuilding had been abandoned. Cardinal Roderic de Borgia, its former titular rector, who bore a pious affection for that parish, obtained from the Pontiff, on the 22d of September, 1486, the grant of special indulgences for all who would contribute towards repairing the edifice, or buying sacred vessels and vestments for it [55]. But no large sums could be expected from this source. The young duke, moved by his devout feelings towards his parish church, resolved upon a generous and provident proposal : he promised to pay for the complete repairs and reconstruction of the buildings, and for the acquisition of ecclesiastical regalia, the sum of three thousand florins, Valencian money, within the six following years ; on the condition that the former habitual influence of the Borgias upon the appointment of St. Mary's rectors should

54. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 685 : Innoc. VIII. Secret. an. I, II, III, t. IV, f° 181.

55. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 685 : Innoc. VIII. Secret., an. I, II, III, t. IV, f° 179.

be raised, in his favor and that of his heirs and successors of the Borgia house in the duchy of Gandia, into a canonical right of patronage of the parish, and of the presentation of a fit person for its rectorate, whenever it should become vacant at any future time. Pope Innocent VIII gladly accepted both the proffer and the condition on the 20th of September, 1486 [56].

The peaceable administration of his domains and the pious activity of the duke of Gandia did not detract from his courage and readiness to undertake more arduous labors, when occasion offered to promote the interests of country and religion. When king Ferdinand, resolved to drive the Mohammedans out of Spain, had invested the city of Granada, Pedro Luis came to his assistance in the year 1487 [57]. Did the hero fall unnoticed during this long continued siege ?

The great qualities, wealth and high rank of Pedro Luis introduced him to the Enriquez princely house and won for him the hand of the Illustrious signora, dona Maria, the youthful daughter of the Grand royal majordomo Enrique Enriquez, who was a brother of Juana, king Ferdinand's mother. Historians generally agree on the fact of Pedro Luis' espousals with the first cousin of the Spanish king [58]. Moreri [59] evidently mistakes when he says that Pierre Louis married an illegitimate daughter of Alfonse II king of Naples. This error may have been started by Cienfuegos [60] and it was repeated by a couple of other writers. Nor was

56. See Document 34.

57. Juan de Ferreras, Hist. d'Espagne, t. VIII, p. 63, ap. J. Favé, Etudes Critiques, p. 22.

58. Augustin de Ponte, Nobiliario, Lineage de los Enriquez, apud G. Escolano, Hist. de Valencia, vol. 2, lib. VI, c. XXIII, col. 202 ; Osuna second geneal. tree, ap. Fita, Estud. Hist., t. VI, p. 102 ; Fita, ibid., p. 126 ; alii passim.

59. Grand Diction. Art. Borgia.

60. A Heroica Vida de S. Francisco de Borja, lib. I, p. 3.

it necessary for de l'Epinois [61], to add that the event took place in Spain. It is generally stated that the duke of Gandia, Pedro Luis, died before his marriage was solemnized [62].

There is a dubious document to say, that he made his last will on the 14th of August, 1488, when on a visit in Rome ; and thereupon it is also asserted that Rome was the place of his death [63], although this latter particular rests on no testimony whatever. The flighty historian Yriarte tells us on page 35 of the first volume of his " Les Borgia ", that Pedro Luis, a nephew of Pope Calixtus III, and espoused to Dona Maria Enriquez, died at Civitavecchia ; but, on page 53 of the same volume, he knows better, and states that Pedro Luis, duke of Gandia, died in Spain. H. de l'Epinois [64] mentions as a conceded fact, that he died in Spain. Gregorovius [65] and Moreri [66] say the same. The Civiltà Cattolica [67] adds that he died in that country before the pontificate of Alexander VI. The ancient Spanish historian, Mariana,says that Pedro Luis de Borgia died in Spain when yet a young man ; but he does not add the date of his death. A so-called document [68] indicates that he lived no more on the 26th of February, 1491 ; and this is probable also from other particulars.

---

61. Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. XXIX, p. 380.
62. Osuna record, ubi supra ; G. Escolano, ubi supra.
63. Fita, Estud. Hist., t. VI, pp. 96, 123 ; Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 262.
64. Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. XXIX, p. 380.
65. Gesch. der Stadt Rom., Bd. VII, s. 317, footn.
66. Grand Diction.
67. Ser. 8, vol. IX, p. 723.
68. Ap. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. II., s. 13.

CHAPTER VII.

Giovanni de Borgia, 2d Duke of Gandia.

ARTICLE I. — GIOVANNI, IN SPAIN.

It is a debated question who of Pedro Luis's brothers, Giovanni or Cesar, was the next in age to him. The strongest argument in favor of Cesar's seniority is perhaps to be derived from the diploma by which Pedro Luis and all his brothers were elevated to the rank of Spanish grandees ; for it invariably mentions Cesar before Giovanni ; yet, it does not state that either was the older [1]. Burchard [2], who is of little authority in regard to the age of his personages, and after him Mariana [3], asserts Giovanni to be the younger ; but this writer commits many mistakes when speaking of the Borgia family. Mariana's confreres, the Civiltà Cattolica [4] and Çurita [5] make Cesar the older, when in quest of some plausible reason why he should be suspected of Giovanni's murder. Imhof [6] and Moreri [7] follow those two older historians, and a few modern authors, like Hergenroether [8] and de l'Espinois [9] have been influenced by Forcella's late publication [10] of a sepulchral inscription in memory of their mother Vanotia Cathana, where Cesar is enumerated again before his brother, Giovanni.

---

1. See Document 32.
2. Diar, t. II, p. 335.
3. Hist. d'Espagne, t. V, pp. 123, 204.
4. Ser. 8, vol. IX, p. 723.
5. Hist. del Rey Don Hernando, lib. III, cap. 5, fo 123vo.
6. Geneal. XX, Illustr. in Hispania Familiarum, p. 24.
7. Grand Diction. Art. Borgia, César.
8. Handbuch.
9. Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. XXIX, pp. 371, 375.
10. Iscrizione delle chiese e d'altri edificii di Roma, vol. I, p. 335, n° 1276.

Von Reumont [11], however, doubts the conclusion drawn from the alleged tombstone. And, indeed, we may consider, if not as certain at least as most probable, the contrary opinion, holding that Giovanni was born before Cesar Borgia. When their sister, Girolama, was married in the year 1482 [12], Giovanni was mentioned as a child, but Cesar was probably so young that he was not named at all. Already Jovius [13] states that Cesar's elder brother, to whom he gives the name of Francis, had been destined for the secular life. The second Osuna genealogical tree [14] places him second and Cesar third. The genealogist Martin de Viciano reports Pedro Luis as the oldest and Giovanni as the second brother [15]. Escolano [16] states that the second son was named Don Juan and the third, Don Cesar de Borgia. Panvinio [17] applies to Joannes, duke of Gandia, the term : " oldest of all ". Moreri [18] calls Jean the second of the brothers and Cesar, the third ; and so does Becchetti [19]. Gregorovius [20], Leonetti [21] and Fita [22] report Giovanni as Cesar's elder, and Pastor [23] places his birth in the year 1474, and that of Cesar in 1475. The Boletin de la Real Academia de la Historia [24] comes to the same conclusion, that Giovanni was the elder, and born in 1474.

This latter opinion is not only thus preferred by the greater number of the best historians, but it is also upheld by the fact of Giovanni's retention in the secular state of life, while

---

11. Archiv. stor. Ital., ser. 3, vol. XVII, p. 326.
12. Document 31.
13. Vita Consalvi, lib. III, p. 272.
14. Fita, Estudios Hist., t. VI, p. 102.
15. B. N. Mss. 408, fol. 15 and V, ap. Burchard, Diar, t. III. App. p. XIII, footnote 1.
16. Hist. de Valencia, lib. VI, cap. XXIII, vol. 2, col. 202.
17. Alex. VI, p. 339.
18. Grand Diction. Art. Borgia.
19. Hist. degli Ult. quattro Secoli della chiesa, t. VI, pp. 218, 225.
20. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 35.
21. Papa Alessandro VI, vol. II, p. 208.
22. Estud. Hist., t. VI, p. 96.
23. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 262.
24. T. IX, p. 410, n° 13.

Cesar became a cleric ; for it was the custom of the time to abandon the younger sons to the providence and service of the Church and to reserve the older for the preservation of the name, social standing and possessions of their house. B. Gaddi [25] expresses this view by saying that Cesar de Borgia was compelled, as being the younger, to let his brother Giovanni have the first place in regard to secular dignities. There is, furthermore, a detail of the two brothers' lives which can hardly leave any doubt on this subject ; namely, Franciscus Capellus, the Florentine secretary, wrote from Rome, on the 11th of July, 1500, that the diocese of Salerno had been given to the Spaniard Messer Ventura, who had been the tutor of the duke of Gandia and, after that, "et poi ", of the present duke of Valentinois. The former had been Giovanni, the latter was Cesar [26].

Fita [27] thinks that Giovanni de Borgia must have been born in 1474, one year before Cesar ; and, as just noticed, Pastor transforms this opinion into positive assertion, which Leonetti [28] admits as a probability. We have no documents to establish the exact age of Giovanni, at any period of his life ; but Gregorovius, referring to Marin Sanuto [29] reports the information sent from Rome by a Venetian representative writing in the month of October, 1496, that Giovanni was then a young man twenty-two years old, and de l'Epinois [30] relates the record of the same Marin Sanuto telling [31] that he died on the 14th of June, 1497, at the age of twenty-four years. These statements, which could not be simply set aside, indicate the year 1473 or 1474, as that of Giovanni's birth. It must be observed, however, that

25. Roma, Bibl. Corsiniana, Mss. Cod. 1323, or 33. A. 2, f° 11.
26. Burchard, Diar, t. III, p. 435.
27. Estud. Hist., t. VI, p. 97.
28. Papa Alessandro VI, vol. II, p. 208.
29. Diar., vol. I, p. 258.
30. Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. XXIX, p. 375.
31. Ragguagli of Rawdon Brown, t. I, p. 73.

should those historians be right, he would not be Cesar's elder in the opinion of Reumont who states [32] that the latter was born in the year 1473, as is indicated also by the report of an ambassador of Venice writing in 1500, that Cesar was then twenty-seven years old [33]; or, again, his birth would have interfered with that of his brother's, Cesar's, which, according to some records [34], took place also in the same year 1474. But, in fact, Cesar was born in A. D. 1476, as we shall prove before long.

When we consider the particulars of Giovanni's life since the year 1491, such as his marriage, his visit to Rome, his residence and family life and his activity in Gandia; all that, apparently, without the intervention of any guardian or curator, we cannot repress the belief that he was born in or before the year 1474; and this conclusion in strengthened by the fact that pope Alexander VI considered him, in the beginning of 1496, as of sufficient age and experience to be chosen for the most important office of his temporal administration, that of captain general of the pontifical army.

That he was born in Spain, in Valencia, is beyond reasonable doubt. Çurita [35] reports the solemn declaration of Cesar de Borgia, that he and all his brothers were born Spaniards; and it is remarkable that no forger ever burdened him with naturalization papers from the king of Spain, although he became one of the wealthiest landowners of that country. Gregorovius reports [36] that he lived in Spain in the year 1490 and the first time he appeared on the Italian scene of history, was after his marriage in his native country, in November, of the year 1492. On the 26th

32. Archiv. tor. Ital., ser. 3, vol. XVII, p. 327.
33. H. Matagne in Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. IX, p. 472.
34. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 817; Burch. Diar., t. I, p. 420.
35. Hist. del Rey Don Hernando, lib. 5, cap. 42, f° 298.
36. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 39.

of that month, Ferdinand, king of Naples, sent to him a present of four horses from his famous stables, with an autograph letter expressing his ancient political affection for him and for the Holy Father [37] (!) On the 5th of May 1493, the Roman Pontiff made a solemn visit to several churches of Rome, and Burchard [38] relates that in front of him were riding on horseback the brother of the Grand Turk, Sultan Gem, detained in custody, on the right side ; and, on the left, dressed in Turkish attire, Johannes Borgia, duke of Gandia, " a native of Valencia and son of the Pope ".

Before proceeding with this biographical notice, we should pay a moment's attention to this laconic, seemingly self-contradictory identification of Giovanni de Borgia by the famous diarist. The first half of the phrase excludes, indeed, the possibility of Giovanni being a son of cardinal Roderic de Borgia, and the second portion asserts his father to be that same cardinal, now become a Pope. We shall in due time return to this statement of Burchard and we content ourselves for the present, with remarking that Giovanni's birth in the city of Valencia points to a father different from the Pontiff, who was, in the language of the people, as Çurita observes [39], that is, in the language of Burchard, often called, without any insinuation of blame or disgrace, the father of William Raymund de Borgia's orphans, whom he had taken under his special and affectionate protection.

This leads us to the inquiry into Giovanni's real parentage. It is hardly worth the while to notice, that Ollivier [40], pretends his mother to have been Julia Farnese, who, in fact, was of nearly the same age as he was himself. His mother was Vanotia Borgia de Cathaneis, the noble Dona Bennosa,

37. Leonetti, Papa Alessandro VI, vol. II, p. 209.
38. Diar., t. II, p. 69.
39. Hist. del Rey Don Hernando, lib. I, cap. 22, f° 28.
40. Le Pape Alexandre VI, et les Borgia, p. 272, ap. Fita, Estud. Hist., t. VI, p. 95.

as it was juridically established in the year 1512 [41], and is universally admitted in history. Burchard, in particular, relates [42] that, on the evening of his death, Giovanni, together with his brother, the cardinal of Valencia, took supper at the house of lady Vannosia, their mother. As regards his father, it might suffice to recall to mind that king Ferdinand of Spain designated both his parents as noble and most distinguished, and Giovanni himself as brother-german of Pedro Luis [43] ; but we should not overlook a record of that time, which sheds light on the subject under consideration, although it was not intended to touch upon it. Let us, to understand it better, anticipate a few events. Alfonso II of Naples had, on the day of his coronation, May 8th, 1494, conferred upon Giovanni the grand constabulary, one of the seven great offices of his kingdom, and invested him with the duchy of Suessa, the principality of Theano, the counties of Carinola or Celino, Claramonte and Lavia, the, places of Montefusculo, Volturno, Cayavelo, Petramolara and other towns and castles [44] ; but his rights to all these estates had become useless and void, through the conquest of the Neapolitan kingdom by Charles VIII of France, in the beginning of the year 1495. Giovanni's hopes revived, however, when he heard of the successes of the great captain Consalvo, whom the Spanish king had dispatched to Italy, in order to recover the territories of the house of Aragon. He applied to his cousins, Ferdinand and Isabella, for a confirmation of his Neapolitan titles and domains, and the Kings answered him by the royal brief,

41. Fita, ibid., p. 128.
42. Diar., t. II, p. 387.
43. See Document 32.
44. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 306 ; Gregorov. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 71, and Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 345 ; Ammirato, Istor. Fiorent., t. V, p. 343 ; Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 160 ; Çurita, Hist. del Rey Don Hernando, lib. 3, cap. 38, fo 175vo; Escolano, Hist. de Valencia, vol. II, lib. VI, cap. XXIII, col. 202. See Document 46.

a draft of which we copy as Document 37, and from which we here take the following extract :

" We Ferdinand and Elisabeth, by God's grace King and Queen, etc. Grateful princes are accustomed not only to confirm what was granted before, but even to be liberal in bestowing favors upon persons who have deserved well of them, especially when these are known to be born of distinguished parents... Now, therefore, it has been related to us in favor of you, the Illustrious Joannes de Borgia, Duke of Gandia and Suessa, Prince of Theano and Count of Celino, how you have held and possessed by virtue of certain royal concessions, in our kingdom, on this side of the Straits[45], the cities and territories of Suessa, with the title and honors of a duke ; those of Theano, with the title and honors of a prince, and those of Celino, with the title and honors of a count ; as also the fortified places of... And we have been humbly requested in your name, that we may deign to confirm the grant of said cities and castles and of all above-named possessions, and, as far as need be, to confer them anew... Although we would, for certain reasons, like to retain part of them for ourselves ; desiring, nevertheless, to be good to you, and to give compensation, indemnification, requital, satisfaction and payment for any and all services rendered by your parent, to fulfil our duties in making grants and concessions which we may perhaps in any wise have contracted to make, and to perform all that we may have promised to your father, the late Illustrious..... de Borgia, or to yourself ; we have decreed and resolved to confirm and grant anew and forever the said cities and towns, and all that is above mentioned, to you, the said Joannes de Borgia and to your heirs and successors... "—

45. This is what Naples already was in the mind of Ferdinand, as he manifested soon after.

Yriarte [46] remarks that the date is illegible. All these estates were still in the possession of Giovanni's little son in the year 1501 [47]. Martin de Viciano [48] relates that Dona Maria Enriquez, become a widow of Giovanni, and guardian of his infant son, sold all these Neapolitan possessions to her first-cousin, the Catholic king, for the amount of eighty thousand ducats. It was probably the yearly pension or interest of this sum which she requested to be paid, when at one time she was under financial stress [49].

The incidental reference here made to the father, " genitori vestro ", of Giovanni profusely demonstrates that the latter was not a son of cardinal Roderic de Borgia, afterwards pope Alexander VI. It is stated, indeed, that the father rendered valuable services to the Kings of Spain, on account of which they had made him promises of donations and grants. This may readily be understood of a Spanish nobleman, of William Raymund de Borgia ; but, in what consisted those services, if contributed by a cardinal or a Pope, and, what king Ferdinand ever did or even could promise him to grant in return, are questions or puzzles. Again, the assumption of the Kings that, by this confirmation of Giovanni's rights, they satisfy to all duties contracted towards his father, may not seem unreasonable in case that Giovanni had become his father's heir ; but how could they pretend to fulfil their possible obligations to the reigning Pontiff, by doing a favor to Giovanni de Borgia, even though the latter should have been his son ? It is to be regretted that the father's baptismal name was removed from the document ; but he remained qualified as illustrious, that is,

---

46. Document 37.
47. See Document 46.
48. Ap. Burchard, Diar, t. III, p. XIII, footn.
49. Yriarte, Les Borgia, t. II, p. 318 ; Cfr. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 373 ; Pellicer, Paris, Bibl. Nation. Fonds Franç., cod. 20288, post f^m. 337.

by a title which was applied at the time to kings, and almost-independent rulers as also to conspicuous members of the highest nobility ; whereas a cardinal was a Most reverend lord, and the Pope, a Most holy Father. Cardinal Roderic de Borgia or Pope Alexander VI was never styled Illustrious, and was not, therefore, the Borgia gentleman here designated. Finally, it is expressed that Giovanni's father was, at the date of this document, a " quondam ", dead ; whereas Alexander VI was very much alive, and was to die only several years after the murder of the recipient of this diploma— Yriarte was evidently not aware of the fact that he disproved a portion of his own slanders, by publishing the first document of his " Les Borgia ".

That Giovanni's father had died a full score of years before the death of pope Alexander VI appears from a statement of Fidel Fita [50], saying that, on the 29th of January, 1483, he was placed under the guardianship of his brother, Pedro Luis. A ridiculous document [51], whose forger simply intended to slander the Pontiff, sets forth how cardinal Roderic de Borgia proposed, on that date, as eligible for the guardianship of the infant Giovanni de Borgia the latter's brother, Pedro Luis de Boria and the mythical Otto de Boria, " Giovanni's first cousin or paternal uncle " ! The duties and faculties of the guardians clearly indicate that the infant was the orphan of a deceased father and of a mother, there said, to be married a second time. They were to assume the care, direction, education and protection of both Giovanni's person and of his possessions [52].

Neither was Giovanni's son called " petit-fils ", grandson, of the Pontiff, in a document of the year 1501, by which his

50. Estud. Hist., t. VI, p. 951.
51. Ibid., p. 116.
52. We mention this pretended document only as an " argumentum ad hominem „ on this occasion.

Neapolitan heritage was secured to him ; but he was, like his uncles, Cesar and Jofre de Borgia, and his aunt, Lucretia, designated under the term " Nepveuz et parens ", nephews and relatives, of his Holiness [53].

Being a second-born son, Giovanni was to be satisfied with a secondary condition at the death of his parent. The main estates and the leadership of the family passed into the hands of his senior, Pedro Luis, and his share of the inheritance was reduced to the barony of Chela in the diocese of Valencia [54]. From the fact that his uncle afterwards called him to the office of Captain General of the pontifical army, we may presume that Giovanni learned the art of war at an early age, not unlikely under the command of his heroic brother. At the death of Pedro Luis, he became his lawful heir and succeeded to him in the duchy of Gandia. The chronologist, Joseph Pellicer [55], who forgets his baronies of Chela and Lombay, reports that he also became Lord of Orze and of Galera, governor of the city of Baça and Lord of Cortez and of Mount Filabres, of Senescastro, Luca and Nena.

By his qualities and the services which he rendered to his country, he earned special promises of reward from the kings of Spain [56] and the hand of his deceased brother's fiancee, daughter of Enrique Enriquez and of Dona Maria de Luna. He married this first-cousin of the king of Spain, after receiving from the Pope the necessary dispensation [57].

We may notice here a few condensed mistakes of Pan-

---

53. See Document 46.
54. Fita, Estud. Hist., t. VI, p. 124.
55. Paris, Bibl. Nation. Fonds français, cod. 20288, post f^m 337.
56. See Document 37.
57. Martin de Viciano, ap. Burch. Diar., t. III, p. XIII, footn. 1 : " Murio Don Pedro Luys de Borja, duque de Candia, siendo desposado, que dando intacta Doña Maria Enriquez, la qual con bula apostolica caso con Don Juan de Borja, hermano segundo „.

vinio writing [58] that pope Alexander VI gave a bastard daughter of king Alfonso for wife to his oldest son Joannes, to whom he had procured the duchy of Gandia. Becchetti [59] commits the same error in regard to the individuality of Giovanni's wife, and Mariana prefers neither Maria Enriquez nor an illegitimate daughter of Alfonso II, king of Naples; and he fittingly closes his sentence by asserting that Giovanni was the father of St. Francis de Borgia [60], although it is well known that he was his father's father.

That neither Pedro Luis nor Giovanni de Borgia was ever engaged to a Neapolitan princess is indicated by several circumstances of their lives, while the most reliable of both ancient and of modern historians testify to the marriage of the latter with Dona Maria Enriquez. Among these are, besides Martin de Viciano, just mentioned, the compiler of the Osuna genealogical record [61]; Escolano, who corrects Mariana and states [62] that Don Juan, the second son, married Maria Enriquez, his brother's widow, and thus his relation, and Ranke [63], who states that the king of Spain gave to Giovanni de Borgia the daughter of his uncle Enriquez, in order to promote the good will of the Pontiff towards his cousin, Alfonso of Naples. Gregorovius [64] calls the wife of Giovanni a prominent Valencian lady, daughter of Don Enrigo Enriquez, the Grand-commander of Leon, and of Dona Maria de Luna. The same statement is made by Leonetti [65], by Pastor [66] who refers to Höfler [67], and by Fidel Fita [68].

---

58. Hist. Alex. VI, p. 339.
59. Storia degli ult. quattro secoli, t. VI, p. 218.
60. Hist. d'Espagne, t. V, p. 123.
61. Ap. Fita, Estud. Hist., t. VI, p. 103.
62. Hist. de Valencia, vol. 2, lib. VI, cap. XXIII, col. 202.
63. Geschichten, referring to Çurita, I, 29, 34.
64. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 64.
65. Papa Alessandro VI, vol. 2, p. 208.
66. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 298.
67. Rodrigo de Borja, s. 62, 63.
68. Estud. Hist. t. VI, p. 97.

Should we feel doubtful yet, after hearing those testimonies, we ought to be convinced after noticing the numerous documents, where the name and identity of Giovanni's wife are either expressed or clearly indicated.

The Osuna archives contain a catalogue of some of the places bought " by Sra. Dona Maria Enriquez, Duchess of Gandia, Spouse of D. Pedro Luis and wife of D. Juan, brothers-german " ; also an inventory of all the properties left behind " by D. Juan de Borja, second duke of Gandia, made at the request of Sr. Dona Maria Enriquez, his wife " [69].

The announcement of Giovanni de Borgia's early return to Spain written by Juan Lopiz, bishop elect of Perugia, to Don Enrique Enriquez, is labeled in the same archives as directed to " the Most illustrious Sr. D. Enrique Enriquez, father of Sra. Dona Maria Enriquez, wife of the late Don Juan, the first, and mother of Juan the second, duke of Gandia " ; and, in fact, bishop Lopiz, addressing the Spanish prince, calls Giovanni, his son, " vuestro fijo " which Fita explains by the word " yerno ", son-in-law. Thuasne [70] attempts to falsify the document, by suggesting the possessive " suo " instead of " vuestro ", to make it say that Giovanni was a son of pope Alexander VI [71]. In papal documents the duchess of Gandia, wife of Giovanni de Borgia, is designated as the noble lady Maria Enriquez, and mentioned twice with the cognomen of her mother's princely house, as Maria de Luna.

These pontifical bulls not only give us the name of Giovanni's bride, but are also the only means to determine the time of his marriage.

---

69. Gandia, núm. 850 and 976, ap. Fita, Estud. Hist., t. VI, pp. 126, 127.

70. Diar. Burchardi, t. III, p. XIII.

71. See Document 38.

Gregorovius [72] is of the opinion that Giovanni was married before the elevation of Alexander VI to St. Peter's chair, and he mentions, to this effect, a papal bull of the 2d of October, 1492, by which was granted to him and to his wife, Dona Maria Enriquez, the choice of a confessor. We found no other trace of that document ; but, four days later, on October the 6th, 1492, pope Alexander VI allowed to the noble Johannes de Borgia, duke, and to his wife, " uxori ", the noble lady, Maria Enriquez, duchess of Gandia, in the diocese of Valencia, the privilege of a domestic chapel, with the further permission of having, even in localities subject to ecclesiastical interdict, low mass and other divine services said by their own chaplain or any other priest, before them and all other persons whom they might admit, and of receiving at any time the holy sacraments from him [73].

The spiritual favors were, for some reason or another, granted again on the 2d day of August, 1493 ; and, on this occasion, the wife of Johannes de Borgia, the duchess of Gandia, was named the noble lady Maria de Luna [74]. On the same date the same Maria de Luna, duchess of Gandia, received permission to enter, together with six other married or single ladies of her choice, the enclosure of religious convents [75].

These documents thus repeatedly establish the fact that Giovanni married in Spain, and before his first appearance in Italy about, or probably before the time of cardinal de Borgia's ascending the pontifical throne. They, consequently, disprove the error of Çurita, who reports [76] Giovanni to have been married on his return from Rome, on the 24th of August, 1493, as also the mistake of Pastor [77]

72. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 64.
73. See Document 39.
74. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Bullae Div., An. I, t. I. Regest. 879, fo 220vo.
75. Ibid., p. 232vo.
76. Hist. del Rey Don Hernando, lib. I, cap. XXII, fo 27vo.
77. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 298.

who asserts that the king of Spain, in order to win over pope Alexander VI to the protection of Ferdinand of Naples, ordered his ambassador, Diego Lopez de Haro, to offer to him, about the month of July, 1493, the hand of Enrique Enriquez's daughter for Giovanni de Borgia. Pastor's yet greater mistake, on this occasion, is his insinuation that the Pope allowed himself to be corrupted by the proffered bribe [78] ; for it was, indeed, the love of justice and the love of his adoptive country which kept him from an apparently profitable alliance with the French enemy of the Neapolitan king, in spite of the latter's recent false accusations. Pastor himself [79] reports the reason why, shortly after, he openly declared himself in favor of the Aragonese against the king of France, Charles VIII : " Pope Innocent VIII ", he said, " has already granted the investiture of Naples to Alfonso still a duke of Calabria, how then could I refuse it " ?

Meanwhile, Giovanni de Borgia dwelt at the ancestral home, in the parish of St. Lawrence in the city of Valencia, or, occasionally, at his ducal castle of Gandia, nine miles distant [80]. One of his first cares was to promote public devotion in the chapel of his parish church, which was dedicated to the Blessed Mary " de la Salute ", of Good Health. He asked and obtained special indulgences for all who would piously visit that chapel, on the feasts of the Conception, Annunciation and Visitation of the Blessed Virgin ; and, on the 1st day of June, 1497. At his request and that of his wife, the duchess of Gandia, the feastday of the chapel, celebrated on the Sunday during the Octave of the Assumption, was added to the favored days [81].

The elevation of his uncle, cardinal Roderic de Borgia, to

---

78. " Wie hätte Alexander VI. solch lockenden Aussichten für die Grösse der Seinigen widerstehen sollen „ ?

79. Ibid., s. 305.

80. Leonetti , Alessandro VI, vol. II, p. 208.

81. See Document 40.

the supreme pontificate and the coming marriage of his sister Lucretia to Giovanni Sforza, lord of Pesaro, were two important events that caused him to visit his relatives in Rome. We have noticed already that, as soon as the king of Naples had heard of his arrival in Italy, he sent to him, on the 26th of November, 1492, a present of four thoroughbred horses. Giovanni had left his lady at home, intending to remain in Rome but a short time, as appears from the letter of Juan Lopiz dated the 18th of March, 1492 [82], but the postponed solemnities of his sister's marriage and other circumstances retarded his return.

On the 12th of June, 1493, Giovanni assisted at his sister's, Lucretia de Borgia's, marriage and presented to her, as wedding present, a cup worth seventy ducats [83]. Four days later he went, together with his brother-in-law, to meet the ambassador of Spain ; and it is reported that both wore such costly garments, brilliant with jewels, that they looked like two kings [84].

On the second day of the following month of August, while he was making the last preparations for his return to Spain, his uncle procured him most gratifying souvenirs of his visit in Rome, for the duchess, his wife, by issuing at her request the two bulls extending the indulgences to be gained in the chapel of Our Lady of Good Health, and allowing her to enter cloistered convents [85]. The Pontiff granted him at the same time a favor for his protegees, the Poor Clares of Gandia, by attaching a special indulgence to acts of piety, performed in their convent or church [86].

It cannot be doubted that Giovanni desired to be the

82. See Document 38 ; Leonetti Papa Alessandro VI, vol. II, p. 209.

83. Leonetti, Alessandro VI, vol. II, p. 209.

84. Gregorov. Luc. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 64 ; Leonetti, Alessandro VI, vol. II, p. 209.

85. Supra.

86. Archiv. Secret, Vatic. Alex. VI, Bull. Div. An. I, t. I, Regest. 879, fo 233vo.

carrier of these precious documents, and to remit them at his home-coming. This consideration convinces us that he did not leave the city on the same August 2d, because it could take no less than twenty-four hours to have the originals recorded. Pastor mistakes, therefore, in giving this date as a correction of the statement of other historians, like Gregorovius [87] and Fita [88], who report that the duke left Rome on the 4th day of that month, to embark in Civitavecchia on board a Venetian fleet of galleys, and landed in Barcelona on the 24th, according to the municipal records of this city. These memoranda do not speak, however, of a marriage then and there ; and Çurita is evidently wrong, in regard to the time at least, when intimating [89] that Giovanni celebrated his nuptials in the capital of Aragon after his return to Spain. Pastor [90] further erroneously styles this voyage the wedding trip of Giovanni de Borgia.

The Duke remained with his family in Spain [91], but was not forgotten in Italy.

When Charles VIII, king of France, was entering upon his expedition against Naples, Alfonso II, the heir of Ferdinand I, was anxious to become just and even liberal towards the Roman Pontiff and the whole family de Borgia, in order to win their protection and that of their relatives of the Spanish court. He gave his sister, Sancia, as wife, with considerable revenues and titles, to Giovanni's youngest brother, Jofre ; rich benefices to Cesar de Borgia ; and Giovanni himself received on the 8th of May, 1494, the grant and investiture of the duchy of Suessa, of the principality of Tricarico or Theano and of the counties of Claramonte,

87. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 64.
88. Estud. Hist., t. VI, p. 97.
89. Hist. del Rey Don Hernando, lib. I, cap. 22, fo 27vo.
90. Ubi supra.
91. Çurita, Hist. del Rey Don Hernando, lib. I, cap. 30, fo 37vo.

Lavria and Carinola [92], together with that of several other towns and territories, worth together a yearly income of twelve thousand gold ducats [93], as we have noticed already.

There is no record of his further doings in Spain, and the only incident before his return to Rome may be the one related by Gregorovius [94], namely, that, he was engaged as a condottiere by the Senate of Venice, and was expected to come over and take command of four hundred men, at the time that the Supreme Pontiff called on him for needed services.

ARTICLE II. — GIOVANNI DE BORGIA, CAPTAIN GENERAL OF THE PAPAL ARMY.

Pope Alexander VI was aware of the preparations that were being made in France for the conquest of Naples, and was in need of faithful soldiers, to save the newly acquired interests of his nephews in the threatened kingdom, and to fulfil his duty of protecting the rights of a loyal feudatory. Knowing how little confidence he could place in the fidelity of his own noblemen, he sent word, about the middle of the year 1494, to invite his nephew, the duke of Gandia, then in Spain, to come over to Rome and accept the position of captain general of the pontifical army. Ferdinand of Spain, however, who doubted the Pontiff's future policy, ordered the duke to postpone his departure for Italy, and tried to satisfy the Pope with various promises and excuses [95]. The duke of Gandia, being a native citizen of Spain, who

---

92. Raynaldi misquotes the Diary of Burchard by confounding Giovanni with his brother, Jofre: Annal. Eccles. ad an. 1494, n° XV.

93. Archiv. S. Angeli, Armar. 2, caps 5, n° 39 gg.

94. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 292.

95. Çurita, Hist. del Rey Don Hernando, lib. I, cap. 28, f° 34; Ferreras, Hist. de España, t. XI, p. 353.

had his habitual winter residence within the limits of St. Lawrence parish in the city of Valencia [96], king Ferdinand had the right to forbid him leaving his kingdom. Giovanni de Borgia could not answer his uncle's repeated calls before two years later. On the 10th of August, 1496, he made his entry into Rome, where he was received with great solemnity by his brother, Cesar, the cardinal of Valencia, and the whole papal court [97]. The Pope employed him at once as a condottiere of a numerous corps of soldiers and, to do his duty as a member of the Holy League, sent him to the assistance of Ferdinand II, against the French troops, left in the kingdom of Naples by Charles VIII on his return to France [98].

The Duke had not come provided with the money needed for this expedition. He borrowed, to pay his men in good time, the sum of seven thousand and five hundred florins from the Spanish ambassador in Rome, Garcilasso, to whom the cash had been advanced by the banking company de Spannochiis. That sum was repaid to the original lenders, on the 29th of October, 1496, upon a papal order of the previous 19th [99].

Satisfied with the conduct of the Duke, the Pope made him, on the 6th of September, 1496, Governor of the province of the Patrimony [100], where the Orsini, against whom he was destined to wage war, owned several castles and cities.

---

96. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex VI, Secret. an. I ad X, lib. VII, Regest. 873, f° 470. There is no record of any Spanish citizen papers having ever been granted to Giovanni.

97. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 92.

98. Mariana, Hist. d'Espagne, t. V, p. 189 ; Guicciardini, Istoria d'Italia, lib. III, cap. 3, p. 203.

99. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Introitus et Exitus, vol. 528, at the date.

100. Balan, Storia d'Italia, vol. V, p. 371, ref. to a letter of that date of Carissimi to Ercole d'Este, Archiv. di Stato, Modena.

About a month later [101], he was named Captain General of the whole army of the Holy Roman Church. The Pope declares in his bull of appointment that, after having observed the greatness of his heart, his fidelity, his application to labor, his activity in military affairs and other great qualities, he firmly expects to find him dutiful and earnest in attending to what he may commit to him. Therefore, after mature deliberation with the College of cardinals, and upon their advice, he establishes him, for as long a time as it may please to the Pope and to the Holy See, as Captain General of all his soldiers, wherever they may be; with all accustomed faculties, powers and jurisdiction of a Captain General. He further commands to all, and especially to the captains, condottieri and men of arms, to obey and respect him, and promises to make good all punishments that he may inflict on disobedient or rebel inferiors. He, finally, orders him to take the customary oath, before entering upon the office [102].

An official record [103] states that on the 26th of October, 1496, in St. Peter's church, at the end of the Mass of the Holy Ghost, Our Holy Father the Pope, accompanied by many cardinals, bishops and prelates, administered the customary oath of the office of Captain General of the papal army to the Illustrious Lord, Giovanni de Borgia, duke of Gandia, Suessa etc., and handed to him with the usual ceremonies the standard of the Holy Roman Church, the baton of authority and the other ordinary insignia, according to custom.

The following day the Duke left the City, in command of the papal troops, to commence war on the Orsini family,

101. The date of the document is, strangely, incomplete.

102. See Document 39b.

103. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Alex. VI, Officia, t. 104, Regest. 875, f° 28.

the most powerful barons of the neighborhood of Rome. Already on the 1st of the previous month of June, pope Alexander VI had excommunicated them and confiscated all their territories, because of personal insults offered to him, and of their open rebellion against him, in recruiting soldiers in the city of Rome, leading their armies through the Pontifical States and fighting for the Pontiff's enemy, Charles VIII of France and against his ally, the king of Naples.

The Italian confederates of the Holy League had also threatened the Orsini with common attack, in case they should continue in their contempt of the repeated admonitions of the Pope [104]; and, now that their troops were released from the southern battlefields, through the complete discomfiture of the French, they sent their condottiere, Guidobaldo di Montefeltro, duke of Urbino, to co-operate with Giovanni de Borgia, in reducing these rebellious vassals of the Pontiff and enemies of them all. Ugolini [105] says that Guidobaldo was sent by the king of Naples, while we find in the Vatican secret archives [106], that the papal treasury repaid to Cardinal Ascanio Sforza a sum of three thousand two hundred and fourteen florins and forty-two bolognese, lent by him to the Pope ; which sum the Cardinal remitted to the duke of Urbino, due to him from the Ill. Ludovico Sforza, duke of Milan, for two months' pay.

Giovanni de Borgia and the duke of Urbino worked in harmony against Bartholomeo d'Alviano, who had succeeded in escaping from his Neapolitan prison, had hurried to the assistance of his Orsini relatives and made the defense of the city of Bracciano the main object of his efforts.

---

104. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Alex. VI, Secret. Ann. I, ad X, lib. VII. Regest. 873, f° 246.

105. Storia dei Conti e Duchi d'Urbino, vol. II, p. 74.

106. " Introitus et Exitus „ vol. 528, at the date of the 18th of January, 1497.

The pontifical army took, one after another, the places of Scrofano, Galera and Formello ; Campagnano surrendered before seeing the enemy ; the castles of Cesena, Viano, Bieda and Sutri were conquered in succession, and Anguillara, dissatisfied with the administration of Virginio Orsini, opened her gates and joyfully received the papal soldiers. Bartholomeo d'Alviano then divided his men between the fortified cities of Isola, Trivignano and the fortress of Bracciano, and burnt down the houses of the latter place and of Vicarelli, to prevent the enemy from making use of them. Isola was taken by the pontifical commander, after a siege of twelve days, on the 11th of December, 1496. Trivignano, situated on the lake of Anguillara, was provided with strong walls and, receiving victuals and ammunition in skiffs from Bracciano on the opposite shore, made a valiant resistance. To intercept its further supplies, a vessel was lifted from the Tiber in Rome and dispatched on a wagon to Trivignano ; but d'Alviano, constantly informed by spies, suddenly dispersed the small convoy in charge of Troilo Savelli, and burnt both wagon and vessel. Exasperated by his reverse, the duke of Gandia made a violent assault on Trivignano, took and sacked it and reduced it to ashes, on the 5th of January, 1497 [107].

On the 9th he made his first attack on Bracciano, but was repulsed. He renewed the assault on the 15th, and again was driven back, after losing a hundred and fifty men slain and a greater number wounded [108]. He had even to defend himself against frequent sorties of the besieged, but persevered in his difficult task, and would in the end have conquered the fortress, if he had not been compelled to raise the siege, in order not to be caught between two fires [109].

107. Ugolini, Storia dei Conti e Duchi d'Urbino, vol. II, p. 74 ; Balan, Storia d'Italia, t. V, p. 371 ; Burchard, Diar, t. II, pp. 337, 341.

108. Burchard, Diar., t. II, pp. 352, 353.

109. De Cherrier, Hist. de Charles VIII, t. 2, p. 389.

Indeed, Carlo Orsini, Virginio's bastard son, and Vitellozzo Vitelli, the papal Vicar of Citta di Castello, had gone in good time to ask help from the French king and received large sums of money. Returning to Leghorn, they soon enlisted quite an army of horse and foot, principally in the pontifical cities of Perugia, Todi and Spoleto. Joined by the brother of Vitellozzo, the Bagliani and the lieutenant of Giovanni della Rovere, prefect in Rome, they marched at once to the deliverance of Bracciano [110].

The papal troops met them between Bassano and Soriano, and opened a fierce battle, in which they got the advantage at first, and drove the enemy up the side of a hill. Then Fabricio Colonna, a pontifical captain, left the main army with his men, to turn the hill and attack the Orsini in the rear. Seeing the papal forces thus divided, Vitellozzo rushed his soldiers down the declivity and, after a short but furious combat, during which the pontifical artillery, either through ignorance or treachery, directed their shot above the enemy's heads [111], the papal troops disbanded and took to flight, before Fabricio Colonna had time to return. Between the slain and the captured, the dukes of Gandia and of Urbino lost over five hundred men, besides nearly all their cannon and ammunition. Guidobaldo di Montefeltro was made prisoner and Giovanni de Borgia, who, on that day, conducted himself most honorably, Sansovino admits [112], wounded in the face, escaped to Ronciglione ; while the Orsini retook possession of Anguillara, Trivignano and of a few other places recently lost [113].

Authors vary in giving the date of the battle of Soriano,

---

110. Sansovino, Casa Orsina, p. 123.

111. Ugolini, Storia dei Conti e Duchi d'Urbino, t. II, p. 77.

112. Casa Orsina, p. 123vo.

113. Çurita, Hist. del Rey Don Hernando, lib. II, cap. 42, fo 112vo: Sansovino, ubi supra ; Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 353.

called by some the battle of Bassano, but Burchard, who was at the source of information, assigns it to the 24th of January, 1497.

Pope Alexander VI keenly felt the gravity of the defeat ; yet his courage did not fail him. He ordered the gates of Rome to be carefully guarded, gathered the fugitives of his army, made new conscripts, and required at once the allies of the Holy League, especially the captains Gonsalvo and Prospero Colonna, who were with powerful Spanish and Italian armies in the kingdom of Naples, to come and help him against the triumphant Orsini [114].

Meanwhile the Orsini, being without money or powerful allies in Italy, were desirous of peace and did not attempt to follow up their success, but contented themselves with a defensive attitude. On the other hand, Gonsalvo Fernandez was sent, indeed, by king Frederic of Naples to the assistance of the Pope, but arrived in Rome several days later, and was charged by the king of Spain to induce the Pontiff to make peace with the Orsini. Venice likewise objected to further expenses for the ruin of an ancient family and of their friend Bartholomeo d'Alviano. Then came the cardinals Sanseverino and Caraffa, who finally succeeded in turning the Pope's mind to thoughts of reconciliation. He should, however, himself, dictate the conditions of peace. These were accepted by the two cardinals, and the treaty, concluded on the Sunday, 5th of February, 1497, was ratified by the Orsini on the following Tuesday [115].

We shall treat this subject more at length in its proper place, but let us state here the principal stipulation of the

---

114. Leonii, Bartholomeo d'Alviano, p. 41 ; Sansovino, Casa Orsina, p. 124 ; Civiltà Cattol., ser. 9, vol. VII, p. 420 ; Ugolini, Storia dei Conti e Duchi d'Urbino, vol. II, p. 77.

115. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 355.

agreement, namely, that the Orsini should pay to the Pontiff the sum of seventy thousand gold ducats.

Sansovini [116] mistakes when he says that they paid but thirty-five thousand florins, and recovered that sum by charging the duke of Urbino an equal amount, for granting him his freedom [117]. A more common error is committed by Pastor [118], De Cherrier [119], Gregorovius [120], the Civiltà Cattolica [121], Balan [122], and even by Burchard [123]: all of whom reduce the penalty to fifty thousand florins. Malipiero [124] is the only author we found to report the correct amount of seventy thousand gold ducats, which sum is clearly expressed in a papal document [125].

This large sum of money was destined to cover current expenses, to indemnify and recompense several condottieri of the pontifical army, such as the three brothers Antonello, Eusebio and Ludovico Savelli and Troilo, their cousin [126]; but the greater portion went to the Captain General. The duke of Gandia bore the marks of his prowess in battle, he had taken great pains and undergone much fatigue and many perils in the faithful performance of his duties, and had, moreover, contributed of his own resources towards paying the expenditures of the war. And now the Pontiff, to stimulate other subjects also to fidelity in his service and, at the same time, to repay and reward Giovanni de Borgia,

---

116. Casa Orsina, p. 124.

117. Pope Alexander VI, is blamed by some hostile historians for not furnishing the ransom; but the duke was engaged at so much a month and was fighting in the name of the Holy League.

118. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 353.

119. Hist. de Charles VIII, t. 2, p. 390.

120. Gesch. der Stadt Rom., Bd. VII, s. 391.

121. Ser. 9, vol. VII, p. 429.

122. Stor. d'Italia, vol. V, p. 371.

123. Diar., t. II, p. 355.

124. Annal. Venet. in Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. I, t.VII, P. I, p.484.

125. See Document 39c.

126. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Introitus et Exitus, vol. 528, at the 12th of Febr. 1497.

made to him, on the 6th of the same month of February, the liberal donation of forty thousand ducats, which he and his heirs should freely dispose of forever [127].

Encouraged by the liberality of the Pope, Giovanni de Borgia left the City for another warlike expedition on the 21st of February. Ostia was held, in the name of cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, by a French garrison under the command of the cruel Menaut or Menaldo de Guerra, who pillaged or sank every ship that attempted to carry victuals or wine into famishing Rome. The great captain, Consalvo Fernandez, sent by the kings of Spain and Naples, was engaged by the Pontiff [128], to lead his troops, together with the papal army, against the inhuman corsair. The duke of Gandia brought up his soldiers and the siege artillery taken back from Anguillara [129], where he had stored it before the battle of Soriano ; and the investment of Ostia was commenced on the 4th of March. On the 9th [130], while the heavy cannon were battering the walls on one side, Consalvo put up the ladders against another part of the fortifications, scaled them and slew their few watchmen. Menaldo, thus attacked on the front and in the rear, surrendered, abjectly begging that his life be spared [131].

The liberator of Ostia returned in triumph to Rome, on the 15th, riding between the duke of Gandia and Giovanni Sforza, lord of Pesaro. With extreme mercy, the Pope handed over Menaldo to the discretion of the Spanish Captain, who allowed the monster to return to France [132].

Pope Alexander VI was now thoroughly convinced of the

---

127. See Document 39c.

128. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Introitus et Exitus, vol. 528, at the 23d of Febr. 1497.

129. Ibid. at the 16th of Febr. 1497.

130. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 359.

131. Jovius, Vita Magni Consalvi, lib. I, p. 221.

132. Burchard, ubi supra.

military qualities and of the loyalty of his nephew and Captain General of his army; and it was his intention, Gregorovius says [133], to give him the territories of the Orsini, should the battle of Soriano have had a different issue. To reward him more fully and to secure his lasting services, the Pontiff intended to appoint him and his heirs as temporal vicars of the pontifical cities of Benevento, Pontecorvo and Terracina, erected into a duchy; thus following the example of pope Calixtus III, who had granted the vicariate of those cities to his nephew Pedro Luis de Borgia. He manifested his resolution to the Sacred Consistory, held on the 7th of June, 1497. Of the twenty-seven cardinals present, but a single one, Franciscus Picolomini, afterwards pope Pius III, strongly objected to this alienation from the patrimony or immediate administration of the Church [134]. Çurita [135] relates that also the Spanish ambassador strenuously opposed the sheme, and told the Pope that his King would never tolerate it.

Whether the Pontiff executed his design is not known. Burchard [136], Balan [137] and several later authors assert it as a fact; while Çurita [138] and Mariana [139] speak as if the matter never went beyond the stage of a project. Çurita further states [140] that, although the Pope contended that there was no need of doing so, and although neither Giovanni nor his son had ever been in possession of Benevento; yet, to put an end to the clamors of Ferdinand of Spain, the Pontiff formally revoked all concession which he might have

133. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 105.
134. Von Reumont, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. III, P. I, s. 223; Gregorov., Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 396.
135. Hist. del Rey Don Hernando, lib. III, cap. V, f° 123.
136. Diar., t. II, p. 386.
137. Storia d'Italia, vol. V, p. 372, ref. to Borgia, Memorie di Benev. III, 430.
138. Ubi supra.
139. Hist. d'Espagne, t. V, p. 189.
140. Ubi supra, cap. 35, f° 161vo.

made of Benevento. This he actually did in the consistory of the 20th of March, 1499 [141].

ARTICLE III. — MURDER OF GIOVANNI DE BORGIA.

Nor would the grant of the duchy of Benevento have been of any benefit to the duke of Gandia, for on the 14th of June, 1497, he fell a victim of revengeful assassins.

This tragical event has been related by Burchard [142] and, with some little variation, by Gian Carlo Scalona [143], who was, at that time, the ambassador of the Marquis of Mantua in Rome, and had inquired for special information at the residences of the duke of Gandia and of cardinal Cesar de Borgia. Malipiero's Annals of Venice [144] contain another report less complete and less reliable, commencing with the historical error or Frederic of Naples investing Giovanni de Borgia with the city of Benevento. The account given by Mariana [145] and Çurita [146] is but a partial confirmation of the two original accounts.

Leti [147] copies from a manuscript life of pope Alexander VI the following curious story of the murder : Cesar and Giovanni de Borgia, with the Pope, sup at the house of Vannoza. Then Alexander comes back to his apartments together with the young men, who go out again. When nearing the bridge of Sant' Angelo, they are accosted by a friar who asks them an alms. Cesar gives him a sign, that his companion is his brother. Thereupon the friar jumps

141. Paris, Bibl. Nation. Fonds Lat., cod. 12555 : Decret. Consist. fo 10vo ; Rome, Bibl. Barber., cod. XXXVI, 7, fo 10vo and cod. XXXVI, 10, fo 46vo.

142. Diar. t. II, p. 387.

143. Archiv. della R. Società di Storia Patria, vol. XI, p. 300.

144. In Archiv. Stor. Ital. Ser. I, t. VII, P. I, p. 489.

145. Hist. d'Espagne, t. V, p. 205.

146. Hist. del Rey Don Hernando, Lib. I, Cap. 28, f° 34.

147. Cesare Borgia, p. 198.

at Giovanni's throat, strangles and robs him and casts him into the Tiber... The tale is evidently a romancer's invention.

On Wednesday, the 14th of the month of June, Burchard states, the Most Rev. Cardinal of Valencia and the Illustrious Lord Giovanni de Borgia de Aragonia, duke of Gandia, prince of the H. R. Church and Captain General of all the troops of Our Holy Father, the well beloved son of the Pope, took supper in Lady Vannoza's, their mother's, house, situated near the church of S. Pietro in Vincoli, together with their mother and others. Scalona, Mariana and Çurita, as also a letter of the 16th of June, 1497, written by cardinal Sforza to Ludovico, the duke of Milan [148] mention also John Borgia, cardinal of Monreale, as one of the party.

After supper, at the commencement of night, the Most. Rev. Cardinal of Valencia requested the Duke and Captain, his said brother, to return to the apostolic palace. They both mounted their horses, or mules, they and a few of their followers, as they had very few servants with them ; and they both rode together, till not far from the palace of the Most. Rev. Lord Ascanio, cardinal Sforza, vicechancellor, which Our Holy Lord, when being vicechancellor, used to inhabit and had erected, near the bridge of Sant' Angelo, as Scalona remarks.

Here, the said Duke stated that, before he would return to the palace, he was to go elsewhere after some cheer ; where he was to go alone, Scalona adds.

He was excused by the said cardinal, his brother, and went back, after sending away all of the few servants that he had with him, keeping but a single one.

Scalona states that the two cardinals did all in their power not to let him go alone, and so did some of his followers ;

148. Leonetti, Alessandro VI, | vol. II, p. 228.

but he was not to be prevailed upon to take along a companion.

Having admitted behind him on the mule that he was riding, someone whose face was veiled and who had come to him at the supper, and had visited him almost every day at the palace, for about a whole previous month, he rode as far as the Square of the Jews, where he dismissed also the said footman and sent him away to the palace, directing him, however, to wait for him at the said Square till midnight and, if he should not return to him before that time, to go back to the palace. After having given these orders, the said Duke rode away from the servant, with the disguised individual sitting on the croup of his mule.

Scalona thinks that this masker was executing orders of those who caught the Duke in a trap. He also states that the footman was sent to the palace in order to fetch Giovanni his weapons for the night, that he was assailed on his way and received some slight wounds, which dit not prevent him from doing his master's bidding ; and that, not finding the Duke at the appointed place and time, he, at last, went home. Scalona also notices that the cardinals Cesar and John Borgia stood a long time at the bridge waiting for the Duke, and often looked up to see him come, because he had promised to return soon ; but seeing that he did not appear, they went to the palace, with an anxious heart and doubts in their mind.

I do not know, Burchard continues, to what place he rode, where he was murdered and killed. He was thrown into the river at that place which is near and opposite the hospital of St. Jerome, named the hospital of the Sclavonians, on the road going straight from the bridge of Sant' Angelo to the church of Santa Maria del Popolo, near the fountain arising from the ground, and where the filth gathered on carts is usually dumped into the river.

Then Burchard gives a somewhat different version of an incident told already by Scalona : The foresaid footman sent away from the Square of the Jews, seriously wounded and mutilated unto death, was mercifully received and cared for, in the house of some person whose name I do not know. He was so confused that he could give no information about his master's commission and its issue. When the morning of Thursday, the 15th of June, had come, and the said Duke did not return to the apostolic palace, an attendant of the foresaid Duke and one of the cardinals of Valencia notified the Pontiff of his departure in the evening and of his expected return that morning. The Pontiff was greatly disturbed at the news, but persuaded himself that the Duke, indulging his passion with a girl somewhere, could not leave her house during the light of day, and he hoped that he would certainly return that Thursday evening. The Duke being missing even then, the Pontiff, altogether saddened and agitated to the depth of his soul, commenced to make every effort to inquire from everyone, by means of several of his officials qualified to investigate the cause of his absence.

Scalona here offers further particulars : Late in the afternoon, the Pope anxiously inquired about the Duke, and sent to his rooms to hear of him. Some of his companions, men of importance, who were in the said rooms, did not know what to answer, and when called by the Pope they hesitated to go. Therefore, His Holiness sent for the cardinals of Valencia and of Monreale, requiring them with great solemnity to tell him what was the matter with the Duke. They openly related to him the whole matter just as I have here written. After hearing this, the Pope wanted to know whether he was dead or alive, saying that, if he was dead, he knew the source and the cause. They could not tell any-

thing but what they had seen and heard from the footman, who had been sent by the Duke to get his night weapons. During all last night nothing else was done than to search wherever they thought information might be obtained.

Burchard proceeds : Among the ones questioned was a George Schiavone, who had wood near the above indicated fountain, on the bank of the Tiber, which he had unloaded from his vessel, and was watching, so that it might not be stolen during the night. He had gone to rest on his ship that was floating on the Tiber. Asked whether he had seen anything thrown into the river during last Wednesday night, he is said to have given this answer to his questioners : That, while he was watching his wood and resting on the said vessel during the night, there came about the fifth hour two pedestrians through the alley at the left of the said hospital of the Sclavonians adjoining that of St. Jerome, to the public way next to the river ; they carefully looked around to see whether anybody was coming along ; and, seeing no one, they went back to the same alley. After a short space of time, two others came out of the same alley and did as the first had done, and, having found nobody, they gave a sign to their companions. Then came a man on horseback on a white horse, having behind him the corpse of a dead man, whose head hung over his arm on one side and his feet on the other. Close to the corpse were walking the two first said men on foot, on each side sustaining the corpse lest it fall from the horse. They went on and rode to the above specified spot, where the filth is being thrown into the river, and they turned the horse standing at the end of the same spot, so as to have its tail towards the river, and the two other aforesaid pedestrians watching the corpse, one of them taking the hands and arms, the other the feet and limbs, they pulled the corpse and threw it in the river with all their

strength. The one who stood by, sitting on the horse, asked them whether it had sunk and they answered : " Signor si ", Yes, sir. Then the one sitting on the horse looked back into the river, and asked the men on foot what was the black object that he saw swimming. They answered : His mantle; and one of them threw stones to make it sink to the bottom. After that, the mantle being submerged, they went off, all five of them ; for the two other pedestrians, who had come out of the narrow street to see whether anyone was passing by, joined the said rider and the two others, and accompanied them through the other alley, that leads to the hospital of St. James ; they went their way and showed up no more.

When this report had been heard, the fishermen and boatmen of the city were called, and the fishing up of this man was confided to them, and a handsome reward was promised for their labor. As I understand, three hundred fishermen and boatmen came together, who, having lowered their tools to the river's bed, fished up a man from it. About, but before, vesper time, they found the Duke, having yet all his clothing, namely, his shoes, stockings, outer coat, vest and his cloak, having under his belt his gloves and thirty ducats ; wounded with nine wounds, one of which was in his neck across his throat ; the other eight on his head, body and limbs. The Duke, when found, was placed on a skiff, taken to the castle of Sant' Angelo, where he was divested, his corpse washed and clothed in his military attire, under the direction of my colleague, Bernardin Gutterii, cleric of ceremonies.

Burchard ends his relation by saying : In the evening of that day, about midnight, the corpse was carried by his noble followers, if I remember well, from the said castle to the church of Santa Maria del Popolo, preceded by about a hundred and twenty torchbearers and accompanied by all the prelates of the palace, the chamberlains and shield

bearers of the Pope, walking in disorder, with much weeping and lamentation. The corpse was respectfully carried uncovered, and he seemed not to be dead but to be sleeping. He was deposited in the said church and buried in a place where he remains still the present day.

When the Pontiff learned that the Duke had been murdered and that his body had been found, thrown like filth into the river, his soul was filled with emotion ; he shut himself up in a room with an aching heart and wept most bitterly.—He, indeed, had not only lost a beloved and highly valued nephew, but his own authority had been assailed and scorned, in the person of his minister, the Captain General of his army.—The Most Rev. Lord of Segovia, together with certain other servants of His Holiness, went to the door of his room and, at last after several hours, they moved the Pontiff by their exhortations, their begging, supplication and persuasions ; and he opened the door and let them in. The Pontiff did not eat nor drink since the evening of Wednesday, the 14th, till the next following Saturday, nor did he rest an hour's moment from Thursday morning till the following Sunday ; finally, however, at the constantly renewed persuasions of the above mentioned persons, he commenced as well as he could to put an end to his grief, considering the harm and danger that might be caused by it to his person. Thus Burchard.

Çurita even states [149] that on the day of the burial, pope Alexander VI fainted several times and was believed dead. He further assures us that the Pontiff gave the Spanish king to understand that he was thinking of resigning the pontificate, " quiso dar a entender que pensava a resiñar el Pontificado " [150] ; but contemporary authors whisper not a word

149. Hist. del Rey Don Hernando, lib. III, cap. 5, p. 123vo.

150. Ibid., cap. 6, p. 125vo.

of this pretended velleity [151]. It is true that the Pope made known, on the 19th of June, to the various courts of Christendom, the sad end of his Captain General, but Maximilian of Germany answered, on the 24th of July, that " he rejoiced at the constancy of the Pontiff, who needs no further consolation ; and he exhorts him to persevere in his fortitude and holy designs " [152]. Pope Alexander VI had, indeed, taken the great misfortune, as a true Christian would, for an admonition from Heaven, which brought him at once to the practical resolution of establishing a Commission of six cardinals for the reform of the Church [153].

All Rome was anxious to know the perpetrators of the crime. Since it had become evident that robbery had not been the motive, suspicion arose at once against all persons of higher standing, against whom even the least reason of doubt could be found. Yet, in spite of a most careful inquest, the veil of secrecy was never lifted [154]. Although we may conclude from later words of the Pontiff that he soon knew who were the criminals, this question still remains for history to discuss and to solve absolutely.

On the 16th of June, before the corpse was found, cardinal Ascanio Sforza wrote to his brother, the duke of Milan; but could not tell him any news besides that related by Burchard; the only detail which he added being that the mule of the duke of Gandia had been caught in the neighborhood of the house of the cardinal of Parma [155].

On the same 16th, in the evening, Gian Carlo Scalona, after relating the tragic event, writes to the marquis of Mantua : Various comments are being made upon this alto-

151. Cerri, Borgia ossia Alessandro VI, vol. II, p. 36.
152. Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 403.
153. See Infra vol. III.
154. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 334.
155. Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 399, n.

gether sad case. Someone imputes it to the mutinous inhabitants of Viterbo, who believe that they were slighted by the Pontiff ; others pretend that immorality is the cause of the murder, which one explains in one way and others in another. As far as I have been able to find out from persons worthy of belief in concerns regarding the duke and the cardinal of Valencia, the whole thing, if not done, has been ordered done and planned by persons who have long teeth, " che ha denti longi ". He then relates a recent quarrel between Giovanni de Borgia and cardinal Ascanio Sforza ; he further suspects the count de la Mirandula, because the mule of the Duke had been found near his house ; and he continues by saying : Until now, those are the most probable conjectures, although there is also some suspicion on the Lord of Pesaro and, between the teeth, on the duke of Urbino. It is thought by those who have seen the corpse, that it cannot be otherwise than that he was the victim of the poniard of the one who rode behind him, and that he did not enter any house whatever.

This last statement of Scalona is directly opposed to an assertion of the distant pamphleteer Matarazzo, who writes [156], that the duke of Gandia was murdered by the Lord of Pesaro, in the house of a harlot. It appears, in fact, that the Duke did not intend to enter any such house, for he promised to the cardinals Cesar and John de Borgia, at the moment of their separation, to return to them soon, and therefore they stood waiting and looked for him at the bridge of Sant' Angelo. Moreover, the murderous assault was made early in the evening, as we may assume from the attack on his servant, and at midnight his body was already cast into the river.

156. Cronica di Perugia, p. 71.

On the same 16th, Donatus Aretino addressed from Rome a letter, about the murder, to the cardinal Hypolite d'Este [157].

On the 17th of June, the day after the burial, the ambassador of Florence, Alexander Bracci, wrote home [158], saying that the Pope's officers of justice were doing nothing else than taking all possible measures to seek and find the authors of the crime ; but until now they had discovered no solid ground of suspicion. The governor and chief of police had even entered private homes, to the dishonor of some good people, such as that of the count Antonio Maria de la Mirandula, who has a very beautiful daughter but of excellent reputation ; because his house is not far away from where the duke was cast into the river. From what can be seen, the Pope will leave no stone unturned to find out the malefactors.

On the same 17th, the envoy of Venice wrote from Rome a letter which is reported or improved by Malipiero [159], in which the crime is laid at the door of Giovanni Sforza, lord of Pesaro, who wanted, it is said, to revenge the insult offered to his wife, Lucretia de Borgia. And thus commenced the tale of incestuous relations of the Borgias, which the vile Matarazzo, disowned by Gregorovius himself [160], afterwards developed in all its crudity.

On the 19th of June, cardinal Ascanio Sforza wrote again from Rome [161] that, notwithstanding the most diligent investigations, no knowledge had been obtained of the place where the Duke had been slain nor at whose hands. He only remarked that he had someone riding with him, and

157. Balan, Storia d'Italia, vol. V, p. 372, ref. to Mazzoni, Mem. ms., fo 93vo.

158. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 669.

159. Annal. Venet. in Archiv. Stor. Ital., t. VII, P. I, p. 489.

160. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 181.

161. Balan, Storia d'Italia, vol. V, p. 372, ref. to Archiv. di Stato di Modena.

that this one must have been a traitor, to lead him to where armed men lay in wait for him. There exists, he adds, some doubt of an assault by Sforza of Pesaro or by his brother.

Among the first to be suspected were the Orsini and cardinal Ascanio himself [162]. Somebody had expressed doubts also in regard to Jofre de Borgia, duke of Squillace and brother of the murdered Giovanni.

On Monday, the 19th, pope Alexander VI held an important consistory, at which all the cardinals residing in Rome were present, with the exception of cardinal Ascanio Sforza. The ambassadors of the Holy League were present also and they all went, one after another, to offer their condolence to the Pontiff. After expressing his profound sadness at the loss of his beloved nephew and Captain General, the Pope concluded his lamentations by declaring the innocence of those whom he knew to be unjustly accused or suspected. " It has been rumored ", he said, " that the Lord of Pesaro has caused the murder ; we are certain that it is not true. Of the Prince of Squillace, there is nothing. We are also convinced of the innocence of the duke of Urbino. May God forgive the guilty one ! [163] ".

Pope Alexander VI knew, indeed, who were the assassins. Cardinal Ascanio wrote on the 1st of March, 1498, that, to encourage the Venetians towards the restitution of Pisa to the Florentines, in order to restore peace in Italy, the Pontiff proposed to them his own example, saying that, " although he could name the authors of the cruel death of his, familiarly so-called, son, yet he tolerated the misdeed for the good of Italy ", to avoid the renewal of an intestine war [164].

---

162. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 391, n. ; Archiv. della Soc. Rom. di Storia Patria, vol. XI, p. 297, ref. to Sanuto, I, 652.

163. Archiv. della Soc. Rom. di Storia Patria, vol. XI, p. 298 ; von Reumont, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. III, Abt. 2, s. 838, ref. to a letter of the 20th from the ambassador of Venice.

164. Archiv. Stor. Ital., 1863, P. I, p. 25.

At the consistory of the 19th, the Spanish ambassador, Garcilasso de la Vega, excused the absence of cardinal Ascanio Sforza, condoled with the Pope in his name, and gainsaid the rumor that the cardinal was guilty of the misdeed, or—which is strikingly significant—that he had become the head of the Orsini. Only for fear of the Spaniards had he remained at home, and at a call of the Pontiff, would he at once appear before him. Pope Alexander answered that he had never suspected Ascanio, and considered him as a brother [165]. Ascanio was invited to the palace for the next following Thursday, and went under the assurance and in company of the envoys of Naples and of Spain. He remained with the Pope four long hours and went back home with the envoys. Yesterday morning, the cardinal renewed his visit and stayed several hours, and the Pope acted in such a way as to give to understand that there was no disagreement between them. So Bracci, the Florentine ambassador, writes on the 23d of June, 1497 [166].

On the 20th of June, cardinal Ascanio had written again to his brother, the duke of Milan, and told him that the duke of Urbino was suspected, that the Orsini were mentioned because of the late war, and also the cardinal of San Severino, because of his relations with the Orsini. He further noticed the alibi of the Lord of Pesaro, who was in Milan at the time of the murder, and of his brother, Galeazzo, who had not left Pesaro [167].

The following day, Stephen Taverna, the ambassador of Milan in Rome, wrote in cipher to Ludovico il Moro that, at last, some indications had been found, from which it appeared, that the Orsini were the originators and executors of the

165. Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. ungefähr 400, ref. to Sanuto in Rawdon Brown, I, 74.

166. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 672.

167. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 831.

bloody deed ; those signs were eagerly followed up, but the more they got verified the more careful the Pope became, not to let the matter be known before the right time [168].

On the 5th of July, the ambassador of Venice sent a dispatch in which he said : Some assert that the Pope knows it all, but dissimulates for the reason that I wrote before, others say the contrary ; but whichever the case may be, His Holiness makes no further investigations, and all his courtiers agree in thinking that the truth is not known [169].

On the 6th, cardinal Ascanio had written once more to his brother, that the Pope had manifested his suspicion of the Orsini ; and added that, should it be confirmed, he would take revenge [170].

On the 12th of August, Manfredo de' Manfredi, orator of Ferrara in Florence, wrote from Fiesole : As I understand, the Lords of Florence are informed from Rome, by letters of the 8th inst., that the Pope hurries to assemble his troops, and that this action very much displeases the Orsini, who mistrust His Holiness, and especially Bartholomew d'Alviano,—married to a lady Orsini— to whom, it seems, is being imputed the death of the duke of Gandia. The Pope has commenced an action against him, for having captured and sacked a castle of the Church near Livano and having afterwards commenced to erect a fortress at that place [171].

On the 22d of December, the same orator wrote again to the duke of Ferrara : It seems that His Holiness declares himself more openly than before in accusing the Orsini of having killed the duke of Gandia, and it is thought, therefore, that he intends to revenge the said insult and murder [172].

---

168. Ibid., s. 361 and n. 5.
169. Leonetti, Alessandro VI, vol. II, p. 235, ref. to Malipiero.
170. Pastor, ubi supra, s. 362, and n. 3.
171. Cappelli, in Atti e Memorie... per le Prov. Modenesi e Parmensi, vol. IV, p. 385.
172. Ibid. p. 396.

When giving his " instructions ", about this time or shortly after, to Bernard Boil, whom he sent to Ferdinand of Spain, he charged him with obtaining the King's permission to draw cereals from Sicily and Spain, that were urgently needed, " especially at this time ", he said, " when the Orsini were standing up against his authority, confident as they were of receiving help from France, and aware of his knowledge that the murder of the duke of Gandia was perpetrated by them, as we have clearly manifested to you ", he added [173].

In these same instructions given to Bernard Boil the Pope complains of the violation of the truce imposed upon the Colonna and the Orsini ; yet the historian Çurita, showing his unfriendliness towards the Pontiff, states that, in order to prevent a reconciliation between them, pope Alexander went so far as to utter the remarkable words that, namely, the Colonna had given him a certain writing of the hand of Carlo Orsini, by which the latter admitted that Paul Orsini had slain the duke of Gandia [174].

Such is all the testimony bearing on the case, down to the first months of the year 1498 ; and the evidence is sufficient, before any tribunal of impartial historians, to fasten on the Orsini barons the stigma of the duke of Gandia's foul assassination. Knöpfler takes it for a certain fact that the Orsini had resolved to do away with the duke of Gandia [175].

These disloyal vassals of the Pope were filled with hatred against the Duke who had, only a few months before, taken from them nearly all their territories. They had actually paid [176], probably with the ransom of the duke of Urbino.

173. Archiv. Vatic. cod. LV, f° seq. 311.

174. Llegó a dezir que Colonneses le avian dado cierta escritura de mano de Carlo Ursino, en que otorgava que Pablo Ursino avia muerto al Duque de Gandia : Hist. del Rey Don Hernando, lib. III, cap. 27, f° 149vo.

175. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 364, n. 2.

176. Guicciardini, Istor. d'Ital., lib. III, cap. 5, p. 221.

thirty thousand ducats of the tribute of seventy thousand imposed on them by the recent contract of peace with the Pontiff ; still four of their principal fortresses were still occupied by papal garrisons, to secure the remainder of forty thousand, still due to Giovanni de Borgia ; and they expected that putting to death their creditor, the Pope's faithful Captain General, they would easily recuperate their cities and escape the payment otherwise to be exacted from them.

Nowhere is verified more strikingly than on this occasion the word of count de Maistre saying [177] that History is a Conspiracy against truth. Until almost a year after the commission of the crime, not a thought came to anybody's mind against the cardinal of Valencia, Giovanni's brother, Cesar de Borgia. Until the 22d of February, 1498, we do not find a word of suspicion in any letter or writing of any kind against him, not even in any chronicle of the time. The one of Naples and that of Perugia, attributed to the slanderer Matarazzo, impute the deed to the Lord of Pesaro ; that of Lecce, the one of Florence by G. Cambi and the one of Modena by J. Lancelloti do not mention anybody as the murderer ; finally that of Ferrara names cardinal Ascanio Sforza and the count de la Mirandula as the ones accused [178]. Of Cesar de Borgia there is not a word. The chronicle of André Bernaldez, that records in detail the frightful news forwarded to Spain, mentions the cardinal of Valencia, but in no way or manner as implicated in the murder [179].

On the 22d of February, 1498, Albert della Pigna, an envoy of Ferrara to Venice, wrote to the duke Ercole :

177. Soirées de St-Petersbourg.

178. Archiv. della Soc. Romana di Storia Patria, vol. XI, p. 296 ; Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. 5, t. V, p. 139 ; Alvisi, Cesare Borgia, p. 34, n. 1 ; Leonetti, Alessandro VI, vol. II, p. 234.

179. Höfler, Don Rodrigo de Borja, s. 78. See footn. 5, ibid.

" I have heard again that the cardinal, his brother, was cause of the duke of Gandia's death " [180].

Did he hear this from reliable authority in Rome ? No, but in distant, hostile Venice. And from whom ? He does not say ; perhaps from some street corner scandal monger. And who is he that wrote the news ? It is Albert della Pigna, the same foul envoy who, three weeks later, heard from somebody of Rome that Lucretia de Borgia had given birth to an illegitimate child ! He stands all alone in reporting this slander, which is indignantly repudiated even by Gregorovius [181]. What, therefore, is the value of his accusation ? It is, historically, null.

Still the same della Pigna wrote from Venice to the duke of Ferrara, on the 18th of June, 1504 : " The wife of the duke of Gandia, who is a relation of the king of Spain, has, through vengeance, caused the arrest of the duke of Valentinois, Cesar de Borgia, because he has slain her husband ". Gregorovius, who publishes this untruth, takes the pains to refute it, when he says that king Ferdinand replied to the cardinals who requested his liberty, that he had not ordered his imprisonment, but arranged to place him where he was detained, on account of many things of which he was accused by Gonsalvo, and if these should not prove to be true, he would willingly grant their petition. He gave the same answer to the king and queen of Navarra, who had also asked for the prisoner's liberation [182].

In reality it took four and a half years to supply any Roman ambassador with a semblance of reason for shifting the odium of the duke of Gandia's murder from the Orsini to Cesar de Borgia. Cesar had resigned the cardinalate and

---

180. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 180, n. 1.
181. Ibid., s. 178 and n. 1.
182. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 306, n. and s. 307, ref. to Costabili's dispatch of Oct. 27th, 1504, from Rome to the duke of Ferrara.

ST. ALBERT'S COLLEGE LIBRARY

abandoned the ecclesiastical career, more than a year after his brother's death ; another year later, in 1499, he had been recalled from France and appointed by the Pope to fill the place once held by Giovanni de Borgia, and, in the year 1500, he had commenced, in spite of Venice, to expel several rebellious lords of the Pontifical States and to increase the power and authority of the Sovereign Pontiff. As a consequence, the Venetians and their ambassador in Rome were opposed to him, and nothing was easier than to say that Cesar had long wished to take his brother's position and, to obtain it, had slain him. Polo Capello actually wrote in this way to Venice, on the 28th of September, 1500 [183].

Capello gives no proof or authority for his assertion, although he is but an ear witness, having come to the city no sooner than the 23d of May, 1499. Niccolo Michiel, who was the Venetian ambassador at the time of the murder, represents the matter in quite a different way [184].

There is still the notorious " Letter written from the royal camp of Otranto, on the 15th of November, 1501, to the Magnificent Lord Sylvius Savelli at the court of the Most Serene king of the Romans ", in which it is asserted that " everybody fears especially, and is afraid of the Pope's son, the murderer of his brother, who from a cardinal has become an assassin ".

To rightly estimate this new accusation and all the contents of this long epistle, we must remember that it was written by one of the Colonna or of the Savelli families, shortly after these barons, on account of their open rebellion, in which they yet continued, and of their repeated and abomi-

183. De l'Epinois, Rev. des Quest. Hist. vol. XXIX, p. 403 ; Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 180.

184. Von Reumont, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. III, s. 207, 499 ; Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 406, n.

nable misdeeds, had been excommunicated by the Pope and deprived of all their possessions, on the previous 20th of August [185]. L. Thuasne states [186] that the letter is an authentic document. This we shall not contest ; but it is not, as he adds, a picture of the state of affairs in Rome under the Borgias. It is a photograph of the heart of the writer, who defeats his own assertions through the evident wrath and malice with which the philippic was dictated. It is an interminable succession of insulting epithets and comparisons heaped on the Pontiff and his ministers, of general accusations of crimes against God and man, of imputed villainies not to be thought of ; it is, actually, a dunghill under which the author tries to smother his hated superior, who has justly punished him. No serious historian will stir it up to find any truth in it.

At that time, however, and shortly after, there were, especially in the Pontifical States, many noble Lords, who smarted under the blows of justice, administered by Cesar de Borgia. They cared little for truth, but admitted as a balm for their wounds, all the accusations made against their suzerain and his agent ; and, as they felt, so wrote their paid ambassadors and their venal diarists and poets. The plausible motive of the crime alleged by Polo Capello was, after a few years, accepted by many ; all the more, since the Pope, unable or unwilling to punish the criminals, had kept relatively secret the guilt of the Orsini.

On the 31st of May, 1504, at the time of passionate revenge on the Borgias, under the administration of pope Julius II, Giustinian wrote to Venice that Michelotto de Prats, said to have been Cesar de Borgia's hangman, was questioned in

185. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Alex. VI. Secret. Ann. I, ad XI, lib. V, Regest. 871, f° 57.

186. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 187, n.

187. Villari, Disp. di Ant. Giustinian, vol. III, p. 129.

prison about the murder of the duke of Gandia [187] and Çurita relates [188] that he was considered to be the masked individual who rode behind the Duke and slew him. We must, however, observe that, should Giovanni de Borgia have been killed by this ruffian or by any other hired cutthroat, the thirty gold ducats would not have been found on his corpse.

Aegidius of Viterbo wrote during the first quarter of the sixteenth century : " They say " that the older de Borgia, Giovanni, was thrown into the Tiber through the crime of his brother [189].

According to Nardi [190], " it was believed and it was said " that the author of Giovanni's death was his brother, the cardinal Cesar Borgia.

Jovius [191] and Guicciardini [192], both of the middle of the sixteenth century, simply assert Cesar de Borgia to be the guilty one ; while Panvinius, some years later, accuses the Pontiff himself, in a sentence that fairly bristles with historical errors [193], of shutting his eyes upon the misdeed.

Çurita, after considering a motive attributed to Cesar, returned the imputation to where it belonged : " The death of the duke of Gandia ", he says, " caused great grief to many, the more as they attributed it to his brother, the cardinal of Valencia. It was said that the latter wanted his estate, or, at least, what had been given to him in the kingdom of Naples. But, since the Duke had a son who was to succeed him in all his possessions, it was understood that the reason did not exist ; and others, therefore, said that the crime had been perpetrated in vengeance for what the Pope had done against the Orsini " [194].

188. Hist. del Rey Don Hernando, lib. III, cap. 5, f° 123vo.

189. Hist. XX. Seculorum : Rome, Bibl. Angelica, Cod., C. 8, 19, f° 325vo.

190. Istor. di Firenze, vol. I, p. 127.

191. Elogia, lib. IV, p. 130.

192. Istor. d'Italia, vol. I, lib. III, cap. 6, p. 229.

193. Alex. VI, p. 339.

194. Hist. del Rey Don Hernando, lib. III, cap. 5, p. 123vo, 124.

Among the latest historians, von Reumont declares the author of the bloody deed to be quite uncertain [195].

Gregorovius pretends, in spite of his own assertion [196], that, " according to the general judgment of that time and the reasons of probability, Cesar was the murderer of his brother " [197]. We should notice here that his words : " Judgment of that time ", are deceiving ; for such a judgment belongs to a period of at least fifty years later, while at the time that the murder took place and years after, not a man even suspected Cesar de Borgia. As regards the reasons of probability, we presently will touch upon them.

Pastor decidedly states and establishes the innocence of Cesar de Borgia [198].

While solid proofs would be required to hold any man guilty of such a misdeed, there never was one serious reason to suspect the cardinal of Valencia. He quietly remained in Rome, following his usual mode of life. When temporarily leaving the city, on the 17th of July, to go and crown the king of Naples, he simply acted as could be expected from a dutiful brother. Erich, the duke of Brunswick, wrote on that day from Rome to king Maximilian, telling him how the cardinal and all his followers were attired in mourning, because of the death of the duke of Gandia [199].

It is said that Cesar was jealous of the alleged predilection of the Pope for his brother, the duke of Gandia ; but was he not himself constantly the recipient of many favors from a Pontiff, who had already opened for him the road to the highest honors and power of Christianity? [200] Nor is it reasonable to suppose that he would have committed

---

195. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. III, s. 225.
196. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 334.
197. Ibid., s. 105.
198. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 367, seqq.
199. Vienna, Filiale des K. u. K. Haus-Hof- u. Staatsarch, Maximiliana, 1497, July 17. Original paper.
200. Wm. Roscoe, Leo X, vol. I, p. 152.

the most revolting and unnatural of crimes, and exposed himself to the indignation of pope Alexander VI, whom he knew to ardently love the victim, in order to attain temporal riches and dignities, which he could otherwise, without disgracing himself, secure as well as, or even better than, his brother, through the noble exertion of his great natural talents.

To explain the possibility of the deed by Cesar de Borgia, some authors allege his reputed cruelty. This is, however, bolstering up one calumny with another. He never was hard with anyone, but with a few lords who were in open rebellion to their suzerain, or who lay in wait for his own life [201]. The people of Romagna loved him and he has left many proofs of a merciful and compassionate nature.

That actually he did not murder the duke of Gandia is evident from the fact that, when the duke notified him and the cardinal Giovanni de Borgia of his intention to return to town alone, the two cardinals did all in their power to dissuade him. Had he listened to them, his enemies would have been foiled that night.

Moreover, should pope Alexander VI, who knew the assassins, have had the least doubt of Cesar's innocence, he could not have allowed himself to act as he did. He could not have sent a man, with hands still red with the blood of his brother, to crown Frederic of Naples, without insulting that King, with whom he was in the most friendly and advantageous relations. The King received the pontifical legate most honorably and sent him back loaded with presents. Much less could the Pope have appointed Cesar

---

201. The poet Speruli wrote of him :

Caesar, sine sanguine doctus
Vincere, dumque licet laurum non [tingere caede,
Belligera subigens hostes formi- [dine, tectis
Ensibus... Bibl. Vatic. Latin. Cod. 5205, f° 27.

as the guardian and keeper of his brother's property in Rome, and thus compelled the widowed Duchess to enter into familiar correspondence with her husband's assassin. The Pontiff was prudent enough to see that he could not expose himself to the danger of committing such cruelty towards the first cousin of the powerful king of Spain. Cesar's innocence was, however, so well known in that country that, on the 19th of December, 1498, the dowager duchess sent to Rome her procurator, Alfonso de Villaviel, to appraise her late husband's belongings, which were worth thirty thousand gold ducats, to request five thousand of them to be paid to her, and to approve and ratify in her name the deposit of the other twenty-five thousand, made by Our Holy Father into the hands of Cesar de Borgia [202]. There is no trace of any disagreement in later years between Lady Maria Enriquez and Cesar de Borgia.

In finishing this lengthy report of facts and testimonies, we may observe that the legend, the calumny of the guilt of Cesar de Borgia and, secondarily, of Pope Alexander VI in the murder of the duke of Gandia, is rapidly dwindling away, after it has poisoned the minds of thousands of readers. Roscoe and Creighton, in England; Alvisi, Leonetti and Balan, in Italy ; von Reumont, Brosch, Höfler, Knöpfler and von Pastor, in Germany; Mauray and de l'Epinois, in France : all leading historians of the last century reject the false accusation of Gregorovius and of his ancient predecessors in slander.

Villari [203] asserts that Dona Maria Enriquez, wife of Giovanni de Borgia, duke of Gandia, at the murder of her husband, fled to Spain with her little son, Giovanni [204]. But there is no trace whatever of her presence in Rome at the

202. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. II, Docum. nº 17.
203. Disp. di Ant. Giustinian, vol. III, p. 126, footn. 2.
204. He forgets her infant, Isabella.

time of this tragic event, nor at any other time of Giovanni's sojourn in Italy ; and we may, therefore, conclude with Gregorovius [205], that she had remained in Valencia or Gandia in order to take care of her little children. There, Gregorovius continues, she received the frightful news through a letter of pope Alexander VI to his sister, Dona Beatrice Boria y Arenos. This is stated in a Valencian document ; for, on the 27th of September, 1497, Maria Enriquez appeared before the tribunal of Don Luis de Cabaineles, governor of the kingdom of Valencia, to claim for her son the heritage of his father. The Pope's letter was introduced as testimony of Giovanni's death ; Giovanni II, his orphan, was legally recognized as his heir, and the widow admitted as procuratrix of her son and administratrix of his possessions [206].

We remarked already that Maria Enriquez sold her son's fiefs in the state of Naples to the Kings, her cousins ; but she bought, instead, several places in Spain [207].

At the marriage of her son she retired to the convent of the Poor Clares of Gandia, where, under the name of Sister Mary Gabriela, she ended her days in peace, dying as she had lived, like a saint, in the year 1537 [208].

Giovanni de Borgia's only son, the third duke of Gandia, was born in the beginning of the year 1494 [209]. In the spring of 1501 he was seven years old [210]. Pope Alexander VI extended to him the fatherly protection which he had accorded to his parent, and was not only anxious for the preservation of his heritage in Rome, but also wrote, shortly

---

205. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 106.

206. Footn. ibid., " Dieser Act ist im Auszuge mitgeteilt von Amati in Periodico di Numismatica Strozzi's, Arm. III, fasc. II, p. 73. Florenz 1870.

207. Fita, Estud. Hist. t. VI, p. 126 ; Second Osuna geneal. tree, Ibid., p. 103.

208. Martin de Viciano, ap. Burchard, Diar., vol. III, p. XIII, footn. ; Paris, Bibl. Nation. Fonds franç. Cod. 20288, post fm 337.

209. Gregorovius, ubi supra.

210. See Document 46.

after, to Ximenez, archbishop of Toledo, requesting him to intercede with the kings of Spain in behalf of the orphan child [211]. In the year 1501 he made it a condition of his investing the French monarch, Louis XII, with the kingdom of Naples, that the young duke of Gandia should retain all the estates which he had inherited from his father in that kingdom [212].

Giovanni II married Dona Juana de Aragon, a niece of Ferdinand of Spain, by whom he had a number of children, and of these the first-born was St. Francis de Borgia [213].

The only daughter of Giovanni was Dona Isabella. She entered at an early age the convent of the Poor Clares in Gandia, where she received the name of Sister Frances of Jesus, was afterwards elected abbess of the institution, and admitted into it her own widowed mother. She died in the year 1556 a holy death, as abbess of the new convent which she had founded in the city of Valladolid [214].

---

211. Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 422, footn. 1.

212. See Document 46.

213. Second Osuna geneal. tree, ap. Fita, Estud. Hist., t. VI, p. 103.

214. Second Osuna tree, ibid; Martin de Viciano, ubi supra; Pellicer, Paris, Bibl. Nation., Fonds Franç. Cod. 20288, post f^m 337.

CHAPTER VIII.

Cesar de Borgia.

ARTICLE I. — CESAR IN SPAIN. HIS FIRST BENEFICES.

The most famous nephew of pope Alexander VI, the one who earned for himself and for that Pontiff, by his military exploits, the hatred of the petty Italian tyrants and the slanders of their venal scribes, was Cesar de Borgia, a brother-german of the first duke of Gandia, Pedro Luis, and of the second, Giovanni [1].

His mother was, according to Haas [2] and Ollivier [3] the Roman lady, Julia Farnese, who actually was of about the same age as himself. Moreri [4] had, therefore, a good reason to doubt and to add, as a possibility, another lady, Vanosa. More serious historians agree on the fact that Vanotia Borgia de Cathaneis was Cesar's mother.

He is often called in popular language and writings, a son of cardinal Roderic de Borgia, although, being Giovanni's own brother, he could not be the natural son of this cardinal. In a score or more official or diplomatic records, whenever, in fact, the correct statement of his natural relation to pope Alexander VI was of any importance or consequence, he is designated as nephew, " nepos ", of that Pope, as we shall see in the Appendix to this Volume.

---

1. Auctores passim. See Document 32.
2. First edition of Wetzer und Welte Kirchenlexicon.
3. Le Pape Alexandre VI, et les Borgia.
4. Grand Diction. Art. Borgia, César.

At the Roman court he is invariably known as nephew of Lewis John del Milá, cardinal of the title of the Four Crowned. This last description brings him home to his father and mother, William Raymund de Borgia and his wife, a daughter of cardinal Lewis John's sister.

As might be readily presumed, Cesar was born in the city of Valencia in Spain. The Venetian envoy, Giustinian, visited him two days after the death of pope Alexander VI, and relates that " Cesar had made an accord with the Colonna barons, through the medium of the Spanish ambassador, and showed himself to be a thorough Spaniard " [5]. Çurita plainly reports [6] the testimony of Cesar himself declaring, after the death of Alexander VI, that " in the past he had been compelled to go to France and to be a Frenchman in spite of his nationality and wishes, because he and all his brothers and sisters were born Spaniards ". And indeed, he placed himself at that time under the protection of Spain and of its captain, Consalvo. Most writers likewise agree with Çurita in stating that the so-called children of cardinal Roderic de Borgia were born at Valencia in Spain. The learned historian Bzovius simply calls Cesar de Borgia a Spaniard, a citizen of Valencia [7] and H. Matagne offers but a very lame commentary on those words, when trying to evade their natural import. Lodovico Siena [8] also states that Cesare Borgia was born in Valencia, a city of Spain. If Cesar is often called " de Francia " in consequence of his adoption into the royal family of France ; does not Burchard designate him as an " de Aragonia ", because of his nativity within the limits of the kingdom of Aragon? [9]

---

5. Villari, Dispacci, vol. II, p. 133.
6. Hist. del Rey Don Hernando, lib. V. cap. 42, fol. 298.
7. Ap. Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. XI, p. 194 : " Hispanus, civis et electus Valentinus „.
8. Storia della città di Sinigaglia, p. 146.
9. Burchard, Diar, t. II, p. 578.

The anonymous manuscript Life of Alexander VI in the Casanata Library in Rome, with Gordon and its other copyists, equally reports Cesar and his brothers as born in Spain. We know with Matagne that these last writers are of little authority ; but they may have told the truth, for once at least.

That Cesar de Borgia passed his first years in his native country appears from the fact that, when in his seventh year of age, he was granted, and given possession of, the prebends of a canonry and of a priesthood of the cathedral of Valencia, by cardinal Roderic de Borgia's vicar general for that diocese, who acted in virtue of his ordinary faculties to confer the benefices that were at the gift of his bishop. It is more than likely, indeed, that, had Cesar been in Rome at the time, the cardinal himself would have requested the Pontiff to bestow those prebends and to name a procurator in Spain who should take possession in Cesar's name. Conferred as it was, the favor was null and void, because of the grantee's insufficient age, and it needed the papal confirmation which was given on the 10th of July, 1842 [10]. Long before his name was first recorded in Italy, in the year 1488, Cesar de Borgia was known in Spain, at the very court of king Ferdinand, who promoted him in the month of May, 1485, to the highest rank of Spanish nobility [11]. How can we suppose that the proud monarch could have allowed himself to thrust among the highest families of his kingdom an unknown Italian foreigner of a disgraceful extraction, as the enemies of pope Alexander VI represent Cesar to be ?

That Cesar received also his primary and college education

10. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 548, fo 253vo.

11. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 39 and footn. ; Fidel Fita, Estudios Hist., t. VI, p. 224.

in Valencia is evident from an observation of Gregorovius [12] who says : I notice that the private letters of Alexander and of Cesar are filled with phrases peculiar to the Spanish language. C. Douais [13] makes a similar remark on a much abused expression of Cesar de Borgia, styling himself : " Vestrae Sanctitatis humillimus servus et devotissima factura ". Since Alexander VI and Cesar Borgia were Spaniards, he observes, it was but natural that they should often, when writing a foreign language, make use of words and constructions proper to their mother tongue. Thus was Cesar's word, " factura ", simply a too-literal translation of the Spanish " hechura ", with the meaning of the French " créature " in a figurative sense, used on such official occasions by anyone owing his rank and elevation to another.

It has also been remarked that Cesar generally spoke Spanish with the Pontiff, even on solemn occasions and when surrounded by Italian dignitaries [14], and that all the members of his household and, afterwards, many of his soldiers were born Spaniards [15]. Cesar de Borgia was known to Ferdinand of Spain by whom he was made a Spanish Grandee on the 28th of May, 1485 [16]; but there is no Italian record whatsoever of him, prior to the dedication of Paolo Pompilio's " Syllabica " to him, in the year 1488, when he may have been a student in some Italian University [17].

It may not be out of place here to make the simple observation that, if Cesar de Borgia, and his brothers and sisters were all born Spaniards, they could not be the natural

---

12. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 439, n. 1.
13. La controverse, An. 1883, p. 221.
14. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 26.
15. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 292.
16. See Document 32.
17. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia Bd. I, s. 39.

children of cardinal Roderic de Borgia ; because it is well proved and universally admitted, as we shall notice hereafter, that this cardinal was never in Spain from his early youth till his death, but for the space of one year, namely, from July 1472 until September 1473, when acting as an exemplary Legate apostolic to his native country.

The learned do not agree in designating the time of Cesar de Borgia's birth. The Civiltà Cattolica is of the opinion that he was born in the year 1473, and cites in its behalf a report from the diary of Marin Sanuto, where the Venetian ambassador, Paolo Capello, is said to have written from Rome on the 28th of September, 1500, that Cesar was then twenty-seven years old. The scholarly periodical further relates Cesar to have been slain in an assault on the town of Viana, the 12th day of March, 1507, at the age of thirty-four years and, consequently, to have been born in the year 1473 ; and, again, it asserts that he was older than his brother Giovanni whose birth took place, it says, in A.D.1474 or shortly after [18]. The Civiltà, finally, states Cesar to have been, in 1499, in his twenty-sixth year of age [19], which, indeed, would have allowed him to be born in 1473.

H. Matagne [20] also adduces the information of Paolo Capello, and seems to draw from it that Cesar was born in 1473. Albèri [21], Von Hefele and Hergenroether state, like the Civiltà, the age of Cesar de Borgias as being of thirty-four years when he died on March the 12th, 1507 [22], and the latter concludes from it [23] that he was born in the year 1473.

---

18. Civiltà Cattolica, ser. 8, vol. IX, p. 723.
19. Ibid., ser. 9, vol. VII, p. 421.
20. Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. IX, p. 472.
21. Relazioni, ser. 2, vol. III, p. 10, copies Capello's report, but says that it was made in the month of September or October, on his return to Venice from Rome.
22. Conciliengeschichte, Bd. VIII, s. 399.
23. Handbuch, Bd. III, s. 365.

Ronchini plainly asserts [24] Cesar to be born in 1473 from the well known Roman woman, Vannoza Catanei.

Alfred von Reumont is equally positive in writing [25] that Cesar was born in A. D. 1473.

We, finally, found the birth of Cesar de Borgia to be assigned in Gregorovius' History of Rome [26] to the year 1473.

It is truly amusing to read how Henry de l'Epinois, the first among historical critics, discovered [27] some little inconvenience, " une difficulté ", arising from the admission of the year 1473, as that of Cesar's birth ; namely, he says, " if his mother should have remained in Rome during the legation of cardinal Roderic de Borgia in Spain, this cardinal would not be his father, because he was absent from Italy since the month of May, 1472, till the month of October, 1473 ". Nor could it be believed that a cardinal chosen to represent the Pope himself, on a journey to his own diocese and to the courts of several Kings, on a mission during which he introduced important reforms of both clergy and laity, would have dared to drag along with him, as an intimate companion, a Roman woman, whose very presence would have made him an object of scorn, not only to his pious relatives but to all his Catholic countrymen. No enemy of pope Alexander VI ever hinted at such a disgraceful behavior, and de l'Epinois is the first writer to insinuate its very possibility. In fact, Cesar's mother, the historic Vanotia Borgia de Cathaneis, had never been in Rome at that time, and was the honored wife of the Cardinal's first-nephew, William Raymund de Borgia, in the city of Valencia in Spain.

If amused at the little inconvenience, we should be no less

---

24. Atti e Memorie, Nuov. Ser., vol. I, p. 37.
25. Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. 3, vol. XVII, p. 327.
26. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 317, footn.
27. Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. XXIX, p. 372.

astounded, when seeing how prejudice can warp the judgment of men such as we have here named or indicated, to make them accept false and morally impossible documents as proofs of ancient slanders, that are disproved by statements which they themselves propose and advocate.

H. de l'Epinois [28] prefers the year 1475 to 1473, as that of Cesar de Borgia's birth, without giving any convincing reason for his choice, but simply that of evading the consequence of his discovered " difficulty ", says Douais, who rather selects the year 1476 [29].

Both of these publicists err in saying that Leonetti adopted the year 1474. This well-informed historian plainly and correctly states [30] that Cesar was born between October, 1475 and April, 1476.

Burchard reports [31] Cesar Borgia to have been in his seventeenth year of age on the 12th of September, 1491. From this information Thuasne derives [32] the year 1474 as that of his birth, and scares himself by the inference that, if the report be true, the young man could not have been born in Rome a son of cardinal Roderic de Borgia. There was no need, however, for Thuasne to drop the testimony of his diarist, because, through an occasional remark made in similar documents, we know that Cesar's seventeenth year, on this occasion, was not completed, and, consequently, this allowed him to be born at any time from September 13th, 1474 to September the 12th, 1476.

The space of two full years wherein to look for Cesar's birthday, granted by the term " in " such or such a year of age, not only exercices the attention of a computist, but also

28. Ubi supra.
29. La controverse, Ann. 1883, p. 91.
30. Papa Alessandro VI, vol. II, p. 320.
31. Diar., vol. I, p. 420.
32. Ibid., footn.

prevents him, in the present case, from arriving at a definite date ; still there are on hand no less than twenty-five pontifical documents, of which we shall give the signatures when making use of their contents ; there are also two forged bulls in the archives of the Osuna house and one false record slipped into the Vatican archives, which we shall severally discuss at the right time. These documents are :

Five, dated August 9th, 1493, stating Cesar to be then in his nineteenth year of age ; that is, in his first on August 9th, 1475, or born after August 9th, 1474, and before August, 9th, 1476.

Four of August 31st, 1492, stating him to be in his eighteenth year, or born after August, 31st, 1474, and before August 31st, 1476.

One of September 12th, 1491, stating him to be in his seventeenth, or born after September 12th, 1474, and before September 12th, 1476.

One of September 17th, 1491, stating him to be in his seventeenth year, or born after September 17th, 1474, and before September 17th, 1476.

Two of February 8th, 1493, stating Cesar to be in his eighteenth year, or born after February 8th, 1475, and before February 8th, 1477.

Two of March, 27th, 1482, stating him to be in his seventh year of age, or born after March 27th, 1475, and before March 27th, 1477.

One of April 12th, 1486, stating him to be in his eleventh year, or born after April 12th, 1475, and before April 12th, 1477.

Two of May 16th, 1484, stating Cesar to be in his ninth year, or born after May 16th, 1475, and before May the 16th, 1477.

Two of June 4th, 1486, stating him to be in his eleventh

year of age, or born after June 4th, 1475, and before June 4th, 1477.

One of July 10th, 1482, stating him to be in his seventh year, or born after July 10th, 1475, and before July 10th, 1477.

Two of August 17th, 1482, stating him to be in his seventh year of age, or born after August 17th, 1475, and before August 17th, 1477.

One of August 16th—for August 17th—1482, stating him to be in his seventh year, or born after August 17th, 1475 and before August 17th, 1477.

One of September 12th, 1484, stating Cesar to be in his ninth year, or born after September 12th, 1475, and before September 12th, 1477.

One of the Osuna bulls, dated August 16th, 1482, places Cesar de Borgia in his seventh year, who thus was born after August 16th, 1474, and before August, 16th, 1476.

The other Osuna bull, of October 1st, 1480, places him in his sixth year, thus born after October 1st, 1474, and before October 1st, 1476.

Of the last record, dated August the 31st, 1492, we could not make any use here, because after saying that Cesar de Borgia was then in his eighteenth year of age, it states that he was in his twenty-seventh !

If we notice the extreme dates, set by the other papal bulls, and within which Cesar was possibly born, according to them severally, we will easily observe that some of these documents exclude the year 1474, while others shut out the year 1477 and the latter part of 1476 ; but each one of them concedes the possibility of 1475 to be the year of his birth. They do not, therefore, contradict Pastor [33], de l'Epinois [34]

33. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 262.

34. Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. XXIX, p. 372.

nor others, not even the superstitious horoscope of the Encyclopedia Britannica [35], who designate that year as the first of Cesar's life. Yet, they do not prove this opinion to be correct. If, indeed, we further compare the documents, we will readily notice that, according to the last, Cesar was born after the 12th of September, 1475 ; and, according to the first, before the 9th of August, 1476 ; and all of them allow his birthday to fall within the space of time between these two dates.

The statement of Burchard [36] simply coincides with one of the former bulls, and we could not solve the question any more accurately, were it not for two or three more contemporary reports [37]. Gianandrea Boccaccio, an evoy of the duke of Ferrara, writing to his master on the 25th of February and again, on the 11th of March, 1493 [38], gives Cesar's age as being between sixteen and seventeen years at the time ; and, consequently, reduces the gap, left by the documents, to remain only from March the 11th to August the 9th, 1476. Finally, there was another representative of Ferrara in Rome, Gerard Saraceni, who wrote to the same duke, Ercole, on the 26th of October, 1501, and said how he heard the Pope telling him that the duke of Romagna, Cesar de Borgia, would finish his twenty-sixth year of age during the next following month of April [39] : and Gregorovius rightly concludes, with the agreement of all papal bulls and reliable contemporary statements, that Cesar de Borgia was born on some day of April, 1476 [40].

35. Art. Alexander VI.

36. Diar., vol. I, p. 420.

37. The testimony of Paolo Capello, as related by Marin Sanuto, in regard to Cesar de Borgia's age cannot stand the test of historical criticism.

38. Archives of State, Modena, ap. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 13.

39. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. II, s. 106, nr. 32 : " Sua Sanctita — facendoni intendere ch' epsa Duchessa e di età anni ventidui li quali finiranno a questo April : in el qual tempo anche lo IIImo Duca de Romagna fornira anni ventisei ".

40. Ibid., Bd. I, s. 12.

Being one of the family cadets, Cesar was, from his infancy, devoted to the ecclesiastical career.

The first years of his life were occupied in acquiring the rudiments of religious doctrine, of his native language and of other sciences required by the high positions expected for him. Talented as he was, and being placed under the care of a private tutor, he had, at the age of twelve years, obtained such a knowledge of, and such a love for, the Valencian dialect, that he always spoke it with his uncle, Alexander VI, and used words from this dialect in his correspondence in the languages which he afterwards learned in Italy. He was a passive spectator however, in most of the occurrences that make up his early history. His Illustrious father and his Most Reverend uncles successfully conspired to have the Roman Pontiffs grant him many ecclesiastical titles and revenues, which form a long and, to us, a not very interesting list.

When he was in his sixth year of age, pope Sixtus IV dispensed him from the impediment of insufficient age, so that he could receive minor ecclesiastical appointments and even one church dignity, if lawfully granted, as soon as he would enter upon his seventh year [41]. Of illegitimacy there is not a word, although, should Cesar not have been lawfully born, we would, in consequence of a rule of the Roman chancery, find on this occasion and at the grant of all his subsequent benefices, a short reference to a former bull of legitimation [42].

Fidel Fita [43] reports from the Osuna archives the record or synopsis of a paper, called a bull of the Pontiff, Sixtus IV,

41. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 621 ; Sixti IV, Bull., lib. LXXI, fo 61vo and fo 91vo.

42. It may be noticed already that no such disparaging remark or reference is made in any genuine record of concession of benefices given to Cesar de Borgia or to his brother, Jofre.

43. Estudios Hist., t. VI, p. 114.

by which Cesar should have been made a Prothonotary apostolic when being in his seventh year, on the 27th of March, 1482 [44]; but there is no example of any other child ever being elevated to this regular prelacy, one of the most important of the Roman court; and the error of the Osuna document appears from the fact, that several months later, Cesar is addressed as simply a papal notary, " notario nostro ", in another Osuna bull of the same Pontiff, dated August the 16th, 1482 [45] and in two authentic bulls which we will presently report.

The next bull of Sixtus IV, bearing date the 10th of July, 1482, as it is found in Madrid, at the historical museum of the duke of Osuna, and published by Fita [46], is no less misleading than the first. It pretends to give to the boy Cesar all the pensions that were liens on any and all Prebends and Canonries of the cathedral of Valence or, better still, according to Thuasne [47], all the revenues of the Prebends and Canonries of that cathedral. This was a more extravagant liberality and a worse injustice. But the true and reasonable contents of that bull, as found in its official record [48] are as follows : A certain Beringarius Clavel had, by death, left vacant one of the four presbyteral prebends and one canonry of the Valencian cathedral. Cardinal Roderic de Borgia, bishop of Valencia, who had been granted the faculty of disposing of such vacant benefices, had by special letters authorized his vicar general to fill the two vacancies, by the appointment and provision of Cesar de Borgia, who had by this time commenced his seventh year. Cesar had consequently been invested, yet invalidly, because

---

44. Cesar was on this date in his sixth year only.
45. Ibid., p. 115.
46. Ibid., p. 114.
47. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. V, of the Supplém.
48. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 548 : Sixti IV, Secret., lib. III, fo 253vo.

of the non-observance of some former general decree of the Pontiff. But now, on the 10th of July, 1482, Sixtus IV convalidates the grant made shortly before. The bull mentions that the canonry was bringing a yearly revenue of fifty pounds small tournois.

Cesar's advancement was rapid. Fita [49] reports, again from the Osuna archives, an original bull written on parchment and dated the 16th of August, 1482, with the following inscription on its reverse : " Pope Sixtus IV dispenses Cesar Borgia in illegitimacy, enables him to hold dignities in one church and gives him the archdeanery of Xativa and the rectory of Gandia ". In fact, the parchment asserts no less than three times that Roderic, the cardinal Vicechancellor was his sacrilegious father ; it mentions an archdeanery and names the church of Gandia. Any tyro in diplomatics will notice the several unusual features of such a papal bull. Its very wording and the accumulation of the disparate favors, granted by it, aroused our suspicion and led us to search for its record in the Vatican registers. The copy of the Osuna original did not come in sight, but we discovered instead the official transcripts of two other bulls given in favor of Cesar de Borgia on the 17th of August [50], 1482, which have all appearances of authentic records.

One of these [51] is addressed to Master Cesar de Borgia, canon of Valencia and notary of the Pontiff. The document tells that, when being in his sixth year, he had obtained a dispensation in age to receive certain benefices ; but it makes not the slightest allusion to any unlawful birth. It further designates Cesar as now being in his seventh year of age and a nephew of Lewis del Milá, cardinal of the Four

---

49. Estud. Hist., t. VI, p. 114.
50. " Sectodecimò kl. Septembris ", wrongly translated by the Osuna forger as the sixteenth of August.
51. See Document 41.

Crowned, consequently, a son of William Raymund de Borgia. It finally states that pope Sixtus IV thereby confers upon him a dignity called the Archdeanery of Xativa in the cathedral of Valencia, worth a yearly one thousand pounds of small tournois.

By the second bull, given also on the 17th of August, 1482 [52], which recites all the same incidental information of the former and is equally mute about illegitimacy, the Pontiff bestows upon Cesar, " in commendam ", the rectory of the parochial church of Gandia, resigned that very day by Roderic, bishop of Porto and Vicechancellor of the Roman Church. The income of this prebend was valued at four hundred pounds small tournois.

It is not often that a prentended document, whether copy, record or original, can be proved to be a forgery as evidently as the one just noticed. This fabrication or " falsi crimen " ought to put unprejudiced readers on their guard against the alleged documents of a similar import, which are numerous, and suspicious because of their very number. One forgery was unwisely devised to bolster up another; but we will, in due time, observe that rather the proofs of falsity of one confirm the signs of fabrication of the others. It is evident, furthermore, that, if it was judged necessary or useful to resort to the fabrication of the Osuna " original " recordless document, to disgrace Cesar de Borgia and pope Alexander VI, the historical fact of Cesar's legitimate birth is established by it as firmly as it would be by an authentic declaration.

The summary of the next Osuna bull in favor of Cesar de Borgia is published by Fidel Fita [53] as follows : " By another bull of Sixtus IV, dated the 5th of April, 1483, there

52. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 621, fo 61vo.

53. Estud. Hist., t. VI, p. 119.

is given to Cesar a canonry and prebend, together with the archdeanery of Xativa, a dignity of Valencia ". This evidently means that the canonry and prebend were granted after the archdeanery, which a former Osuna paper had defectively reported before ; but we have noticed just now [54] that the chronological order of events in thus wrongly inverted.

When writing the date, April 5th, 1483, the originator of this bull had probably heard that Cesar had been charitably remembered on that day, on which, indeed, he was made by pope Sixtus IV the archpriest de Belchit, or Bilchir, Bilchis, in the cathedral of Saragossa [55].

After observing the falsity of the four successive Osuna documents here mentioned, and seeing a writer like de l'Epinois [56] putting all confidence in even the most vicious of them, we think it proper to remark, that historians should, only with the greatest care and discretion, make use of the Osuna historical revelation, recently made by Manuel Oliver y Hurtado and published by Fidel Fita and Thuasne.

On the 3d of April of the following year, 1484, Cesar, nephew of cardinal Lewis John del Milá and a papal notary, received a further subvention towards a decent support, namely, the simple office of Provost de Alball in the cathedral of Valencia, which his cousin Giovanni, bishop of Monreale, resigned for him, and which would yearly bring him four hundred and fifty pounds small tournois [57]. An Osuna record [58] also mentions this appointment, with the slight mistakes of locating the provostry in the church of Xativa and of calling it a dignity de Albar.

---

54. See Document 41.
55. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 643, fo 103vo.
56. Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. XXIX, p. 373.
57. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 642 : Sixti IV, Bullar., lib. XCII, f° 167.
58. Fita, Estud. Hist., t. VI, p. 120.

On the same 3d of April, 1484, Cesar was excused from paying a pension that burdened his canonry of Valencia [59]. This concession may have given occasion to the strange Osuna error stating that in A. D. 1482, he was given all the pensions due by the canonries and prebends of Valencia [60] or even all the prebends themselves, according to Thuasne.

When the treasurer of the cathedral of Carthagena died, cardinal Roderic de Borgia, then administrator bishop of that diocese, named his nephew, Cesar, to fill the vacancy, and as objections were raised against the validity of the appointment, pope Sixtus IV confirmed it on the 16th of May, 1484, but died before issuing the official papers. His successor, Innocent VIII, ratified the former concessions by a bull of September the 12th of that same year, wherein Cesar is designated as canon of Valencia, papal notary and nephew of Lewis John, cardinal of the Four Crowned, and stated to be in his ninth year of age. The treasury was worth a yearly two hundred and fifty pounds small tournois [61].

The benefices which Cesar had so far obtained were all, as might be presumed, in his native city, or, at least, in Spain ; and his widowed mother could easily attend to the business of collecting and making use of their revenues in his behalf. But should either his natural administratrix fail or should he need the money at a distant place, it would be good policy to rent them for a total sum, payable where it might be desired. That either or both these possibilities were about to be realized is indicated by a bull of March the 11th, 1485, by which pope Innocent VIII allowed him to

59. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 643, fo 90vo.
60. Fidel Fita, Estud. Hist., t. VI, p. 114.
61. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 700 : Innoc. VIII, Bullar., An. I, lib. III, fo 68vo. — Cfr. Fita, ubi supra, p. 120-121.

farm out the fruits of all his benefices for a term of three years [62].

The following were preferments and favors granted to Cesar de Borgia during the year 1486 : On the 12th of April, being in his eleventh year, he received the precentory of the cathedral of Majorca and the parish rectory of Incha in that diocese, both of which his cousin Giovanni, archbishop of Monreale, had resigned in his favor [63].

He was made a canon of Tarragona on the 4th of June, 1486 [64], and from a papal order of the 12th of the same month, given to the treasurer of the Roman Church, it appears that Cesar had been named Archdean also of the Taragonese cathedral about the same time ; because he is here excused from paying one hundred-six and a half gold florins, as annates of those benefices [65].

Villanueva [66] relates that one Cesar de Borgia obtained possession of a canonry in the cathedral of Lerida in the year 1488 and paid seventy-five pounds for his cloak of office; and a bull of Innocent VIII, dated September the 6th, 1488, confirms him not only in his right to the canonry and its prebend, but also in a former appointment as archdean of the same church [67]. He was stil designated here as canon of Valencia, the Pontiff's notary and nephew of the cardinal of the Four Crowned.

62. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 682 : Innoc. VIII, Secret. An. I, II, III, t. I, f° 188. — This permission was given in duplicate.

63. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 713 : Inn. VIII, Bullar., An. I, II, lib. XVI, f° 99 ; and Reg. 772 : Alex. VI, Bull., An. I, t. I, f° 57vo.

64. Ibid. Regest. 714 : Inn. VIII, Bullar., An. I, II, lib. XVII, f° 291vo.

65. Roma, Archiv. di Stato, Mandati 1484-1489, f° clxxxxviiii.

66. Viage liter. a las iglesias de España, t. XVI, p. 103.

67. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 686 : Inn. VIII, Secret., An. II, ad IV, t. V, f° 306 ; Cfr. Matagne. Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. IX, p. 472.

ARTICLE II. — CESAR DE BORGIA IN ITALY; A STUDENT, A BISHOP.

By this time, Cesar de Borgia had left Spain to finish his education in Italy, as we may safely conclude from Paolo Pompilio's dedication of his " Syllabica ", or Poetics, printed in Rome in the year 1488, wherein the author praises the young man's successful application to his studies, promises him a brilliant future, lauds his grave manners and calls him, already now, the glory and hope of the Borgia house [68].

Cesar's departure from Spain is further indicated by a bull of the 18th of May, 1489, by which the Pontiff allows him to enjoy the revenues of his benefices, even though he should be absent from their localities, when residing in Rome or frequenting some university [69].

He was at first a pupil of the university of Perugia [70], as appears from a contemporary recital of a rather interesting incident. The legendary account reads thus : At that time the Most Illustrious lord Cesar de Borgia, a young man, was among other noble youths at the university of Perugia, studying canon law. One day he had come, for the sake of recreation, with his wise instructor and a notable retinue to the orchard of our convent. When he had donated the usual small contribution, we left in good humor the shady spot, and were passing by the church, when we noticed a gathering of women and a number of men surrounding the Blessed Columba, in front of the altar of St. Catherine of Siena. The nobleman Grifon Baglioni was there, with many

---

68. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 39, and footn. ibid. ; Matagne, Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. XI, p. 186.

69. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 770 : Innoc. VIII, Commun., An. V, lib. LXXIII, fo 255vo.

70. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 39 ; de l'Epinois, Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. XXIX, p. 372.

companions to see the spectacle. As soon as he noticed the Most Illustrious lord Cesar, he exclaimed in a loud voice : Most Illustrious Lord, the Blessed Columba has, through her prayers, just now called this infant to life again. Come on, Mister Sebastian (the legendist), Cesar cried out at once, shall we ring the bells? for this is an evident miracle. But I quickly opposed, saying : Not at all, Most Illustrious lord, for this Sister is only a novice, and we do not know what kind of a person she is [71].

While Cesar was studying in Perugia, his revenues were increased by the bestowal of another " prestimonium " or single office, on the 11th of November, 1490 [72].

During the same, or the next following, year, he was also elevated to the Roman prelacy and named a Prothonotary apostolic [73].

After giving evidence of mental ability [74], Cesar de Borgia was directed to the university of Pisa, to further develop his talents. Matagne [75], referring to Fabroni, asserts that Cesar left Pisa in the month of December 1491. Fabronius [76] speaks, indeed, of a letter of Alexander Farnese recommending, on December the 8th, 1491, to the cardinal de' Medici the bishop of Pamplona, who was going to study in Pisa ; but we know from Burchard [77] that Cesar was at least matriculated as a student of Pisa, before he was named a bishop on the 12th of September, 1491.

With the approval of the Sacred College of cardinals, pope

---

71. Bolland., Acta SS., ad 20 Maii, B. Columba Reatina, n° 83. — The Bl. Columba made her profession on Pentecost 1490 : Ibid., n° 86.

72. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 750 : Innoc. VIII., Bullar., An. VI, VII, lib. LIII, f° 77vo.

73. Burchard, Diar., t. I, p. 42; Çurita, Hist. del Rey Don Hernando, l. 3, c. 28, f° 151 ; Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 39.

74. Jovius, Elog., lib. IV, p. 130.

75. Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. IX, p. 472.

76. Laurentii Medicis Vita, p. 10.

77. Diar., t. I, p. 420.

Innocent VIII [78] appointed Cesar, then in his 17th year, as administrator of the diocese of Pamplona, till he should become twenty-seven years old, and its ordinary bishop after that age [79].

There must have existed some fear of invasion of that diocese or of its revenues, because we see that, four days after, Cesar announced his election to the council and citizens of Pamplona, reminding them of their duty to submit to the decision of the Pontiff and of the lords cardinals [80]; and on the day following, September the 17th, pope Innocent VIII himself issued a warning, " Monitorium penale ", against all who might usurp the See of Pamplona or misappropriate its revenues [81]. That Cesar was not welcome in Pamplona is further manifested by a bull of May the 7th, 1492, by which the Pontiff specially secured him in his ordinary rights of visiting by himself or by a delegate the churches and monasteries of his diocese, and of receiving the full fees due on such occasions [82].

Meanwhile, the young bishop did not go and occupy the throne of his cathedral, but went to sit on the benches of the Pisan university halls. From a letter, which he wrote to Piero de' Medici, on the 5th of October, 1492 [83], we learn that he had a private tutor, Joan Vera of Harisa in Aragon, who was made a cardinal in the year 1500; and Francesco Remolino of Lerida, as a member of his household, for

---

78. Not Alexander VI, as Moroni and Moreri pretend : respectively Dizion. Art Borgia, p. 49, and Grand Diction. Histor. Art. Borgia.

79. Çurita, Hist. del Rey Don Hernando, lib. III, cap. 28, f° 151 ; Burchard, ubi supra ; Archiv. S. Consistorii, in Cancellaria, Provis. Innoc. VIII et Alex. VI, 1489, f° 17vo ; Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 689 : Inn. VIII, Secret., An. I ad IX, t. VIII, f° 9, and Regest. 772 : Alex. VI, Bull., An. I, t. I, f° 27.

80. Yriarte, Les Borgia, t. II, p. 320.

81. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 689, f° 9.

82. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 689, f° 187vo.

83. Archiv. Med. avanti il Principato, filza LX, ap. Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. 3, vol. 17, p. 511.

whom he was seeking a chair of canon law in the university ; who was afterwards dispatched by pope Alexander VI to try and save the life of Savonarola, and who was elevated to the cardinalitial dignity in A. D. 1503. The Right Reverend student was making great progress in learning and was soon able to brilliantly discuss any question of either civil or canon law proposed to him [84].

Gregorovius [85] reports that, as soon as Cesar heard from a special courier of the election to the papacy of cardinal Roderic de Borgia, his uncle, popularly called his father, he left Pisa in a hurry, without anybody's knowledge [86], direct for Rome, confident of receiving at once a cardinal's hat. A certain B. Gaddi assures us that, indeed, the new Pope was importuned on every side to confer the honors of the cardinalate on Giovanni del Milá [87] and on Cesar de Borgia. He adds that the former was promoted and the latter put off [88].

These are the facts : Cardinal de Borgia had been elected on August 11th, 1492, and on the 22d Manfredo de' Manfredi, an envoy of the Este, wrote from Florence to the duchess of Ferrara : " The bishop of Pamplona, who studied in Pisa, left from there yesterday morning, by order of the Pope, and went to the castle of Spoleto " [89]. There is no contemporary record of Cesar's going any farther or of being present in Rome at the Pontiff's coronation ; but he was in Spoleto again, or rather, still, on the following 5th of October, when he dated his recommendation of Remolino to Piero de' Medici. This letter was subscribed : " Yours, as a brother, Cesar de Borgia, bishop elect of Valencia ".

84. Jovius, Vita Consalvi, lib. III, p. 272.

85. Gesch. der Stadt Rom.

86. Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. 3, vol. XVII, p. 327.

87. Did he perhaps mean Giovanni de Borgia the elder ?

88. Rome, Corsiniana, cod. 1323, fo 10vo.

89. Ant. Cappelli, in Atti e Memorie, vol. IV, p. 324 ; Gregorovius, correcting himself, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 48.

In becoming a Pope, Alexander VI had vacated the archiepiscopal see of Valencia, and on the last day of August, 1492, he bestowed it upon his promising nephew, Cesar de Borgia, who was then in his eighteenth year of age ; with the proviso, however, that the young appointee should be its administrator only, till he would attain his twenty-seventh year, and become its regular archbishop.

It is strange to find Raynaldi [90] copying on this occasion three condensed errors of Mariana [91], telling that Alexander VI, on the very day of his coronation, which was the 26th of the month, made his illegitimate son archbishop of Valencia, and burdened him with the diocese of Pamplona conjointly with that of Valencia. Gregorovius [92] and von Reumont [93]. admit the erroneous date ; but that of August the 31st is accepted by nearly all historians, in particular by Villanueva [94], Gams [95], Chevalier [96] and Pastor [97] ; and it is well established by the Vatican records, which clearly state " Friday, the last day of August " [98].

As for the burden of Pamplona being imposed upon him at the same time, the very contrary is the fact; for, while the administration of this diocese had been a source of trouble for Cesar during the foregoing year, he was now freed of all duty and responsibility in regard to it, and was transferred from it to Valencia ; and the see of Pamplona was given the same day to cardinal Antoniotto Palavicini [99].

We should finally notice another mistake of Gregoro-

---

90. Ann. Eccles. ad An. 1492, n° XXXI.
91. Lib. 26, cap. 2.
92. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 48.
93. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. III, s. 553.
94. Viage Lit., t. 2, p. 52.
95. Series Episc. Art. Valencia, p. 88.
96. Répertoire, p. 333.
97. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 287, and footn. 4.
98. See Document 42a, b.
99. Gams, Series Episc. Art. Pampeluna, p. 63 ; Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Cod. 772 : Alex. VI, Bull., An. I, t. I, fo 30vo. See Document 42b.

vius [100] who pretends that Cesar was only sixteen years old when made an archbishop. He was, although precocious, certainly very young, yet he was at least a year older than Gregorovius says [101].

Pastor [102] states that the archdiocese of Valencia had an income of sixteen thousand ducats, but the records of the Sacred Consistory reduce the exaggeration to the sum of ten thousand florins [103], and its first year's revenues were estimated, as annata, to be five thousand gold ducats, which Cesar de Borgia duly paid through his agent, Lewis de Pennafiel, on the 4th of September, 1492 [104].

At the same time [105] he paid the tax imposed on the commendam of the Cistercian abbey of Valdegna in the diocese of Valencia, worth two thousand florins of revenue, and taxed at five hundred [106]. It had become vacant through the election of the Pontiff and had also been, with the advice of the Sacred College, granted to him on the 31st of August [107].

The large income from the Valencian archdiocese and abbey was, however, materially reduced by the loss of several former benefices. To cardinal Raphael Riario were given the treasury of the Carthagena cathedral [108], the archdeanery of Xativa in the cathedral of Valencia [109], as also the simple benefice of St. Marthena in the diocese of Sevilla, with which

---

100. Ubi supra.

101. See Document 42b.

102. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 287.

103. Rome Barberiniana, Varia, Cod.XXXVI, 10: Decreta consistorialia notabiliora ab an. 1498 per totum annum 1620, fo 24vo.

104. Obbligazioni per servizi comuni, Registro 1492-1498, carte 1, tergo, ap. Archiv. della Società Rom. di Storia Patria, vol. IV, p. 120. — Cesar's appointment is again assigned to the preceding 31st of August.

105. Ibid.

106. Roma, Bibl. Barberiniana, ubi supra.

107. Archiv. S. Consistorii : Provis. Innoc. VIII et Alex. VI, ab 1489, fo 25vo ; Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 772 ; Alex. VI, Bull., Ann. I, t. I, f° 2.

108. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 772, f° 44.

109. Ibid., f° 49.

he had recently been provided [110]. On this occasion Cesar de Borgia was further deprived, in favor of his brother, Jofre, of the parish of Incha in the diocese of Majorca, that had brought him a yearly two hundred gold florins ; also of an equal amount of revenue from the dignity of archpriest of Bilchir in the Saragossa cathedral [111], and of the four hundred pounds small tournois from the parish of Gandia, in the duchy of that name [112].

His incidental losses were partly compensated on the 7th of September, 1492, when he received a priory in the diocese of Adria, which he resigned in consideration of a pension against it, on the following 18th of March, 1493.

Pope Alexander VI did not favor his nephew in his temporal affairs only, but also cared for his spiritual interests ; for when, on the 14th of October, 1492, he gave to Giovanni, duke of Gandia, the privilege of a portable altar, he granted a like favor to Cesar also, on the same day [113].

To terminate a long-lasting lawsuit, and to aid the archbishop-elect to live according to his high rank, the Pontiff gave orders, on the 17th of November, 1492, that the archdeanery of Celonio in the cathedral of Brieux and its prebend of one hundred and fifty pounds tournois should be surrendered to Cesar de Borgia [114].

On the 8th of February, 1493, the archbishop of Valencia, still in his eighteenth year of age, was made governor abbot of three more monasteries, two of which belonged to the Benedictine Order and the last to that of the Augustinians ; namely, of the abbey of St. Martin de Montepannonia in the diocese of Raab [115], of the one of St. Victor, outside the

110. Ibid., fo 40vo.
111. Ibid., fo CLXXXV.
112. Ibid., fo 181.
113. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 869 : Alex. VI, Secret., An. I, II, III, lib. III, fo 14vo.
114. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest 772, fo 57vo.
115. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 775 : Alex. VI, Bull., An. I, t. IV, fo 8.

walls of Milan [116], and of that of St. Mary de Abundantia, in the diocese of Geneva [117]. Each diploma was issued with the approval of the Sacred College of cardinals, and by each Cesar was admonished to administer, by himself or by his delegates, in a manner agreeable to the friars and useful to their monasteries.

The following 9th of August, 1493, was another red-letter day for archbishop Cesar. The register 778 of the Vatican archives records on folios 119 and 120, a bull of pope Alexander VI declaring that he intends to confer on him all the dignities and prebends of the late Robert, bishop of Nantes, and dispensing him from all impediments that might prevent him from validly accepting the coming favors. The next folio 120vo, reports Cesar's appointment, in his nineteenth year of age, as perpetual administrator of the diocese of Nantes, on the 9th of August, 1493, and the following folios record the usual commendations of the new bishop. Cesar, however, retained this diocese but a short time, resigning it on November the 3d of the following year, 1494 [118].

By other bulls of the 9th of August, 1493, he received the priory of St. Martin des Champs, outside the walls of Paris, with the revenue of a thousand pounds small tournois [119], the monastery of St. Leonard de Ferrières, in the diocese of Poitiers [120]; furthermore, the priories of Yssey and of Lyffrey, in the diocese of Rennes [121] and, finally, the grand-chantry of the Rennes cathedral [122].

Cesar, perhaps considering the difficulties of governing

116. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 775, f° 251.
117. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 774 : Alex. VI, Bullar., An. I, t. III, f° 41vo.
118. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 869 : Alex. VI, Secret., An. I, II, III, lib. III, f° 160vo ; Archiv. S. Consist. Provis. Innocentii VIII et Alex. VI, ab 1489, f° 34vo.
119. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 778 : Alex. VI, Bull., an. I, II, t. VII, f° 10.
120. Ibid., f° 95.
121. Ibid., f^is 119, 143, 191.
122. Ibid., f° 166.

these French monasteries, relinquished them all on the same day of their bestowal, claiming, however, a yearly pension against them [123]. Thus, these commendams, become vacant again, together with the chantry of Rennes, were given on the 12th of the month to cardinal André Spinay, who under pain of losing the benefices, was to pay the pension of five hundred ducats [124].

ARTICLE III. — CESAR DE BORGIA, A CARDINAL.

The bishop and archbishop, Cesar de Borgia, was, it is true, young yet, but of an excellent disposition and of great expectations, Sigismondo dei Conti says [125]. Nor was it a surprise when he was raised to the eminent dignity of a cardinal. He was, indeed, named Cardinal Deacon with the title of Santa Maria Nova ; but, on account of his archiepiscopal church, was afterwards commonly known as cardinal of Valencia.

Historians considerably disagree on the date of this promotion, although they all admit the year 1493. Gams [126] and Chevalier [127] evidently err in assigning the 8th of March, because Cesar's title was simply archbishop of Valencia in several later documents. Rossbach [128] gives the wrong date of August 20th ; while Ciaconius [129], Moroni [130] and Cardella [131] erroneously set forth the following day, August the 21st. Sigismondo dei Conti [132], however, reports the month

123. Ibid., f° 212.
124. Ibid., f° 191vo.
125. Le Storie de' suoi tempi, t. II, p. 61.
126. Series Episc. Art. Valencia, p. 88.
127. Répertoire, Art. Borgia, Cesar.
128. Carvajal 36, ap. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 300, footn. 3.
129. Vitae Rom. Pontiff., p. 167.
130. Dizion., Art. Borgia, p. 49.
131. Mem. Stor. dei card., t. III, p. 249, ap. Pastor, ubi supra.
132. Ubi supra.

of September, and the greater number of historians give the accurate date of September 20th, 1493. Thus the interpolation of Infessura into Burchard [133], Mariana and Raynaldi [134], the Civiltà Cattolica [135], Gregorovius [136], de l'Epinois [137] and Pastor, who refers to the archives of the Sacred Consistory [138], where it is also recorded that Cesar and his companions in honor received their title churches on the 23d of that month [139].

This elevation of Cesar de Borgia has caused much uneasiness of mind to the detractors of pope Alexander VI, because of the admitted rule that no one of illegitimate birth could ever be admitted to the Sacred College. Let it be noticed, however, that not one of them has recourse to the easy explanation of a papal excuse or a bull of legitimation, given to open to Cesar the pretendedly obstructed road to this honor and dignity. Yet, to evade the probatory evidence of the fact, they try to gainsay it by contradictory reports and incredible assertions.

Gian Andrea Boccaccio [140] was at the time an envoy of Ercole d'Este in Rome, and a scandal monger also on other occasions, who had, no doubt, heard Cesar familiarly called son of the Pope. To procure a bit of palatable information to the court of Ferrara, long since hostile to the Pontiff, he wrote to the Duke, on the 20th of September, 1493, as soon as he had received a hint of Cesar's elevation : " They will do away with his blemish of being a natural son, and for good reason ; nay, they will declare him a legitimate, for

133. Diar., t. II, p. 84.
134. Ann. Eccles. ad an. 1493, n° XXXIII.
135. Ser. 9, vol. VII, p. 421.
136. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 65.
137. Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. XXIX, p. 404.
138. Acta S. Consist., f° 3.
139. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 300, and footn. 3, ibid.
140. Not Brancaccio, as given by de l'Epinois in Rev. des Quest Hist., t. XXIX, p. 404.

being born in his mother's home while her husband was alive ". Boccaccio, however, did not intend to state the fact, that her former husband, William Raymund de Borgia, was, indeed, still alive at Cesar's birth ; for he finishes his sneering prophecy by saying that the husband was in Rome part of the time and was occasionally travelling on business in the Pontifical States. He has no name to give him [141].

Allegretto de Allegrettis [142] brings into disrepute the foregoing prophecy, when he says : " The Pope declared in consistory to the Sacred College his will to create some cardinals, among whom his bastard son ; and the cardinals having heard this, stood up at once and went away ". This evidently means that not a single member of the Sacred College deigned as much as to consider the proposition, and that Cesar must have been rejected.

The cardinals might have sustained their opposition by alleging, if but one of the numerous bulls of legitimation and dispensation of Cesar de Borgia or of his brothers and sister-german, which they had seen or heard of, were it only through a very natural indiscretion of the papal chancery employees, had been in existence. But it seems that none of such papers was forged yet in the year 1493.

Burchard [143], or rather the bitter detractor of pope Alexander VI, Infessura [144], assures us that : " On the 20th of September, pope Alexander created twelve cardinals, and to their creation only seven old cardinals consented, the others dissented. Among the first was created his son, who was born of him and a woman whom he had married to a certain Dominic de Arignano, and who was always held,

---

141. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 65.

142. Ephemerides Senenses, ap. Muratori, Rerum Italic. Script., t. XXIII, col. 827.

143. Diar., t. II, p. 84.

144. The passage is an interpolation into Burchard's diary as appears from Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles., ad An. 1493, n° XXIV.

considered and reputed to be his son : and he himself made him bishop of Pamplona in Spain ". We may notice here Infessura's repeated, anxious insistency that Cesar was the Pope's son : " Et semper fuit habitus, tentus et reputatus ejus filius ".—as if there were people at his time to sustain that Cesar was not his son. Until this day there are historians to doubt Infessura's assertions, like de l'Epinois who remarks [145] that he is alone to call Dominic de Rignano the husband of Cesar's mother and that he may be in error. Gregorovius states [146] not only that Infessura, besides Mariana, who copies him, is alone to name Vannoza's husband Domenico de Arignano, but even that there can be no question of any legally recognized marriage between Cesar's mother and this unknown individual. Another error which Infessura utters with the same breath is that pope Alexander VI made Cesar bishop of Pamplona in Spain. It was, indeed, pope Innocent VIII who named him to that diocese, on the 12th of September, 1491.

Mariana, who gladly believes the most evident slanders of the enemies of pope Alexander VI, admits [147] that the Pontiff created Cesar, represented as a lawful son of Dominic Ariniani married with Zanopzia ; but he flatly contradicts Infessura's assertion of the greater number of the cardinals being opposed to Cesar's admission to their College. " Not one of the judges of the Rota ", he says, " not one of the cardinals , with whom the Pope communicated his project, dared to open his mouth against it " : they all consented ! And Mariana adds in despair : " I suppose that the Christian world bemoaned such depravity, such corrupt morals of the age ", : thus condemning all the cardinals, all the prothono-

145. Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. XXIX, p. 404.
146. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 12.
147. Ap. Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles., ad An. 1493, nº XXXIII.

taries apostolic, the whole world—because they did not uphold, at that time, Mariana's calumny against a good man and great Pope.

According to H. Matagne [148] Infessura further asserts that the Pontiff, to conquer the strong opposition of the Consistory to his intention of creating Cesar de Borgia a cardinal, called [149] " des témoins ", witnesses, whose names are given by de l'Epinois [150] as being the prominent cardinals John Baptist Orsini and Antoniotto Pallavicini, to investigate, and report upon, the extraction of the candidate. This pretended measure of the Pope was rather imprudent, for, although he well knew that the cardinals were aware of Cesar's birth from William Raymund de Borgia, he must also have known that, in Rome, he was often familiarly called son of the Pope. But, fortunately for his good name and honor, the two worthy Lords cardinals appeared before their colleagues and, according to Infessura, solemnly forswore themselves, announcing their unexpected findings, that, namely, Cesar de Borgia was the lawful son of a certain Domenico de Arignano. And at once, all the other cardinals humbly believed the strange story, ceased their opposition and unanimously voted for the admission of Cesar de Arignano into the Sacred College !

What must we admire the most : the ignorance or the utter simplicity of the cardinals? It is not possible that they did not know the Borgian origin of Cesar, in the year 1493, when already in 1488, Paolo Pampilio dedicated to him his Syllabica and called him the glory and hope of the Borgian house. Several of them had known him long since as Cesar de Borgia, and associated with him in Rome and

148. Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. IX, p. 474.

149. Some later writers say, bought.

150. Ibid., t. XXIX, p. 404.

at the pontifical palace. They all had consented to his nomination for the diocese of Pamplona and for the archdiocese of Valencia; and one of them, the cardinal of Lisbon, de Costa, was the godfather of Lucretia de Borgia [151], Cesar's sister-german, whose parents he undoubtedly knew. Oliver sets forth the testimony of the " Acta Consistorialia ", giving to Cesar the name of de Borgia, a few months only before his elevation to the cardinalate. H. Matagne [152] replies that this does not prove anything. It proves at least, however, that Cesar was known as a de Borgia by the Pope and the cardinals present at the Consistory of the last day of August, 1492 [153].

This whole story of Boccaccio, of Infessura and of their copyists, Guicciardini, and Mariana, is impossible and ridiculous, and we wonder how H. Matagne, if not for the sake of John Mariana, a Jesuit Father like himself, can set it forth as having all the marks of a solid probability [154]. Why not rather simply follow the report of the " Acta Consistorialia ", that know nothing of all such tales? In the Vatican archives [155] there is the short notice : About that time, pope Alexander made cardinal Cesar Borgia, his (generally so-called) son ; it being proved that he was " not his son, but his favorite, educated under his care " [156].

Cesar had thus become a cardinal, but the Pontiff thought that his income did not correspond to the expenses entailed by his high rank, and conferred on him the valuable administration of the Benedictine monasteries of St. Mary of

---

151. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 158.

152. Rev. des Quest Hist., t. XI, p. 192.

153. See Document 42a.

154. Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. IX, p. 474.

155. Varia Politicorum, XLVII, fo 362vo.

156. Papa Alessandro circa questi tempi fece cardinale Cesare Borgia suo figlo provato ch' egli non era suo figliolo ma suo creato et allevato in casa.

Egedun in the diocese of Limoges [157] and of that of Blessed Gerald of Orilhac in the diocese of Saint Flour [158], one week later, on the 27th of September, 1493.

On this same day, Cesar received also in commendam the Benedictine church of Castres in Languedoc, which had become vacant through the demise of the bishop of that city [159].

The deceased prelate had left vacant not only the rectorate of that church, but, of course, his diocese as well. The Benedictine monks had the right of presentation to the episcopal see, and out of their twenty-four electors twenty-two voted for cardinal Cesar de Borgia, who was regularly appointed, with the advice of the Sacred College, as bishop of Castres on the following 4th of November, 1493. It is doubtful whether this promotion was welcome, for we see that, already on the 20th of the next January, Cesar intended to resign the new diocese [160], of which he was, however, the bishop yet on the 6th of May, 1494 [161].

That the young cardinal was in need of more revenues to live as a prince of the Church seems to appear from the fact that, on the 7th of December, 1493, he received the prebends of the archdeanery of the Ravenna cathedral, of several parochial churches in that diocese and of a priory, worth, in the aggregate, three hundred gold florins [162], and another abbey, on the third day of the following year [163].

On the 19th of March, 1494, the Pontiff further reserved

157. Archiv. Secret. Vatic, Regest. 869 : Alex. VI, Secret., An. I, II, III, f° 227vo.

158. Ibid., f° 229vo.

159. Ibid., f° 234.

160. Ibid., f° 158, and Regest. 787, f° 274vo.

161. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 782, f° 252.

162. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 779 : Alex. VI, Bullar., An. I, II, t. VIII, f° 308vo.

163. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 796. f° 200.

for him the commendams of two monasteries in Spain, worth six hundred gold florins a year [164].

Although Cesar was an archbishop and a cardinal constantly better and better provided with church revenues, he was not in reality a churchman any more than he was at the age of seven years, a simply tonsured cleric [165]. When nominating him for the archdiocese of Valencia, the Pontiff thus stated ; but allowed him to be regularly promoted, as soon as he would reach his twenty-seventh year, to all the Holy Orders and to their perfection, the episcopate [166]. Moroni [167] thinks that Cesar never received any orders whatever, but Burchard minutely reports [168] how the cardinal of Alexandria, pursuant to the Pope's oral command, conferred upon him and his cousin, Giovanni de Borgia, first the minor orders and, at the same function, the orders of subdeacon and of deacon, on Holy Thursday, March 26th, 1494.

Cesar's apparent submission to the obligations entailed by his ordination encouraged the Pontiff to bestow further favors on him, when Jofre, Cesar's youngest brother, renounced the clerical life to which he also had been assigned. Most of the benefices already in the latter's possession were collectively transferred to the cardinal, on the 9th of April, 1494, and formed a handsome addition of twenty-one hundred pounds small tournois to his financial resources [169].

In fear of a French invasion, Ferdinand, the king of Naples, was trying to secure the protection of the Pope, by anxiously offering his grandchild, Sancia of Aragon, to the Pontiff's nephew, Jofre de Borgia, and by writing several

---

164. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 780 : Alex. VI, Bull., An. I, II, t. IX, fo 17vo.

165. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 57.

166. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Cod. 772 : Alex. VI, Bull., Ann. I, t. I, fo 155.

167. Dizion. Art. Valenza, p. 289.

168. Diar., t. II, p. 99, seq.

169. See Document 43.

times to ask the bestowal of valuable benefices in his kingdom upon the cardinal, Jofre's brother. To express his friendly disposition, pope Alexander VI consented to the King's wishes. Ferdinand died on the 25th of January of the following year, but the Pontiff, after making an amicable treaty with his son, Alfonso [170], reserved, on the 2d of May, 1494, for Cesar de Borgia one, two, three or any number of ecclesiastical benefices first to become vacant in the kingdom of Naples, up to the aggregate amount of four thousand gold florins of income, dispensing him at the same time so as to let him dispose at will of all the revenue, after discharging the usual burdens attached to them [171].

We have noticed before that cardinal Cesar resigned on the 6th of July, 1494, his archdeanery of Valencia in favor of Giovanni de Borgia, his cousin. He reserved, however, the right of " regressus " or reentering into possession, at its next vacancy [172].

On the 20th day of October, 1494, Cesar received the canonry and the archdeanery of Hasbaye in the cathedral of Liege in Belgium, but exchanged them, already on the next 17th of December, for a yearly pension of two hundred gold ducats [173].

The Vatican codex 787 further records, on folio 299 and others, several more benefices granted to cardinal Cesar de Borgia during the year 1494.

The following year was not a sterile one. On the 21st of May, 1495, he received one more abbatial mitre, with the usual right and duty of administering the monastery's income to the advantage of the friars and his own [174].

170. Archiv. Castri S. Angeli, Arm. 2, Caps. 5, n° 39 gg.

171. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 869 : Alex. VI, Secret., Ann. I, II, III, lib. III, f° 180.

172. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 784 : Alex. VI, Bull., Ann. I, II, III, t. XIII, f° 140.

173. Ibid., Regest. 787 : Alex. VI, Bull., Ann. II, III, t. XVI, f° 16.

174. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 794 : Alex. VI, Bullar., An. II, III, t. XXIII, f° 59vo.

Çurita [175] states that Cesar de Borgia obtained also the episcopal mitre of Elna. Dionysius Samarthanus [176] and Chevalier [177] assign this promotion to the 1st of June, 1495; while Gams [178] reports the same fact and date, but gives the name of the bishop's residence, Perpignan, instead of the title of the diocese, Elna. The official record of the appointment escaped us, but we find Cesar mentioned as bishop of Elna in a papal bull of August the 20th, 1495, and in another of March the 1st, 1497 [179]. The two names of the Elna see have misled Moroni to say [180] that Cesar became bishop of Perpignan in A. D. 1495, and that some writers add to his dioceses the one of Elna [181]. On the 26th of November, 1498, Cesar resigned the See of Elna, which had brought him three thousand florins a year [182].

After his promotion to the cardinalate, Cesar was employed at the Roman court. On the 16th day of July, 1495, he was appointed perpetual governor general in both temporal and spiritual affairs, with faculties of a legate " a latere ", of the city of Orvieto [183] ; and he retained this office till the accession of pope Julius II. He did not, however, discharge these new duties personally himself ; but, as he took care of his benefices through officials, so did he of his governorship. We find, indeed, that his lieutenant, the apostolic prothonotary Giovanni Lupi, received, on the 30th of August, 1496, the salary of fifty ducats per

175. Hist. del Rey Don Hernando, lib. III, c. 39, f° 176.
176. Galliia Christiana, t. VI, p. 1064.
177. Répertoire, p. 333.
178. Series Episc.: Art. Perpignan, p. 600.
179. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 869 : Alex. VI, Secret., Ann. I, II, III, lib. III, f° 254vo ; and Regest. 873 : Alex. VI, Secret., Ann. I, ad X, lib. VII, f° 230.
180. Dizion. Art. Valenza, p. 289.
181. See Supra.
182. Rome, Barberiniana, Cod. XXXVI 10, f° 24vo.
183. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 804 : Alex. VI, Bull., Ann. IV, V, t. XXXIII, f° 289 ; Document, ap. Fumi, Alessandro VI... in Orvieto, p. 80.

month [184]. On the 20th of March, 1498, Misser Cesar, cardinal deacon of Valencia, was to receive seven hundred and fifty ducats for fifteen months' service as administrator and governor of Orvieto [185] ; and the same Most Reverend apostolic legate of Orvieto received his fifty ducats the next months again [186]. On December the 12th, the Most Illustrious Cesar Borgia, as perpetual administrator and castellan of Orvieto and its district, received payment, at the rate of two and a half ducats a day, or the sum of seventy-five ducats, of which, however, he was to remit a portion to his lieutenant castellan, Alexander Francio [187].

On the following 20th of August, 1495, the cardinal was secured in his rights, as cardinal of Santa Maria Nova, as archbishop of Valencia and as bishop of Elna, to confer all extra curial benefices, by law or custom subject to these dignities, upon any person that he might choose, so absolutely that the Roman court itself could not validly grant them without his consent [188].

A hateful duty, a legation by courtly misnomer, was imposed upon the cardinal on the 15th of January, 1495. The French monarch, Charles VIII, on his way to subjugate the kingdom of Naples, had taken Rome by force and dictated the conditions of an agreement with pope Alexander VI. The first of these was that, for a term of four months, he should be accompanied on his expedition by cardinal Cesar de Borgia. The Pontiff had steadfastly refused, even under duress, the conqueror's unjust demand of the investiture of Naples, but had sacrificed his nephew to the public good ;

---

184. Camera Apostol., Registro Patrimonii, 1496-97. Carte 116, ap. Archiv. della Società Roman. di Storia Patria, vol. IV, p. 123.

185. Ibid., An. 1497-98, carte 110 tergo, ap. Idem., ibid.

186. Ibid. carte 111, ap. Idem, p. 124.

187. Ibid., an. 1502-1503, carte 132, ap. Idem, p. 133.

188. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 869 : Alex. VI, Secret., Ann. I, II, III, lib. III, fo 254vo.

and he actually surrendered him as a hostage, on the 28th of the same month. Hardly, however, had the French army arrived in Velletri, when Cesar escaped for parts unknown [189]. After some time he resumed his duties at the papal court.

We obtained no further information regarding him before March 1st, 1497, when he was made coadjutor, with the right of succession [190], to the Milanese cardinal Sclafetani, who died on the 8th of the following month of December, leaving, according to Gregorovius [191], and Pastor [192], several benefices and prebends, said to be worth twelve thousand ducats.

On the 9th of June, 1497, he was named an apostolic delegate, to go and crown Frederic, the last Aragonese king of Naples [193]. He received on the 18th of July, from the papal treasury the sum of three thousand gold ducats to cover the expenses of his mission [194], and on the 22d he left Rome with a brilliant retinue [195] in mourning attire. Because of a contagious disease in the capital, the king received the royal insignia, on the 10th of August, in the city of Capua and, together with the legate, made his solemn entry in Naples on the 14th [196]. During his sojourn in Southern Italy, the legate visited also the city of Suessa, the capital of his lamented brother's duchy of that name, and in this place he made use of the faculties of a papal legate, to officially

189. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 329, 332.

190. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 873 : Alex. VI, Secret. Ann. I, ad X, lib. VII, f° 230.

191. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 409, footn. from Sanuto, I, 590.

192. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 374.

193. Chas. Yriarte, Autour des Borgia, p. 166.

194. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Introitus et Exitus, vol. 530, at the date. — Pastor gives a different signature of the Codex in Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 373, footn. 3.

195. Pastor, Ibid. ; Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 407.

196. Alvisi, Cesare Borgia, p. 37 ; Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 108.

praise a member of his court, William Raymund de Vu, and appoint him an apostolic notary, on the 25th of August, 1497 [197]. The legate returned to the gates of Rome on the 5th of September, 1497 [198], and Burchard gives a detailed account of his solemn reception into the City by the papal court, and by the Pontiff in public consistory, on the following day [199].

While some accused the legate of prodigal magnificence in the kingdom, there was the envoy of the Florentines, the political enemies of the Borgias, to call him an importunate beggar. Pastor [200] admits into his text the reproach of the salaried gazeteer, and is further apt to create suspicion by his laconic statement that at Cesar's return, neither he nor the Pontiff, whom he misrepresents as father and son, spoke a word to each other. Alvisi [201] explains this fact by the recrudescence, at each other's sight, of the sorrow caused by the late murder of pope's Alexander's general, Cesar's brother. The original reporter of the incident, Burchard, the master of ceremonies on the occasion, adds, however, that they kissed each other, and that the Pope overruled one of his directions, with the probable intention of honoring the homecoming legate [202].

The ceremonial prescribed that, at Frederic's coronation, the emblems of both the temporal and of the spiritual power should be carried in front of the legate ; and among these was a sword, which is believed to be still in possession of the Gaetani family of Rome [203]. It is said that Cesar directed its ornamentation ; and the engravings and inscriptions are of a worldly, bellicose and ambitious character, which,

197. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 878 : Alex. VI, Officia, An. X, XI, lib. III, fo 88vo.
198. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 402.
199. Archiv. S. Consistorii, and Burchard, ibid.
200. Ubi supra.
201. Cesare Borgia, p. 37.
202. Diar., t. II, p. 403-404.
203. Yriarte, Autour des Borgia, p. 143.

Gregorovius says [204], manifest the thoughts that filled the cardinal's mind. Cesar was a clergyman in spite of himself, he adds, and reports [205] some incredible gossip about an expected marriage, that, of course, never took place. We should not wonder if the second-hand Sanuto [206] relates a Venetian rumor, " ut intellexi ", that Cesar was to barter away his cardinal's hat and his rich benefices for his brother's, Jofre's, wife ; nor even if this unreliable chronicler accuses Sancia of Aragon of being the former's adulterous accomplice ; but it is remarkable to find Pastor [207], crediting Ascanio Sforza, the Vicechancellor of the Roman Court, with a ciphered message of the 20th of August, 1497, which states that of late there had been talk in Rome of the curious exchange ; and, to make the bargain possible on Jofre's side, sets forth an historical untruth, namely, that Jofre had not consummated his marriage [208]. Pastor himself tries to make the message credible in regard to Cesar, by saying that he had not received any major orders ; and yet he was a deacon since March the 26th, 1494, and afterwards begged for dispensation of the marriage impediment. The alleged sender of the cryptograph could not help knowing his colleague in the Sacred College to be a canonically Reverend, and must have discredited the rumors referred to in the information imputed to him.

It is true, however, that his mode of life was very little clerical.

The envoy of Ferrara, Boccaccio, wrote to the Duke, on the 19th of March, 1493 : " I met Cesar day before yesterday at his residence in the Trastevere. He was just starting

204. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 396.
205. Ibid., p. 408.
206. I, 556, 559, ap. Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 408, footn. 2.
207. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 414, footn. 4.
208. After more than three years cohabitation ; Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 168.

on a hunting trip in a quite worldly attire, that is, dressed in silk and armed, wearing but a small tonsure, like that of a simple cleric. We engaged in conversation while on horseback together for some distance. I am one of his acquaintances and very familiar with him. He is of great and uncommon intellectual power and of exquisite dispositions. His manners are those of a son of a great prince and above all, he is serene and gay, mirth itself. Free of arrogance, he looks more dignified and pleasing than his brother, the duke of Gandia, although the latter has also good qualities. The archbishop never had the least inclination to the priestly state of life, but the benefices bring him more than sixteen thousand ducats. If the project of marriage should become a fact, his revenues would go to another of his brothers, Jofre, hardly thirteen years old " [209].

This mention of a marriage which he might have contracted in the year 1493, had no reference to Sancia of Aragon, the future wife of Cesar's brother, Jofre ; but Ferdinand, king of Naples, endeavored to obtain from pope Alexander VI the alliance of Cesar with his daughter Lucretia. To this effect he urgently wrote to his second son, the prince of Altamura, then in Rome, on the 11th of July, 1493 [210]. The Pontiff, however, who had already destined his nephew to become his loyal supporter in the councils of the Sacred College, declined the offer.

Hunting, of which Boccaccio spoke, was Cesar's favorite pastime ; it was an indication of, and a schooling for, the vocation after which he was longing : that of a soldier, as Donato Aretino wrote to Ercole, duke of Ferrara, on the 22d of November, 1497 [211]. To this amusement he gave

---

209. Leonetti, Papa Alessandro VI, vol. II, p. 328 ; Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 57.

210. Trinchera, Codice Aragonese, vol. II, P. II, p. 137.

211. Balan, Storia d'Italia, vol. V, p. 375.

great care. After obtaining a letter of introduction from cardinal Juan Lopiz to Berthold, archbishop of Mainz, he sent, on the 28th of May, one of his men to Germany, with a letter of the latter prelate, in order to request from him a special favor and great benefaction, namely, that of sending to him, with his returning messenger, some well-trained and sagacious hunting dogs ; their quality to be of more importance than their number. The archbishop granted the cardinal's wish, when coming home from a protracted absence, on the 17th of the following September. For the sake of curiosity, we give this correspondence as Document 44 [a],[b],[c].

It was no secret that Cesar de Borgia was dissatisfied in the clerical state. Pastor [212] relates from Sanuto that, as early as December, 1497, there was question of making him a Lord of Cesena and Fano ; and he adds that cardinal Ascanio Sforza sent to his brother, the duke of Milan, on the 24th of that month, a dispatch in cipher saying : " I and the envoys of king Frederic and those of Your Excellency had a conversation with the Pope, that lasted more than four hours. The main substance of it was as follows : Cesar seeks, more and more every day, permission to resign the cardinalitial dignity. It is the Pope's opinion that, if this must come to pass, it should take place with as little scandal and as good an excuse as possible ". The Pontiff was resigned to the unavoidable ; and, if he should lose his influence in the College of Cardinals, Cesar might yet be serviceable to him, by filling the void left by the murder of his brother, Giovanni.

It was, indeed, generally expected that he would choose the career of arms, and since the Pontiff had entered into friendly relations with Louis XII of France, it was feared

212. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, | s. 374.

by the Aragonese that he might become a dangerous man for them, especially after the king of Naples had deferred an answer to Cesar's proposal of marriage with his legitimate daughter, Carlotta, till the advice of the king of Spain should be received. As the probability of the secularisation of the cardinal of Valencia and the friendship of the Pope with the king of France were progressing simultaneously, the frightened Frederic of Naples charged captain Consalvo, who was returning to Spain, to explain to king Ferdinand how he would not, for his life, consent to a union so disgraceful to both the Spanish monarch and to himself. And, to gain Ferdinand's protection, he added the unlikely accusation that pope Alexander VI wanted Cesar to become a layman, and intended to give him the duchy of Gandia, after depriving of it Dona Maria Enriquez, the niece of the king of Spain, and her son, who had been legally recognized, on the 15th of October, 1497 [213], as legitimate heir of the second duke of Gandia [214].

Let it be observed that Domenico Malipiero [215] expresses a similar idea when saying, altogether erroneously, that Cesar, cardinal of Valencia, the Pope's son, renounced his cardinal's hat, in order not to lose the heritage of his father. This statement may, possibly, be understood to mean that Cesar was looking for a cadet's share of William Raymund de Borgia's estates ; but it proves that the annalist did not consider pope Alexander VI as Cesar's natural father, for he knew full well that the Pontiff had never owned anything but revenues and fees, that were to fail at his demise.

Neither should we misunderstand the statement of Fidel

---

213. Fita, Estud. Histor., t. VI, p. 127.

214. Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. I, vol. 15, p. 235 ; Cfr. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 110.

215. Annal. Veneti, ap. Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. I, t. VII, P. I, p. 495.

Fita [216] and of Leonetti [217] saying that Cesar was to become Giovanni's heir in Italy, as if the cardinal of Valencia were prompted to resign his benefices by the hope of acquiring his brother's fiefs and domains in the kingdom of Naples. These estates belonged already to Giovanni's son, the infant duke of Gandia, as well as Gandia itself, and were, soon after, sold in part by his mother and guardian to the Spanish Crown [218].

Frederic of Naples had had no difficulty in winning over to his cause the kings of Spain and even of Portugal, who now went on a long campaign of slander, insults and threats against the Pontiff, till Ferdinand, the Spanish monarch, finally succeeded in betraying his protégé, the king of Naples, and sharing his spoils !

The opposition of the Aragonese did not extinguish Cesar's wish for the secular life. Burchard reports [219] as follows : " On Friday, the 17th [220] of the month of August, 1498, there was a private consistory, in which the Most Reverend Lord cardinal of Valencia made the statement, that, from his tenderest age, he had felt an inclination to the secular state of life ; that, however, the Holy Father had absolutely willed that he should change his view and devote himself to the clerical career ; and had, to this effect, granted him continually so many ecclesiastical dignities, and ordered that he should be promoted to the Order of Deaconship, while he himself had not considered it proper to oppose the Pontiff's command. But, since his mind, his wish and his inclinations still are, as they ever were, for the secular state, he now supplicated our Most Holy Lord

216. Boletin de la Real Academia de la Historia, t. XX, p. 166.
217. Papa Alessandro VI, vol. II, p. 236.
218. Supra.
219. Diar., t. II, p. 492.
220. Not the 13th, as said by Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 113, and von Reumont, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. III, s. 228.

to deign and favor him with uncommon clemency, and give him dispensation to depose his ecclesiastical habit and dignity, and allow him to return to the world and contract marriage ; and he begged the most reverend lords cardinals to consent to such a dispensation, and to request our Holy Father for him and, together with him, that he may release him of all the churches, monasteries and whatever other ecclesiastical benefices in his possession, and which he would all resign into the hands of the same Holy Lord. All the cardinals, by common consent and accord, referred the matter of this dispensation to the will and discretion of Our Most Holy Lord, the Pope ".

The request seems not to have been granted on this occasion, as appears from a letter which pope Alexander VI wrote on September the 3d, 1498, requesting Ximenez, archbishop of Toledo, to interpose his good offices at the Spanish court, in order to mitigate the King's opposition ; wherein he relates how Cesar had, for the salvation of his soul, exposed in full consistory the conscientious reasons impelling him to secular pursuits. The Pontiff adds the promise of granting his benefices to persons agreeable to Spain [221].

We could not ascertain the date at which Cesar obtained the needed permission to discard the clerical insignia and to marry, but we notice that already before November 4, 1498, he had surrendered his diocese of Nantes [222], and the Pontiff accepted his resignation of the dioceses of Valencia and of Elna and of the abbey of Vallisdegna, in the consis-

---

221. Archiv. of Venice, Minute, Busta 26, ap. Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 422, footn. 1.

222. Archiv. S. Consist. Provis. Innoc. VIII, et Alex. VI, ab an. 1489, f° 36.

tory held on Monday, the 26th of November, 1498 [223]. Cesar probably relinquished in a more private manner his numerous other benefices ; thus giving up a yearly income amounting to thirty thousand ducats, according to Malipiero [224], or even to thirty-five thousand, as stated by Reumont [225]. The Civiltà Cattolica summarily states [226] that Cesar resigned the cardinalate, declaring in the consistory of the 13th of August, 1498, that he had accepted the Sacred Orders of subdeacon and deacon [227] in spite of his own choice, and only through deference to the will of the Pope ; and he despoiled himself of both the purple and of the thirty-five thousand florins which he annually derived from his ecclesiastical benefices.

Unwarranted motives for the secularization of the cardinal of Valencia have been invented, in spite of his plain statement and that of the Pontiff ; and, as a consequence, much blame has been heaped upon them both ; but there is not one to admire Cesar's courage and humility in making his supplication to and before all his colleagues, nor his spirit of sacrifice in abandoning great wealth, to follow the dictates of his conscience. Nor does anyone remark that pope Alexander VI had full power to give the dispensation, all the more because Cesar had never been ordained a priest ; and that, by granting the petition, he repaired the involuntary injustice done to his nephew, by unduly influencing him to continue so long in a hated career.

When Cesar de Borgia resigned his ecclesiastical duties,

---

223. Rome, Barberiniana, Cod. XXXVI, 10 : Decreta Consist. notabiliora ab an. 1498, per totum an. 1620, fo 24vo ; Archiv. S. Consist. : Acta consistorialia, 1492-1523, f° 7.

224. Annal. Veneti, in Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. I, t. VII, P. I, p. 495.

225. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. III, s. 203.

226. Ser. 9, vol. VII, p. 421.

227. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 99.

benefices and dignities, he entered upon the service of the Sovereign Pontiff, either as a diplomatic agent or, principally, as a condottiere or captain in the papal army. His subsequent activities are intelligible only when reported in conjunction with the history of the Pontiff himself. The proper time, therefore, to continue his biography shall be when we relate the deeds of pope Alexander VI in his capacity of a temporal ruler of the Pontifical States.

CHAPTER IX.

Jofre de Borgia.

Jofre de Borgia, a brother-german of Cesar and of the dukes of Gandia, Pedro Luis and Giovanni [1], was the youngest son of William Raymund de Borgia by his wife, Vanotia de Cathaneis, already a widow at his birth [2], and consequently a grandnephew of both cardinal Lewis John del Milá and of cardinal Roderic de Borgia. If he had actually been, as he was commonly called in Rome, a son of the Pope, he would have been but a distant cousin of the former cardinal.

He is called a " nepveu et parent ", nephew and relation, of the Pontiff, in a diplomatic document of the year 1501, by which he is secured in the possession of his estates in the kingdom of Naples [3], and simply nephew in other official papers [4].

Henry de l'Epinois says [5] that Jofre was born about the year 1480 ; in 1480 or 1481, according to the opinion of Reumont. Boccaccio, to whom he refers, states, that Jofre was about thirteen years old on the 19th of March, 1493. He also mentions Çurita as in favor of A. D. 1481, and this ancient author is followed by Hergenroether [6] and the Civiltà Cattolica [7]. Villari [8] and Gregorovius [9] correctly state that Jofre was born in the year 1481 or 1482. Such, indeed, is the conclusion from the two papal bulls, which

---

1. Auct. passim ; Document 32.
2. De l'Epinois, in Rev. des Quest. Histor., t. XXIX, p. 378 ; Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 318 ; Rome, Bibl. Barberini, Cod. XXXII, 242.
3. See Document 46.
4. See Appendix, ch. I, art. I.
5. Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. XXIX, p. 378.
6. Handbuch.
7. Ser. 8, vol. IX, p. 723.
8. Dispacci, vol. I, p. 153.
9. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 20.

we shall presently notice, one of which is of September 16th, 1489, mentioning Jofre as being in his eighth year of age ; and the other, dated the 31st of August, 1492, in which he is reported to be in his twelfth. From these two documents it becomes apparent that he was born after September 16th, 1481, and before August 31st, 1482.

He was born in Spain, like all his nearest relations, as it is asserted by Cesar de Borgia himself [10] ; and he is called a Spanish cleric in the History of the City of Rome by Gregorovius [11] ; but he left that country and came to Rome when yet in his childhood, for he is designated in several bulls as a Roman cleric, having been admitted to the tonsure as soon as he had attained the canonical age of seven years.

The circumstances of his being the cadet of a noble family had, indeed, settled his destination to the care and the service of the Church ; and pope Innocent VIII and his uncle, Alexander VI, tried to make this obtruded career acceptable to him by the bestowal of ecclesiastical honors and benefices.

A relatively late anonymous manuscript [12] reports that Innocent VIII dispensed Jofre de Borgia, called nephew of John, cardinal priest of the Four Crowned, when he was still in his seventh year, to receive benefices and Orders, and that he gave him, on the following 16th of September, 1489, the archdeanery of the Valencian cathedral, which was worth a yearly six hundred pounds small tournois.

We did not find at what time Jofre was named also a canon of the same church, but from a bull of the 8th of November, 1492, we notice that before this date, when yet

---

10. Çurita, Hist. del Rey Don Hernando, lib. V, cap. 42, f° 298.
11. Bd. VII, s. 317.
12. Rome, Barberiniana, Cod. XXXII, 242 : Ex Registris Alex. VI, not foliated.

in his tenth year of age, he had already resigned a canonry and prebend of Valencia in favor of another boy [13].

The Barberini manuscript mistakes in assigning the 27th of August, 1492, as the date on which Jofre was granted the revenues of the rectory of Incha in the diocese of Majorca. Pope Alexander VI made him commendator of that parish, worth two hundred gold florins, of which he deprived Jofre's brother, Cesar, when promoting the latter, at the same time, to the archdiocese of Valencia, on the day of his great distribution of benefices, namely, on the last of that month [14].

On the same 31st day of August, 1492, the Pontiff bestowed on Jofre two more benefices, held till then by the new archbishop of Valencia : to wit, the rectory of Gandia in the diocese of Valencia, with a revenue of four hundred pounds small tournois [15], and the archpresbytery of Belchit in the cathedral of Saragossa, worth two hndred gold florins [16]. It may be observed that Master Jofre de Borgia is, in all these bulls honored with the title of a papal notary and stated to be in his twelfth year of age.

A few days later, the Pontiff gave strict orders to his treasurer and to the employees of the Roman Camera, to deliver gratis and free to " Jauffridus de boria " the legal papers of collation of all three the said prebends [17].

From the papal bull stating Jofre's resignation of all his benefices, on the 9th of April, 1494, and transferring them to Cesar, his brother, we see that Jofre had, at some time, received also an archdeanery and a provostry in the cathedral

13. Archiv. Secret. Vatic.: Alex. VI, Bull., Anno I, t. I. Regest. 772, fo CLXXXXVIvo.

14. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Codex 772 : Alex. VI, Bull., An. I, t. I, fo 57vo ; Supra, p. 341.

15. Archiv. Secret. Vatic, Regest. 772, f° 181.

16. Ibid., f° CLXXXV.

17. Archiv. Secret. Vatic.: Alex. VI, Div. Cam. 1492-1495, lib. I, Armar. 29, n° 50, fo 29vo.

of Valencia, and had been appointed sacristan and provost of the one of Majorca [18].

There is nothing to indicate that Jofre was ever inclined towards the ecclesiastical life. Political circumstances saved him from being allured farther into it.

We might at this juncture interrupt the biographical sketch of Jofre de Borgia, as we did in the case of his brother, Cesar ; but, since the incident of his marriage only is connected with general history, and the details of his subsequent life can be condensed into small space, we may save our readers the annoyance of a discontinuous narrative, while making a few remarks indicative of the wedding's relation to more important events.

Ferdinand, king of Naples, had of late been viciously slandering pope Alexander VI at the court of his Spanish cousin, and was still abetting the armed rebellion of cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, when he heard that Ludovico the Moro, duke of Milan, was inviting the French king to the conquest of Naples, and that Charles VIII was actually preparing for that undertaking. He wrote to Venice and Florence for protection, even complaining of the attitude of his only faithful ally, pope Alexander VI, whose assistance, he well knew, was indispensable to him. He endeavored to gain his good will and, to this effect, proposed a family alliance between his illegitimate daughter, Lucretia, and Cesar de Borgia [19]. The Pope, who was from the beginning opposed to the foreign invasion, showed himself disposed to a reconciliation with his threatened neighbor ; yet would not part with Cesar. Thereupon, the King repeatedly expressed his anxiety for the realization of a proposal of marriage of the youthful Jofre de Borgia with his son's,

18. See Document 43.
19. Trinchera, Codice Aragonese, t. II, P. II, pp. 107, 137.

Alfonso's seventeen-year old [20] illegitimate daughter, Sancia of Aragon [21], whose nuptials with the count of Fondi were to be dissolved [22].

He offered, as appanage for the desired bridegroom, the principality of Squillace and the county of Cariati [23], with a revenue of ten thousand gold ducats [24]. He agreed that Jofre should receive possession of them immediately upon his arrival in Naples [25], and enjoy them till death if Sancia should die childless before him [26]. Ferdinand further promised to give to the young man a military education and, together with his queen, to furnish and govern his household during his minority [27]. On the other hand, he requested several times, but in vain, that the Pope should grant to Jofre the vicariates of Benevento, Pontecorvo and Terracina, besides some other estate near the limits of his kingdom [28], the administration of whose territories the sly King had long since tried to absorb by unfriendly interferences and bitter complaints against their papal governors [29].

The preliminary stipulations of the alliance were finally approved by both Pontiff and King. The Pope, thereupon, duly dissolved the former marriage contract existing between Sancia of Aragon and the noble Honoratus Gayetani of Aragon, count of Fondi. He has been severely blamed for this act, although, in doing so, he made use of but an ordinary and universally admitted faculty, since that marriage had never been consummated. Moreover, he granted, for the sake of peace, the humble request of both Sancia

---

20. " I Borgia „ p. 31.
21. Trinchera, Codice Aragonese, t. II, P. I, p. 320 ; t. II, P. II, pp. 137, 157, 193, etc.
22. Ibid., t. II, P. 2, p. 177.
23. Moreri, Grand Diction. Art. Borgia ; Escolano, Hist. de Valencia, lib. VI, cap. XXIII, vol. II, col. 202 ; Trinchera, ubi supra, pp. 164, 200, 229.
24. Trinchera, Ibid., p. 391.
25. Trinchera, Ibid., p. 181.
26. Ibid., pp. 177, 181, 200.
27. Ibid., pp. 164, 178, 240, 241.
28. Ibid., pp. 178, 181.
29. Trinchera, Ibid., P. I, pp. 82, 148, 151, 218 and P. II, pp. 105, 108, 120.

and of Honoratus, who had resolved never to live together [30]. According to Gregorovius [31], the marriage between Sancia of Aragon and Jofre de Borgia, which, in fact, was but the nuptials or mutual promise of marriage, was celebrated in Rome by proxy on the 16th of August, 1493. Gregorovius probably took as authority for this statement the letter of Antonio Guidocti de Colle, who wrote [32], on the 17th of that month, to the " Octoviri " or Executive Council of Florence, a report of the ceremonies of the solemn occasion of which he was a witness. He is probably right in saying that, when prince Frederic, Sancia's uncle, appeared as the bride, in her name, and accepted the ring, there was laughing and frolic ; but the articles of the civil agreement which he reports do not agree with the official correspondence of king Ferdinand. On the 4th of September, 1493, Ferdinand wrote to his ambassadors in France, to warn Charles VIII that prince Frederic had concluded the marriage between a natural daughter of the duke of Calabria and Don Joffredo, a son of His Holiness, as he was commonly called [33].

Jofre was to be sent to the king of Naples, and Ferdinand had heard that he had been forwarded already before the 4th of September, 1493. This, however, was a mistake. The Pontiff retained his nephew in Rome. The sly old King was chasing two hares : To gain the Pope's protection, he had offered liberal conditions in regard to the family alliance ; but, in spite of his success, he still distrusted

30. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Alex. VI, Secret., An. I, II, III, lib. III, Regest. 869, fo 87vo.

31. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 65.

32. Burchard, Diar., t. II, Append. p. 642.

33. It is a noteworthy fact that Ferdinand often designates Sancia as a natural or illegitimate child of his son, but never uses the damaging term in regard to Jofre. — Trinchera, Codice Aragonese, t. II, P. II, p. 228 ; Cfr. p. 353, ibid. The same antithesis is expressed by Stephan of Castrocaro, who wrote at that time : " El Sigr Don Goffredo, figlivolo „ — through adoption or fatherly care of his uncle — " del Papa, ha preso per mogliere la figlia bastarda del Re „. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 644.

and feared pope Alexander VI, and continued to assist his rebellious subject, the cardinal Giuliano della Rovere. The Pontiff keenly resented, and complained of, the King's duplicity ; and he refused to deliver to him Jofre de Borgia as a mere hostage, notwithstanding the repeated insistence and recrimination of the Neapolitan king, who imagined that the presence of the Pontiff's nephew in Naples would refrain the French from their hostile undertaking [34].

In the meantime Ferdinand died of fear of the French invasion, and his son, Alfonso, assumed the burden of his succession. This prince had had occasion to appreciate the dispositions of pope Alexander VI towards his endangered kingdom and renewed the former efforts for a close alliance with him. The Pontiff, a true and the only Italian patriot of that day, in the face of evident danger and of violent threats, sent cardinal Giovanni de Borgia to crown the new King, and Jofre to marry Sancia, Alfonso's daughter, in conformity with the terms of a friendly treaty concluded shortly before with the new King [35].

Raynaldi states [36], on the authority of Burchard, that Alfonso II was crowned king of Naples on the 7th of May, 1494, and [37] that Jofre de Borgia married Sancia, his daughter, on the same day. Gregorovius [38] equally assigns both events to that same date, while Pastor [39] admits the 7th for Jofre's marriage, but places Alfonso's coronation on the day following. From the explicit mention of the date and various incidents related in the Thuasne edition of Burchard's Diary [40] it is evident that the new King received

---

34. Trinchera, Codice Aragonese, t. II, P. II, pp. 229, 265, 281, 334, 378, 391.
35. Archiv. Cast. S. Angeli, Armar. 2, Caps. 5, n° 39 gg.
36. Annal. Eccles. ad An. 1494, n° VI.
37. Ibid., n° XV.
38. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 71.
39. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 306.
40. T. II, pp. 152, seq.

the royal insignia on May the 8th, and that Jofre was duly married on the day previous.

Burchard [41], or an interpolator, very strangely reports that, after the marriage, the preliminary contract between the late King and the Pope was read, containing stipulations not mentioned nor even hinted at anywhere else ; namely, that Jofre was to receive, besides other grants, six principalities and counties with a revenue of four thousand ducats, and was to give to his spouse, within one year, fifteen thousand ducats and jewels worth another ten thousand. It is, further, evidently by mistake, when Raynaldi [42], referring to Burchard, says that Alfonso made Jofre a prince of Tricarico and a count of Chiaromonte, of Lauria or Ulci and of Carinola ; while Burchard [43] states, as it is known otherwise also, that these estates were granted, on this occasion, to Jofre's brother, Giovanni, duke of Gandia [44]. We have noticed that his other brother, cardinal Cesar, was not forgotten. Jofre was proclaimed prince of Squillace, count of Cariati, prothonotary and lieutenant of the kingdom ; was knighted and received into the Order of the Ermine. On the 9th he received from the King the insignia of a prince of Aragon, namely, a large golden ring around his neck and two standards, on one of which his own heraldic emblems were quartered with those of Aragon ; and he made, in this new capacity, his solemn procession through the streets of Naples, two of his relations, Bartholomew Serra and Galcerand de Borgia acting as standard bearers [45].

Pastor asserts [46] that Jofre Borja became prince of Squillace with forty thousand ducats of income. We found

41. Ibid., p. 152.
42. Annal. Eccles. ad an. 1494, n° XV.
43. Ubi supra, p. 160.
44. Supra.
45. Burchard, ubi supra, p. 161, 165 ; Cfr. Document 46.
46. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 306.

no good authority but for a right to ten thousand from his principality and county ; yet Ammirato [47] relates that, as prothonotary of the kingdom, he could claim another ten thousand ; and Antonio Guidocti de Colle wrote to Florence [48], already in the year 1493, that king Ferdinand and the Pope had promised to pay him, each one, ten thousand ducats, as to their common condottiere. Whatever these statements may be worth, the large revenues of Jofre de Borgia were more theory than fact, as we may derive from the political events of that period.

When all the ceremonies of marriage and coronation were over, the pontifical legate and his numerous train returned to Rome ; but Jofre remained in Naples, taking up his abode in the palace adjoining the gate of the royal Castel Nuovo.

Neither this marriage nor the constant efforts of pope Alexander VI succeeded in staying the designs of Charles VIII against Naples. After a short and useless attempt at resistance, king Alfonso II resigned his tottering throne to his son Frederic and fled, in January, 1495, to the island of Sicily, then a Spanish province. On the 22d of February, his son, vainly looking for help from Spain, followed his example and sought safety on the island of Ischia. Jofre de Borgia lost all his estates, accompanied the fleeing King and loyally followed his destinies. He also returned with him to Naples in the same year 1495, after the expulsion of the French garrisons from the most important fortresses of the Neapolitan kingdom [49].

On the 20th of May, 1496, Goffredus Borgia of Aragonia returned to Rome, accompanied by the princess Sancia, his wife, and was most solemnly received by the papal court

47. Istor. Fiorent., t. V, p. 343.
48. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 642.
49. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 92 ; Auct. passim.

and by his uncle, the Sovereign Pontiff [50]. Here was to be his regular home in the future, and here he and his spouse lived in peace and harmony, animated by a common love for the Neapolitan kingdom and their Aragonian relatives.

In the month of August, 1497, they went together on a protracted visit to their estates of Squillace and Cariati. Lud. Carissimi [51] writes from Rome, August 8th, 1497 : " The prince of Squillace left here yesterday with the princess, his wife, to live in their principality ". Gregorovius [52] and Pastor, after him [53], add, without referring to any authority, that their departure was in consequence of a papal command. They afterwards returned to Rome.

When, during the summer of 1499, the Pontiff openly declared in favor of the French king, Louis XII, whose hostile designs upon Naples were no secret, both Jofre and Sancia resolved to leave Rome ; and " I Borgia " [54] states that Sancia actually went to Naples, while her brother, the duke of Bisceglia, left for the castle of the Collonese in Gennazzano, with the expectation that his wife, Lucretia de Borgia, would follow him soon [55]. Jofre, however, and his sister, Lucretia, were sent to Spoleto by the Pope, and there, in an honorable manner, retained from escaping [56].

It may be noticed here that the princess Sancia seems to have been of a turbulent nature ; for, in the year 1502, we find her assigned to quarters in the fortress of Sant' Angelo—for what special reason no one knows ; but the Venetian representative heard it said in Rome, that she was

---

50. Burchard, Diar., t. II, pp. 278, seq.
51. State's archives of Modena, ap. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 369, footn. 5.
52. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 107.
53. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 369.
54. P. 31, ref. to Çurita, Hist. del Rey Don Hernando, III, 38.
55. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 117.
56. " I Borgia „ ubi supra.

there for having tried to flee from Rome again, in order to go and incite against the French the men and vassals of her estates [57].

No slander being too baseless or vile to be hurled at the members of the Borgia house, some foul correspondent of a hostile court has ventured to accuse, in pornographic terms, the princess of Squillace of criminal relations with the brother of her husband and even asserted a probability of an unlikely and impossible marriage of the calumniated parties ; but to make us admit the aspersion there is not one decent authority nor, much less, any document to be found ; whilst all historical incidents of the time combine to disprove the gratuitous charges, which are eagerly rehearsed till this day by a Gregorovius [58] and other bitter enemies of pope Alexander VI and of his relatives.

The disagreement of the Pontiff with his nephew of Squillace was not of long duration. When Frederic, the last Neapolitan king of his house, surrendered to, and sought the protection of, Louis XII, king of France, Jofre de Borgia became again a loyal servant of the Pontiff, in the capacity of a condottiere. Regular wages, " provisiones ", were paid to him, as such, by the apostolic treasury. We have taken note of the following instances : On November the 9th, for the mounted crossbowmen of the Prince of Squillace, eighty-one florins and eighteen bolognese were paid [59]. On the 5th of January, the 13th of May and the 23d of July, 1502, a like sum, on the same account [60]. On the 25th of January, 1503, for his seventy-five men-at-arms [61], and on the 10th of May, again seventy-eight ducats [62]. Antonio

57. Villari, Disp. di Ant. Giustinian, vol. I, pp. 172, 207.
58. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 107.
59. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Introitus et Exitus, vol. 532, at the date.
60. Ibid. at the dates.
61. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Alex. VI, Julii II. Div. Cam. 1502-1508, lib. VI, Armar. 29, n° 55, f° 15vo.
62. Rome, Archiv. di Stato, Mandati, 1501-1503, f° 32.

Giustinian, the Venetian ambassador in Rome, who was practically compelled to belittle the Borgias, in order to please his masters, wrote on the 10th of November, 1502, that the prince of Squilazi took great pride in being seen promenading through the streets of Rome, at the head of his one hundred men-at-arms, and that just then the Pontiff had reviewed about fifty of them, all clumsy horsemen and but half armed [63].

Till after the death of pope Alexander VI he was acting as a captain in the papal army, when, on the 18th of September, 1503, he requested the duke of Mantua to make restitution of effects stolen by the French infantry from soldiers of Cesar de Borgia and from his own, who were living in Montefiascone [64].

Jofre de Borgia was with his sick brother, Cesar, at the death of pope Alexander VI. When Cesar, to insure full liberty to the Sacred College of Cardinals in their election of a new Pope, left Rome with his troops on the 2d of September, 1503, Jofre and Sancia, his wife, left with him, and the baron Prospero Colonna met him, at the gates of the City, on his march to Nepi. Jofre wished to remain for a while with his brother, who was very ill yet, and not beyond all danger of death. As Prospero Colonna, a staunch adherent of the Aragonese, was travelling to his Neapolitan possessions, Jofre placed his wife under his protection during her journey to Naples, where he himself was to follow her soon [65]. In fact, he is found a few months later, living with his wife in the city of Naples; for, when Consalvo, the Spanish general, in spite of his own safe-conduct, had

63. Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, p. 207.

64. His letter, ap. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. II, nr. 50.

65. Villari, Dispacci, vol. II, pp. 171, 173. — Giustinian could not let this occasion pass without playing the obscene prophet, on false grounds.

arrested Cesar de Borgia in that city, he also detained his brother, Jofre, but set him free again [66].

Not only did Jofre not incur the disgrace of the Spanish king, but he obtained from him the confirmation of his Neapolitan titles and territories. Sancia of Aragon, his wife, died in the year 1506, leaving no children, and Jofre lost part of her dowry, but remained prince of Squillace. He married again, namely Aldonsa del Milá, the daughter of Giacomo, first count of Albaida, and of Eleanora of Aragon [67] and had descendants, one of whom Jerome Sacrati found, in 1515, to be in Rome, in the care of his aged and respected grandmother, Vannoza. One of his granddaughters, Anna de Borgia, princess of Squillace, the last of her house, brought this property, as marriage dot to Don Francesco de Borgia of the ducal branch of Gandia, count of Mayalde and viceroy of Peru, in the beginning of the seventeenth century [68].

---

66. Villari, Dispacci, vol. III, p. 129 ; Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 341.

67. " I Borgia „, p. 31, ref. to Expilly, IV.

68. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 341 ; Paris, Bibl. Nation., Cod. 20157, f° 349vo.

CHAPTER X.

Lucretia de Borgia.

ARTICLE I. — LUCRETIA'S CHILDHOOD AND EDUCATION.

One more grandchild of Pedro Guillen Lanzol and of Joanna, sister of pope Alexander VI, was the famous Lucretia de Borgia.

Malipiero [1] asserts her to be a half sister of Giovanni, duke of Gandia, born of a different mother, but all other historians report her as a sister-german of Giovanni and of his brothers and, consequently, as a daughter of William Raymund de Borgia and of his wife, Vanotia de Cathaneis. Contemporary writers often call her, without any disparaging insinuation, the daughter of the Pontiff ; but we find her also named his daughter-niece, that is his daughter by charitable protection and his niece by blood relation.

Such twofold designations of relationship were not unusual at the time. The first word was one of endearment, the second expressed the actual relation. In the same way the Florentine envoy Guidantonio Vespucci [2], when enumerating the relatives of Pope Innocent VIII, mentions an old lady, the wife of Filippo di Nerone and widow of Stoldo Altaviti, as a " sua nipote cugina, " his niece-cousin. Yet, it is evident that she actually was his cousin only, but she had earned the exaggerated designation by the care she had taken of her cousin, when he was still a cardinal.

Other contemporaries, again, designate her as simply the

---

1. Annal. Venet. ap. Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. I, t. VII, P. I, p. 490.
2. Burchard, Diar., t. I, p. 517.

niece of His Holiness. She is thus styled by Gianandrea Boccaccio, bishop of Modena, in his dispatches from Rome, on the 2d, 5th and 9th of November, 1492 [3], and by Fioravante Brognolo, the Roman agent of the marquis of Mantua, in his message of December, 9th, 1492 [4]. Likewise the Roman notary, Camillo Beneimbene, describes Lucretia as the niece " ejus neptis ", of the Sovereign Pontiff, Alexander VI, and this in an act where a correct description was essential ; to wit, in her nuptial contract with Don Alfonso of Aragon, on the 20th of June, 1498 [5].

Before giving the investiture of the kingdom of Naples to king Louis XII, the Pope stipulated the conservation to the Borgias of the tenure of the estates held by them in that kingdom ; and in forwarding these conditions to his King, the French ambassador described Lucretia and her brothers : Giovanni, Jofre and Cesar, as the niece and the nephews of pope Alexander VI, " ses nepveuz et parens ", or, simply, " sesdicts nepveuz " [6]. Gregorovius hides in a footnote [7] his unavoidable admission that, in official papers, Lucretia was often designated as the Pontiff's niece, and Leonetti [8] assures us that, in contemporary writings, she is called a niece oftener than a daughter. Nor was she designated as pope Alexander's niece in official parlance only, but persons of higher rank, who used a more correct language than the common people, often expressed in their private correspondence her true blood relation to the Pontiff. Thus did Ferdinand, king of Naples, when congratulating his

3. Ap. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 50, footn. 1.

4. Ibid., s. 51, 52.

5. Ibid., Bd. II, s. 57. — There is a copy of another notarial act attributed to Beneimbene in which Lucretia is called the natural daughter of cardinal Roderic de Borgia ; but we shall see farther on, that this latter document is unreliable.

6. Paris, Biblioth. Nation. Collection Dupuy, cod. 28, f° 17 ; Document 46.

7. Ibid., Bd. I, s. 52, n. 1.

8. Papa Alessandro VI, vol. I, p. 175-176.

illustrious relative and very dear friend, the lord of Pesaro, on his marriage with Lucretia, name her the niece of His Holiness Our Lord [9]. Von Reumont calls her " neptis del pontefice ", the Pontiff's niece [10].

A few contemporary enemies of the Borgias and all the later revilers of the " victim of history ", apply to Lucretia de Borgia the terms of natural or bastard child, without affording, however, any incontestable document or other proof in support of their heinous abuse.

They necessarily assume her to be a native of Rome, but cardinal Bembo, who knew her well, testifies indirectly, and, therefore, all the more reliably, that this supposition is incorrect. When singing her praises, he insists upon her pronunciation of the Italian speech, so accurate, he says, that one would take her for a born Tuscan [11].

This, indeed, would be but a meagre praise for an educated Roman, since the " lingua Toscana nella bocca Romana ", or the Tuscan as spoken in Rome, is long since considered as the very perfection of the Italian language ; but it is quite a compliment, when addressed to a person born and raised in Spain.

Lucretia was, indeed, a Spanish and an Italian lady at the same time, Gregorovius says ; writing both prose and verse in the language of either country [12]. Among her letters to Bembo, two of which are written in Spanish, there is also a piece of Spanish poetry [13]. About one-third of

---

9. Trinchera, Codice Aragon., vol. 2, P. 2, p. 67 ; cfr. Leonetti, ubi supra, p. 176.

10. Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. 3, vol. XVII, p. 328. It is hardly wòrth while to notice that a valueless manuscript of the Vallicellana Library of Rome, cod. F. 33, f° 30, calls Lucretia de Borgia " una nipote " of pope Alexander VI.

11. Sive refers lingua modula- [tum carmen, Etrusca Crederis Etrusco nata puella solo. — Delitiae Italorum Poetarum, Francof. 1608, t. I, P. I, p. 354.

12. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 31, 32.

13. Ibid., p. 33.

her library, in the year 1502, were Spanish or even Valencian books of litterature and piety [14]. Her proficiency in these foreign idioms which were, especially at her time, of little esteem in Italy, confirms the statement of her brother, Cesar, and intimates her to be a native of Valencia in Spain, like her brothers, and to have received there her primary education.

The ambassador of the duke of Milan wrote at the end of June, and Lod. Carissimi, in the beginning of August, 1497 [15], that the Pope intended to remove all his (so-called) children from the City, and Lucretia in particular, to Valencia in Spain. Whence their groundless surmise that the Pontiff would send off his dear Lucretia, if she was born in Rome, to this country and city altogether strange to her ; where, moreover, her illegitimacy could not but be a humiliation to his own sister living there ? Did not the diplomats very naturally come to their supposition from the knowledge that Lucretia was born and had passed her first years in Valencia, among the relatives of her parents, and would be well cared for by them, and be more secure than her brother, Giovanni, had been in Rome, where he was murdered of late?

That Lucretia de Borgia was no daughter of pope Alexander VI results from the fact that Raph. Brandolinus Lippus, an eye witness, designates as her uncle one of her relatives, who was visiting at the sick room of her husband, Alfonso, duke of Bisceglia, on the day that the latter was murdered, or, rather, on which he died from previously inflicted wounds, on the 18th of August, 1500 [16]. This uncle cannot

---

14. Ibid., Bd. I, s. 310 ; Bd. II, s. 167.

15. Pastor, Gesch: der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 369, footn. and 832.

16. Römische Quartalschrift, Bd. II, s. 192 : An extract from Bibl. Vatic. Latin., cod. 3460 : " Erat cum conjuge una cum sorore, cum privatis familiaribus in cubiculo Alfonsus, cum Michelottus cubiculum irrumpit, Alfonsi *avunculum* atque una regium oratorem corripit, eosque armatis in carcerem conjiciendos tradit...

be supposed to be a blood-relation of the duke of Bisceglia, a brother of Alfonso II, king of Naples ; all the less, since he is said to be the duke's uncle through affinity or marriage with Lucretia. Nor was he a brother of pope Alexander VI, all of whose brothers were by this time long since dead and forgotten. The uncle mentioned by Brandolinus Lippus was, therefore, a brother of William Raymund de Borgia, Lucretia's real father, namely, Jofre de Borgia, since we know that his other brother, Roderic, was living in Valencia at that time.

Another contemporary incident leads us to the same inference. Before the final conclusion of his son's marriage with Lucretia, Ercole, the duke of Ferrara, ordered his Roman envoys, on the 7th of October, 1501, to inquire into the ancestry of the bride and their glorious deeds. We should judge that, if he knew or only suspected her to be the child of an ecclesiastic and of a common Roman woman, which he could not help knowing at that time, if it was a fact, he would not have ordered, to his own and to his son's humiliation, the disgrace to be officially established. The envoys inquired diligently, not in Rome but in Spain, in the city of Valencia in particular, where they found nothing worth mentioning about the Borgia house ; and all Lucretia's ancestral glory was reduced to the high dignity and the achievements of her granduncles on either side, the two Borgia Popes, Calixtus III and Alexander VI, of whom the former only is mentioned by name. They both were, indeed, an honor to her ; but, should the latter have been her sacrilegious parent, the envoys of Ferrara ought to have been sensible enough not to allude to him at all [17].

Alfonsum periculi magnitudine consternatum, quod homines affinitate sibi et benevolentia conjunctissimos eripi a se conspexisset... ".

17. See their letter of October

Cittadella,[18] the Civiltà Cattolica[19] and Pastor[20] assert that Lucretia was born in the year 1478, but these authorities often prove to be unreliable in matters regarding the Borgia house; and Pastor disproves his own statement at once, when adding that she was affianced to a Spaniard in A. D. 1491, at the age of eleven years[21], which, evidently, places her birth in 1480. De l'Epinois[22], to whom Pastor refers, says that Lucretia died in 1519 at the age of forty-one years, and that the chroniclers, who minutely described every particular of her entry into Ferrara, reported her as having been on that occasion twenty-four years old. But we might ask whether the years of her age were given as completed or commenced only, and whether the chroniclers, who wrote what they saw, were not deceived by the tired appearance of the duchess after her long journey?

H. de l'Epinois misrepresents Leonetti, as basing his choice of the year 1480, for Lucretia's birth, upon a document of November 8th, 1492, meaning a document of the 26th of February, 1491, which Leonetti discusses when speaking of her age[23], but which he rightly considers as no document at all. There is also a pretended document of November 8th, 1492, which names the 18th of April, 1480, as Lucretia's birthday, and is remembered by Leonetti, when he defends Lucretia's legitimacy[24]. This so-called protocol of a Roman notary may not be devoid of weight in establishing the 18th of April, 1480, as Lucretia's birthday,

---

18th, 1501, s. 205-206, Bd. I, of Lucr. Borgia by Gregorovius, who unfortunately gives neither the original nor the source where it may be found.

18. Albero genealogico, p. 34.

19. Ser. 3, t. IX, p. 724.

20. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 263, and Ibid. footn. 4.

21. Ibid. and s. 290.

22. Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. XXIX, p. 376.

23. Papa Alessandro VI, vol. II, p. 472-473.

24. Ibid., vol. I, p. 174-175; Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. II, s. 24.

since it was likely forged in her native city ; but Leonetti actually says that several documents positively prove Lucretia to be born on that date [25]. Reumont is of Leonetti's opinion, while Gregorovius and de l'Epinois himself report a well-defined statement, which removes all possible doubt from anyone not unwise, like the French publicist, to suspect the Roman Pontiff of useless falsity. Indeed, the ambassador Gerard Saraceni wrote on the 26th of October, 1501, to Ercole, duke of Ferrara : " His Holiness has given me to understand that the Duchess, Lucretia, is of the age of twenty-two years which she will complete this next coming month of April " [26]. She was born, therefore, during the year 1480, on the 18th day of the month of April. Gregorovius, who had written at first [27] that Lucretia was born in A. D. 1478, afterwards became convinced of the correct date [28], and set aside his former authorities : Frizzi [29] and Rawdon Brown [30].

Lucretia de Borgia is nowhere alluded to as being born or passing her childhood in Rome. We only know that she was there before the elevation of pope Alexander VI, staying with her relative, Adriana del Milá. We do not know, Gregorovius says [31], at what time cardinal Roderic de Borgia directed her to leave her mother's house ; that means, of course, the house of his alleged accomplice, and to move into the palatial residence and society of his noble cousin, dona Adriana del Milá, the illustrious dowager Orsini. We might inform him, in the same train of malignant and incredible assertions, that the cardinal gave such

25. Papa Alessandro VI, vol. II, p. 472-474 ; cfr. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. II, s. 15.
26. De l'Epinois, ap. Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. XXIX, p. 376 ; Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. II, nr. 32, s. 106.
27. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 317, 324, footn. 1.
28. Lucrez. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 12.
29. Memorie di Ferrara, IV, 263.
30. Ragguagli, I, 207.
31. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 23.

orders, when he saw fit and opportune to cast aside the mask of hypocrisy, behind which he is said to have successfully hidden for forty years ; to glory in his profligacy by drawing his bastards from their obscurity and setting them up to the admiration or contempt of the highest class of society, and thus to secure for himself the respect and the unanimous vote of a dignified College of Cardinals, in his ambition of soon becoming the Pontiff of Holy Church and the universal teacher of pure morals !

To speak more seriously, we may conclude from the concurrence of several reported incidents of the time, that Lucretia de Borgia left Spain, with Jofre, her youngest brother, shortly after Cesar had arrived in Italy or, possibly, even together with him, in the year 1488. Her mother had entered a second marriage, as it is said by Infessura, with a man named Dominico de Arignano [32], or Carlo Canale, according to Gregorovius [33], and she had, consequently, been obliged by the customs of the time to leave her children in charge of their relatives. Her oldest son, Pedro Luis, was of age and took care of his next brother, Giovanni, on their father's Valencian estates ; and the three youngest were called to Rome by their uncle, the cardinal Roderic de Borgia, who charitably took the place of their parent. He sent Cesar to the university of Pisa and confided Lucretia and the little Jofre to the direction of their cousin, Dona Adriana del Milá.

Lucretia completed here her religious education and developed that virtue and piety, commented on by the Roman envoys of Ferrara in their dispatches to their master [34],

---

32. Ap. Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles. ad An. 1493, n°. XXXIV.
33. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. II, p. 6.
34. Bartolomeo Bresciani, on October 30th, and Giovanni Luca Pozzi, on the 23d of December, 1501 ; ap. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 217, and Bd. II, s. 107.

and of which virtue and piety she gave so many proofs in both her correspondence and actions till the end of her life. Here also she acquired the knowledge of Italian, French, Latin and Greek, all of which she spoke and wrote, says her contemporary, chevalier Bayard's biographer ; and even Gregorovius admits [35] that she was not unacquainted with the ancient classics.

The historians of literature, Quadrio and Crescimbeni, accord her a place among the Italian poets ; but Gregorovius [36] objects to this distinction, because, he says, neither Bembo, Aldus Manuzius nor the Strozzi call her a poetess. Yet, while the latter exalt her literary attainments, Bembo explicitly states that she not only recited poetry well, but also wrote verses and poems not unworthy of the Muses themselves [37].

The same author adds that Lucretia was proficient in the cognate art of music, in manipulating the psalter or the guitar ; or calling back the waves of the Po, to listen to the sweetness of her song [38].

Gregorovius [39] further states that she was skilled in drawing, and left in Ferrara some embroidery of silk and gold for the admiration of posterity ; in a word, that she had received an education as complete as her time could afford.

If we consider, besides these acquired qualities, her natural endowments of more than common beauty, of intelligence, modesty and gracefulness, we shall not marvel at the number of noblemen and princes who sued or contended for her hand.

35. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 31, 32.

36. Ibid., s. 33.

37. " Seu calamo possunt scripta decere Deas ", ap. Delitiae Italorum Poetarum, Francof. 1608, t. I, P. I, p. 354.

38. " Nablia seu, citharamve [manu percurrere eburna Seu revocare Padi vicinas canti- [bus undas ". Ibid.

39. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 31.

ARTICLE II. — LUCRETIA ENGAGED. — MARRIED WITH GIOVANNI SFORZA.

Lucretia had already attracted the attentions of the Spanish nobility before she left for Rome.

There is a Valencian paper which Gregorovius [40] holds forth as an important document and which is accredited by Pastor [41], stating that the Spaniard, as both these historians designate him, the noble and magnificent Don Cherubim Joan de Centelles, lord of Vall de Ayora in the kingdom of Valencia, and brother of the count of Oliva, entered on the 26th of February, 1491, into a contract of marriage with the noble and virtuous Dona Lucretia de Borgia, who, it is added, lives in Rome at the time being, " Donzella habitant de present en Roma ". We may observe at once, that this last description is very curious, as regards the supposition of Lucretia being born and raised in the City.

This instrument has not, however, any authority beyond that of an anonymous forger, who imitated the long Spanish form of a civil contract, in order to prepare an occasion for stigmatizing, five different times, the noble bride, as a bastard child, and cardinal Roderic de Borgia as a sacrilegious father, without any apparent reason or honest purpose. The originator was evidently a Valencian, since he wants Lucretia to " come " [42] to that kingdom, and stipulates that this writing shall be legally made at some future time by some notary or notaries according to the practice and customs of the same kingdom. In spite of it all, this nondescript paper is adjudged by Gregorovius [43] to be a

40. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. II, p. 13.
41. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III. s. 290.
42. " Venga, vengnuda " and " venguda ".
43. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 41, footn., Bd. II, p. 21.

notarial act of the well-known Roman, Camillo Beneimbene, retouched by him on the following 16th of June, legally completed in Rome in the illegal Valencian language, without any mark or signature of anybody. That this Valencian fabrication is not the work of the Roman notary Beneimbene, is evident from the fact, that he knew Lucretia to be, not the " filla carnal ", or natural daughter, as it is stated here, but the " neptis, " the niece of the Pope, as he designates her in the contract of marriage with Don Alfonso of Aragon [44]. The document is simply an instance of the methods resorted to, in order to denigrate pope Alexander VI and the Borgias generally. It is no wonder, therefore, if Nardi [45], Mariana [46], Cienfuegos [47] and every other ancient or contemporary author are ignorant of any marriage or nuptial contract of Lucretia de Borgia with Cherubim Joan de Centelles. Infessura is an exception, however, when saying that the Pope persuaded the Spaniard to give up " his wife ", Lucretia, who, but eleven years old at the time, could, at best, have been only his fiancee. Balan [48] discards the diarist, on this occasion, by stating that his book is full of inaccuracies and of malice, mistaking also the name of Lucretia's later husband, Giovanni Sforza, by calling him Alessandro. In fact, there never was drawn up any authentic contract of espousals or marriage between a Don Cherubim Joan de Centelles and Lucretia de Borgia, if we can believe Muzzi [49] and the contemporary bishop and ambassador, Gianandrea Boccaccio [50], who assure us that

---

44. Ibid., Bd. II, p. 57.
45. Istorie di Firenze, vol. I, p. 254.
46. Hist. d'Espagne, t. V, p. 124.
47. A heroica Vida de S. Francisco de Borja, lib. I, p. 3.
48. Storia d'Italia, vol. V, p. 298, n. 1.
49. Annali di Bologna, t. V, p. 424.
50. Ap. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 50, footn.

Gaspar de Prochita, of whom we are to speak now, was her " first husband ".

Two months after the marriage contract with de Centelles was drafted and six weeks before it was completed, as Gregorovius [51] relates in all seriousness, Lucretia was, on the last day of April, 1491, betrothed to another Spanish nobleman of Valencia, namely, to the Magnificent Don Gaspar, a minor son of the knight John Francis de Prochita, count of Aversa, who is reported as a Spaniard and indicated as a Valencian in the document of dissolution of his nuptial contract, published by Gregorovius [52]. Panvinio [53] calls Gaspar a certain Spaniard, whom Machiavelli [54] mentions as Messer Procida. Bechetti [55] designates him as a Spanish nobleman, and " I Borgia " [56] as a Spanish baron. Muzzi [57] is the only one who says that Lucretia's " first husband " was a Roman chevalier, while Buonaccorsi [58] and Nardi [59] state him to have been a gentleman of the kingdom of Naples, his father living in the city of Aversa or Atella, close to Naples. Gianandrea Boccaccio, bishop of Modena, wrote during the first days of November, 1492, that the " first husband " of pope Alexander's niece had come to Rome and was secretly sent back to Naples [60].

In fact, when hearing of the efforts of cardinal Ascanio Sforza to win Lucretia's hand for his cousin Giovanni, lord of Pesaro, Don Gaspar de Prochita hurried with his father to Rome, to secure his valuable prize ; but the result was

---

51. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 41, and footn. 1, s. 42 ; Bd. II, s. 13, 24.
52. Ibid., Bd. II, s. 24, 26.
53. Vita Alexandri VI, p. 339.
54. Lettere ai Dieci di balia, an. 1497, in Opere Minori, p. 94.
55. Ultimi quattro Secoli della Chiesa, t. VI, p. 218.
56. P. 28.
57. Annal. di Bologna, t. V, p. 424.
58. Diario dall' an. 1484-1512.
59. Istor. di Firenze, vol. I, p. 254.
60. Gregorovius, ubi supra, Bd. I, s. 50, footn.

quite the opposite of his ambition. On that very occasion his engagement was rescinded, by the mutual consent of both parties, whose minds had been changed by certain considerations and good reasons, as the document states [61].

We should here, in passing by, remark that the instrument of this dissolution of nuptials, published by Gregorovius, is not an authoritative document, but simply a copy found in archives where it had no reason to be ; probably it is a late copy made to denigrate the Pontiff by the insertion of the words :" Lucretia ejus naturalis filia ", his illegitimate daughter ; for the notary Beneimbene knew better, and described Lucretia as " niece " of pope Alexander VI, " dna. Lucretia Borgia ejus neptis ", in the civil contract of espousals between her and Alfonso of Aragon [62]. We consider, moreover, the reliability or this dubious copy as further lessened by the addition of an unilateral obligation by which the rejected suitor of Aversa should have bound himself, under penalty of two thousand gold ducats, not to marry within a year, unless his lost bride should wed another man !

It is said [63] that one more Spanish suitor presented himself about this time ; the Conde de Prada, who, as Gianandrea Boccaccio wrote on the 25th of February, 1493, was apt to frustrate the aspirations of Giovanni Sforza. Yet, these negotiations remained without effect. Lucretia's first marriage was with Giovanni Sforza [64].

The failure of the count de Prada was the success of the lord of Pesaro, who was then the common condottiere of

---

61. Gregorovius, Ibid., Bd. II, s. 52. See Document 45.

62. Gregorovius, Luc. Borgia, Bd. II, s. 57.

63. Ibid., Bd. I, s. 52, and footn. 2.

64. Raphael Volaterranus, Commentarium Urbanum, lib. XXII, p. 261 : Alexander Lucretiam prius Johanni Sfortiae Pisauriensi locavit, deinde Aloisio Aragoni ; quo demum interfecto, Alfonso Estensi, cum quo adhuc perseverat.

pope Alexander VI and of the duke of Milan [65], and continued to be [66]. On the 2d of February, 1493, the notary Beneimbene drew up the nuptial contract between the Illustrious lord Giovanni Sforza de Aragona, count of Cotignola and temporal vicar for the Holy See of the city and county of Pesaro ; and the excellent virginal lady Lucretia Borgia, very dear to our Holy Lord the Pope, and sister-german of the Illustrious lord Giovanni, duke of Gandia. Lucretia's dot was to be thirty-one thousand ducats, namely : first, the eleven thousand florins, Valencian money, which her deceased brother, Pedro Luis, late duke of Gandia, had left her by last will, and represented a sum of about five thousand and five hundred ducats.—We may notice here the discrepancy from the forged document of the Osuna archives, which grants only ten thousand Valencian florins [67].—The second portion of the dot was to be jewels, to the value of ten thousand ducats, and the balance to be paid by the Pontiff in coin, otherwise provided as Lucretia's marriage donation. Yet, should the bride die childless before her husband, the whole sum and the jewels were to revert, not, as the Osuna document falsely stipulates, to the Pope, but to Lucretia's brother-german, the Illustrious Giovanni de Borgia, duke of Gandia, or to his heirs [68].

On May the 29th the Pontiff granted to Lucretia and to her future husband a " confessionale ", a right to choose their confessor, and an " altare portatile ", or the favor of having Holy Mass offered up in their private chapel, together with other spiritual privileges [69].

---

65. Rome, Archiv. di Stato, Mandati 1492-1494, f° 45, Mch. 15th, 1493.

66. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Introitus et Exitus, vol. 527, Aug. 25, 1495.

67. Fidel Fita, Estudious Hist. t. VI, p. 124.

68. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. II, s. 34.

69. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Alex. VI, Secret., an. II, lib. IV. Regest. 870, f° 197.

The marriage took place in the Vatican palace on the 12th of June, 1493 [70]. The religious ceremonies in the morning were very solemn and brilliant. The Pope, surrounded by ten cardinals, assisted on his throne ; the noble dames and the most prominent citizens of Rome had been invited and the palace was full of people admiring the grand solemnities, an important part of which was a beautiful sermon by the bishop of Concordia. The diplomats present were the envoys of Ferrara, Venice, Milan and one of France.

Gregorovius recalls to mind the worldly and lascivious description of this marriage made by the pornographer Infessura, and copied in his History of the City of Rome ; and he pretends to confirm the slanders by the report of Gianandrea Boccaccio, who was present at all the festivities. But the Ferrarese representative, after giving an idea of the great religious feast, simply relates how, in the evening, the Pontiff gave, in honor of the married couple, a family dinner, at which cardinal Ascanio Sforza, the bridegroom's cousin, was present, and two other cardinals, special friends of the Sforzas. A few relations of the Pope and the captain general of the Church with his married daughter were also there. There were, in all, eight sedate gentlemen, and six ladies, two of whom were the widow and Pontiff's cousin, Adriana del Milá and her daughter-in-law, Julia Farnese. Boccaccio further relates that, between eight and nine o'clock, the envoy of Milan, himself, cardinal Ascanio Sforza, cardinal Giovanni de Borgia, the prothonotary Caesarini, the bride's brother, duke of Gandia, and the prothonotary de Lunate came to offer wedding presents ; that, after this, the ladies had a dance among themselves ;

70. Ibid., Bd. I, s. 59 ; Pastor, | Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 296

and a " degna commedia ", a respectable comedy was presented together with music and song [71].

It may look strange nowadays to see the Pontiff remain the whole evening with his guests ; but what was there to be called lascivious or unbecoming ?

For about a year after her marriage, Lucretia remained in Rome, where her husband regularly received his pay as a condottiere of the Pope. A faithful and devoted wife, she followed him on his frequent changes of residence, although she was often to be deprived of his company. On the 8th of June, 1494, she made her first entry with him in Pesaro [72], where she had soon many friends and lived a quiet, happy life. The disturbed conditions of Italy required Giovanni Sforza to do his duty as a captain in the pontifical army. He left Pesaro after a year's sojourn, and his wife took up her residence with him in Rome again, where we meet her on the 27th of February, 1496 [73]. On April 28th, Giovanni went to the battlefields of the Neapolitan kingdom [74] leaving Lucretia in the City. Here she was one of the principal personages at the solemn reception of her brother Jofre and his wife, Sancia of Aragon, on the 20th of May, 1496 [75]. Gregorovius [76] tells us that Giovanni Sforza returned from Naples probably in the fall of the year 1496 and took his wife from Rome to Pesaro, for the following winter. He left his home again, hidden under a mask, on the 15th of January, 1497, and was followed by Lucretia on the next day. The lord of Pesaro assisted the Pope at the blessing

---

71. Gianandrea Boccaccio, bishop of Mantua, writing on the day following, ap. Gregorovius, ubi supra, Bd. I, s. 59 and Bd. II, s. 41.

72. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 74, 77.

73. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 267.

74. Gregorovius, ubi supra, s. 91.

75. Burchard, ubi supra, pp. 278, seq.

76. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 102.

of the candles, on the 2d of February, and at that of the palms on March 19th [77].

Although pope Alexander VI continued to honor Lucretia's husband, it became evident, soon after, that some serious disagreement existed between them. In fact, Giovanni Sforza, abandoning his wife in Rome, secretly fled to Pesaro, for fear, Gregorovius gratuitously adds, of the poison or the dagger of his brothers-in-law [78]. On the 4th of June, 1497, Lucretia retired to the convent of the nuns of San Sixto ; which gave rise to many different suppositions, Burchard says [79] ; all of which lately afforded an occasion to Thuasne for making false comments [80].

Gregorovius affirms that, for political reasons, the Pope had resolved to break Lucretia's marriage ; and he betrays his ignorance of natural and canon law, when adding [81] that pope Alexander VI required Giovanni to voluntarily renounce his rights, threatening him with the worst, should he dare to refuse ; forsooth, as if his consent or his refusal were to have any the least bearing upon a marriage dissolution ! In reality, Lucretia de Borgia was now married for three years and she lost all hope of issue. Suspicions were rife, and it had become a question, whether, after the three years of canonical trial, her cohabitation was further to be tolerated. When formally questioned, Lucretia admitted that her alliance had never been nor could, on Giovanni's part, ever be duly consummated [82]. Already on June 14th, 1497, the Pontiff, Cesar and Giovanni de Borgia gave notice to car-

---

77. Burchard, Diar., t. II, pp. 354, 360.

78. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 104.

79. Diar. t. II, p. 386. It is a report of Sanuto, that she was quarreling with her husband ; the relation of a Ferrarese ; that she was at loggerheads with the Pope ; and the imagination of others, that she wanted to be a nun herself. Ap. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 363, n. 5.

80. Ibid., footn. 1.

81. Ubi supra, s. 104, 105.

82. Gregorovius, Ibid., s. 108.

dinal Ascanio Sforza, that Lucretia could no longer live with his cousin, the lord of Pesaro [83]. But the law of the Church requires in similar cases a formal inquest and sentence of an ecclesiastical tribunal. Pope Alexander VI spoke of the marriage in open consistory a few days after. He wished it were binding and lasting, but intimated that it had been contracted invalidly, on account of the impediment of impotence; and illicitly, because the dissolution of Lucretia's former espousal had not been sanctioned by ecclesiastical authority. He refused, however, to be the judge in this case ; but would refer it, he said, to others who should decide upon it conscientiously [84] ; and he appointed, therefore, on the 23d of June, 1497, a commission presided over by two Italian cardinals, Antoniotto Pallavicini and Giovanni Sangiorgio. Giovanni Sforza went at once to Milan, to implore the protection of the Duke and of cardinal Ascanio, his cousins. He denied, at first, his wife's testimony, but finally admitted in writing his own disgrace [85]. The commission, after hearing a number of witnesses, declared, on the 19th of December, 1497, the marriage of Giovanni Sforza and of Lucretia de Borgia to be null and void from its beginning [86]. Gregorovius and, after him, Pastor [87] give the date of December 20th. There is not a word of truth in the assertion of De Cherrier.[88]. The Pontiff confirmed the sentence

---

83. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 374, n. 3.

84. Letter of Card. Asc. Sforza, dated Rome, June 19th, ap. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 829.

85. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 108, footn. 2 ; Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 374; Ugolini, Storia dei conti e Duchi d'Urbino, II, 84 ; Attesto autentico di Giovanni, November 18th, 1497; Archiv. Centr. Carte d'Urbino, Cl. 1a, Div. G. n° I, p. 242 ; cfr. Burchard, Diar, t. II, p. 406, footn. and Dennistoun, Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino, vol. I, p. 350, footn.

86. Ugolini ubi supra ; Archiv. Centr. Pergamene d'Urbino, ec. no. 242.

87. Both ubi supra.

88. Hist. de Charles VIII, t. II, p. 393 : " Le Pape prononça le divorce sous prétexte de l'impuissance de Sforza, le 7 juin 1497 ".

of the commission, and no fault was ever found with it, till it fell into the hands of the latest enemies of pope Alexander VI.

On the 23d of September, 1501, the Pope asked the representatives of the duke of Ferrara to request their master not to admit Giovanni Sforza to the wedding feast of Lucretia and of his son, Alfonso ; because " although his separation from the said Most Illustrious Lady Lucretia has taken place in all justice and only for the most truthful reasons, as it is publicly proved not only by the legal proceedings in the case, but also by the voluntary admission of the Lord Giovanni himself ; it is possible, however, that there be some remnant of ill feeling on both sides " [89]. The Pontiff could not allow such a statement to be written to one who was rather friendly to the lord of Pesaro, unless it was known to be true. Yet, Gregorovius and others are pleased to call it false !

Gregorovius is greatly scandalized, and accuses the Pontiff of criminally trifling with one of the holiest sacraments of the Church, when by a later bull he also confirmed the dissolution of the former nuptials of Lucretia with Don Gaspar de Prochita, and relieved her, for security's sake, of any possible guilt of perjury incurred by marrying Giovanni Sforza before that dissolution had been sanctioned by an ecclesiastical tribunal. Had Gregorovius read the documents which he publishes he would have known, like earlier historians [90], that there was no question of any sacrament

---

89. " Perche se bene quella separatione che fra luy et la predetta Illma Madama seguite iustissimamente, et cun la pura et mera verita, como publice consta non solum per lo processo facto in questa causa, sed etiam per la libera confessione de ipso Sign. Joanne ; tamen non è che qualche reliquia de malo animo forsi non le sia restato etiam da ogni canto... " ; Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. II, nr. 31 ; s. 102.

90. Cienfuegos, A heroica Vida do S. Francisco de Borja, lib. I, p. 3.

here ; but, simply, of a legal formality, intended to prevent the possibility of any future bickering, which, in this case, was not to be expected from a man who had duly made void Lucretia's engagement by wedding another woman, by whom he now had several children [91].

The lord of Pesaro returned the marriage dot of thirty-one thousand ducats to Lucretia de Borgia, who gave her receipt for the remittance [92]. The indecorous self-defence attributed to him and the brutal suppositions which he is said to have uttered against the Pope, to revenge his humiliation, are quite sufficient to brand him as a vile character, who had never respected the lady that he wanted to retain in his power. Gregorovius [93] and Pastor [94] reprint in footnotes his villainous abuse, which inspired the satires of a neo-pagan poet, but was never believed by any serious writer, whether friend or foe of the Borgias, not even by Gregorovius himself [95]. Creighton [96] makes these remarks : " It will be observed that Sforza did not accuse Alexander VI in the past, but imputed a motive for his conduct in the future. This motive was shown to be false by the fact that the Pope instantly set to work to provide a new husband for Lucrezia " [97].

Gregorovius likewise rejects [98] as slanderous the " si dice ", they-say of Malipiero and Polo Capello, who tell other historical untruths in the very sentences by which they cast an odious doubt upon Lucretia and her brothers. K. Hildebrand [99], who is no lover of the Borgias, admits that

---

91. See Document 45.
92. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 109 ; Ugolini, ubi supra, p. 84, footn. 6.
93. Ubi supra, s. 108, 109.
94. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 375.
95. Ibid., Bd. I, s. 182.
96. A History of the Papacy, vol. III, p. 261, footn. I, ap. Pastor, ubi supra, n. 2.
97. Cfr. Roscoe, Life of Leo the Tenth, vol. I, p. 396, and Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 450, footn. post medium.
98. Ubi supra.
99. Ap. Pastor, ubi supra, s. 288, n. 4. and s. 375, n. 2.

nothing of a criminal nature can be proved or discovered against Lucretia ; and it is certainly remarkable that Giovanni Sforza's tool of revenge, the poet Guido Posthumus, has not a word of blame against her.

Gregorovius [100] further rightfully disbelieves the report of a Ferrarese agent in Venice, that, namely, Lucretia had given birth to an illegitimate child. Should the duke of Ferrara have considered that message as genuine and true, he evidently could not, two years later, have admitted the disgraced woman as the wife of his first-born son. Pastor, however, has found [101] a manuscript letter of a secretary of the Bolognese Bentivoglio, saying that the first chamberlain, Peroto, who was and remained an intimate friend of the Pontiff, had been incarcerated for having debauched Madona Lucretia. This letter, Pastor says, confirms the former news. He might have noticed that the agent's report originated not in the City where Lucretia lived, but in distant Venice, hostile to the Borgias and friendly to Giovanni Sforza ; for the letter states that no information had then arrived from Rome. No Roman writer ever heard a word of an infamy which, had it been true, could not have remained concealed ; and we may safely infer that either libel is but a variation of the other, invented in some northern city of Italy, at the beginning of the month of March, 1498, shortly after Lucretia's divorce.

Were these twin papers another endeavor to revenge the lord of Pesaro, or were they intended as scarecrows set up to keep a number of barons and princes from contending for Lucretia de Borgia ? Indeed, should the accusations be true, her next suitors must have been shocked when seeing her in an unpresentable condition or barely recovering from an infamous confinement.

100. Ubi supra, p. 183.
101. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 289, footn.

ARTICLE III. — LUCRETIA MARRIED WITH ALFONSO, DUKE OF BISCEGLIA.

Gregorovius [102] assigns to this time the application of the Orsini baron, the duke of Gravina, for Lucretia's hand. Be this as it may, but it is a fact that, when the invalidity of Lucretia's marriage with Giovanni Sforza became noised about, even before its legal declaration had been made, another bridegroom was offered to her. Cardinal Ascanio ciphered to his brother, the duke of Milan, on August 20th, 1497, [103] as follows : I understand that negotiations are under way between Our Lord the Pope and the prince of Salerno, to give Lucretia, daughter of His Holiness [104], to the son of the prince, under certain conditions, which, if fulfilled, would not be to the advantage of the king of Naples nor of Italy. Çurita [105] explains the cardinal's message when he writes : Antonelo de Sanseverino, prince of Salerno, rebelled at the coronation of Frederic of Naples, and, through the cardinal of Sanseverino, negotiated with the Pope to wed his son, Robert of Sanseverino, with Lucretia, still married with the lord of Pesaro. The Pope was well pleased at the proposal and offered to hire the prince with three hundred men-at-arms, if he should come to Rome ; and, moreover, promised to make him captain general of the Church. When the engagement was on the point of being concluded, it was interrupted by the duke of Milan, who represented to the Pope that such an alliance would break up not only his house but the whole of Italy. In conse-

---

102. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 420.

103. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 374, footn. 5.

104. As she was popularly called. — The cardinal could not intend to insult, since he was the Pontiff's favorite at the time.

105. Hist. del Rey Don Hernando, lib. 3, cap. 8, f° 127.

quence, king Frederic resolved to turn his weapons against the rebel prince.

These statements of Çurita are further illustrated by a letter of the 20th of October, 1497, wherein the German ambassador, Phrs. Naturelli, writes to the emperor elect, Maximilian, that he has received his orders to seriously remonstrate with His Holiness against the marriage of Lucretia de Borgia with the son of the prince of Salerno ; that, however, this step has become unnecessary after he and all the representatives of the Sacred League had, a few days before, interposed so urgently that the Pontiff, after learning of the opposition of the confederates, had promised to them not to let the marriage take place. He adds that the king of Naples is now in the estates of the rebellious prince, has already captured the castles of St. George and of St. Severin, and is believed to have taken Salerno also, by this time... Before sealing his dispatch he heard that Salerno had actually surrendered on the 15th, and that the prince was hotly pursued [106].

The King, indeed, confiscated the principality of Salerno, and soon bestowed it upon the illegitimate son of Alfonso II, his late brother ; and he proposed that this nephew, Alfonso of Aragon, should replace Lucretia's suitor, Robert of Sanseverino. The exchange was readily accepted, for the young people had become friendly acquainted at the time that the handsome Alfonso was a pupil of the Roman latinist, Brandolinus Lippus [107], and this marriage was destined to increase the amicable relations between the allied Aragonese and Borgian houses ; and, furthermore, Alfonso was to be a more important and better endowed personage. He was already in possession of the estate of Bisceglia [108], by which

106. See Document 47.

107. Römische Quartalschrift, Bd. II, s. 185.

108. Bisaglia, Biseliae, Biselli, Biselle, Vigiliae, Vegelle, now Bisegli.

title he is generally known in history, and of that of Quarata[109] when he also received the principality of Sanseverino and Salerno, whose name he and Lucretia, his wife, afterwards assumed for their signature [110]. Three of Lucretia's letters after Alfonso's death are signed : " La infelicissima principessa di Salerno ", The most unhappy princess of Salerno ; the title being barred in token of mourning, in the former two[111]. The duke of Bisceglia is also called prince of Salerno by the contemporary Venetian ambassador, Paolo Capello [112].

When both parties had fully agreed upon this union, the bridegroom left Naples with a cavalcade of numerous attendants. He arrived at the gates of Rome on the 15th of July, 1498, when he learned the Pontiff's wish that his entry should be honorable but not solemn. He, therefore, kept but a small number of men at his side, to meet the few courtiers sent by the Pope to receive him. He rode to the palace of the cardinal of Santa Maria in Porticu, where Lucretia was residing, and quarters were assigned to him [113].

The cardinal of Valencia, Cesar de Borgia, invited Alfonso to his apartments, the following day, and entertained him with all demonstrations of affection and deference. On the 17th the bridegroom and his bride were together friendly received in audience by the Pontiff, in the presence of the cardinal of Perugia, of the Neapolitan envoys and of cardinal Ascanio Sforza [114], who wrote the news to the duke, his brother, that same day [115].

---

109. Quadrata, now Corato by Andria.

110. Cfr. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 110 ; Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 493.

111. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. II, nr. 25, 26 and 26c.

112. Ap. Albèri, Relaz. degli Ambasc. Veneti, ser. 2, t. III, p. 8.

113. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 493 ; Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 415.

114. Who thus testified to the justice of his cousins's, the lord of Pesaro's, dismissal.

115. Ap. Pastor, ubi supra, s. 838.

The civil marriage contract, with the espousal, was quietly executed at the Vatican, on the 20th of July, by special procurators : the Pope himself for " his niece ", Lucretia, and cardinal Sforza with two Neapolitans for Alfonso of Aragon [116].

It was stipulated that Lucretia's dowry was to be forty thousand ducats, payable as follows : four thousand, as price of the territory of Quarata, which was henceforth to be considered as Lucretia's immovable dower ; sixteen thousand ducats, to be spent eventually in the purchase of other territories and towns in the kingdom of Naples or in the Pontifical States, which also were to belong to Lucretia as landed marriage dot ; and the remaining twenty thousand to be paid in jewels and ornaments for the bride.

On the other hand, it should be king Frederic's duty to bestow upon the Most Illustrious Alfonso, his heirs and successors by male line, forever, some estate that would bring a revenue of eight thousand ducats. This the King did [117], undoubtedly, by creating his nephew a prince of Salerno and Sanseverino. Again, Frederic bound himself to raise Alfonso's seigniory of Bisceglia to the rank of a duchy, with all ducal rights and jurisdiction, for him and all his heirs ; and in such a way as to be a part of Lucretia's dowry. Moreover, the King promised to grant to his nephew, as soon as a vacancy would occur, some other territory, worth, together with that of Bisceglia, an income of one, two, three or four thousand ducats. Provisions were also made for the case of either Alfonso's or Lucretia's demise.

On the following day, July 21st, 1498, the marriage took place, according to the laws of the Church and Roman

---

116. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 494 ; Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. II, nr. 16, s. 56.

117. Çurita, Hist. del Rey Don Hernando, lib. 3, cap. 27, f° 149vo.

custom, in the apostolic palace, without much solemnity [118]; but Pastor relates [119] that for several days following, there were great nuptial feasts, in which Alexander VI took part with all the buoyancy, " Frische ", of a young man. This is hardly edifying ! Pastor confirms his statement by a dispatch of the next August the 8th, to the Marquis of Mantua [120]. This formerly unknown letter of Giovanni Lucido Cataneo reports that the quiet marriage was celebrated after another day, " doppoi un altro di ", with many festivities, repasts and candy ; by the relatives exclusively, not a single ambassador or public official being invited. There was a luncheon, where the Pope settled a quarrel between the men of Cesar de Borgia and those of the " princess ", Sancia of Aragon [121], and at night there was a supper, partaken of by the married couple, the cardinals of Monreale and of Perugia and two nieces of the Pontiff. After supper followed some theatrical performances, in which also Cesar appeared ; and, although insignificant, they lasted till morning. Of the Pope there is added only that, whilst at supper, his six relatives were seated at one table, he was stately sitting alone at another. From comparing the original dispatch with its interpretation, it becomes evident that there exist some notable divergencies between the contemporary and the late historian.

The same letter of Giovanni Cataneo states that the main feature of the celebration was the manifestation of Lucretia's great satisfaction with Don Alfonso. And, indeed, this

---

118. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. II, nr. 16, s. 60, 61 ; Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 415.
119. Ibid.
120. Ibid., s. 838.
121. Cesar's " cugnata " — Not, of the new " duchess " of Bisceglia, Cesar's " sorella " as Pastor somewhat superstitiously relates.

marriage proved to be one of love and of consequent happiness as long as it lasted [122].

The princely couple lived quietly in Rome. On the 8th of August, 1499, the Pontiff procured them also a country residence, by appointing Lucretia, whom he praised for her prudence, loyalty and discretion, as governess of the county of Spoleto and of Foligno, to which the city of Nepi was added after a few days [123]. Let it briefly be stated that, in this position, she made herself remarkable by reconciling the cities of Spoleto and of Terni, who had been almost constantly at war for many years. She acted as mediatrix between them [124].

In their Roman habitation, Alfonso and Lucretia were daily witnesses of growing friendship between the Pope and the king of France, the enemy of their nearest relations. The duke of Bisceglia had left Rome, displeased and without the Pontiff's knowledge [125], on the 2d of August, 1499, and had gone to the fortress of his friends, the Colonna of Gennazzano. His Lady, Lucretia, withdrew from the City, together with her brother, Jofre, retiring to her castle of Spoleto [126] the very day that she was named its guardian. On the 15th of August she presented her commission to the city authorities who did homage to her, and the commune gave a banquet in her honor. She won in a short time the lasting affection of all the people.

The concessions of these lucrative honors to Lucretia de Borgia greatly scandalize the enemies of pope Alexander VI ; but it should be observed that they were not acts of mere

---

122. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 415, 428.

123. Sansi, Documenti dell' Archivio di Spoleto, p. 81 ; Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 117-120.

124. Sansi, Ibid., p. 84.

125. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 548, and n.

126. " I Borgia ", p. 31 ; Burchard, Ibid., p. 552.

nepotism. The Pope had, shortly before, experienced again how little confidence he could place in his Italian officials, when even the much-favored cardinal Ascanio Sforza had left Rome under a cloud of rebellion and resigned the government of Nepi. He knew, on the contrary, that he could command his relatives and dispose of them and of their offices at will. Moreover, he wanted, on this special occasion, to win over again to his political views Lucretia's husband, the duke of Bisceglia. The request of the people of Nepi to obtain his niece as Lady of their city had, finally, greatly influenced the Pontiff to make the last appointment [127].

Lucretia was officially granted the governorship of Nepi, on the 7th of October, 1499. It is stated in the bull that cardinal Sforza had resigned and given up all his rights upon this office and its revenues into the hands of the Pontiff, who had accepted the resignation ; that the Pope had taken into consideration the inborn goodness and gentleness of Lucretia de Borgia and her other great qualities, which well fitted her to govern, not only faithfully and prudently but also meekly, the city which he had administered himself when yet a cardinal, and which was still dear to him ; and it is finally stated that now, with the unanimous advice and approval of the Sacred College, he grants the governorship, with all its faculties, rights and revenues and even the privilege of alienation to her, her children and successors ; which, in reality, meant : until the moment he would find convenient to make some other disposition of the office, as he actually did not long after [128]. On the 10th of the same month pope Alexander VI ordered his beloved

127. Archiv. Commun. of Nepi, Libri de Brevibus, f° 22.

128. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Alex. VI, Secreta, an. I, ad XI, lib. V, Nepi, Libri de Brevibus, f° 23. Regest. 871, f° 54.

129. Commun. Archives of

sons, the community of Nepi, to take the oath of fealty to the noble lady, Lucretia de Borgia [129].

On the same day he renewed, at the insistence of " his beloved daughter in Christ ", Lucretia, two former exemptions in favor of Nepi ; and by a third brief of that date [130], he granted to the city, at their Lady's supplication, several more favors, the exemption of subsidy taxes for two years and the right of revising their statutes, provided, however, that Lucretia should confirm the amendments [131].

By a fourth brief of the same month and day, the Pontiff exonerated the community of Nepi from an odious burden, namely, of sending men to take part in the exercises of the Roman carnival. He had already expressed this exemption in the bull of Lucretia's appointment, but, at the request of the duchess of Bisceglia, he here notified the people of the relief granted [132].

Still on the 10th of October, 1499, the papers of all these concessions were forwarded to Lucretia by the Pope, who directed her to remit them herself to the people of Nepi, in order to win their good will and let them do homage to her with all the more pleasure [133].

Ranghiasci [134] is evidently in error when he says that, in the course of the month of September, 1499, pope Alexander VI, accompanied by four cardinals, and Lucretia de Borgia, who had come from Spoleto with her husband, the duke of Bisceglia, and her brother, Jofre, assembled in Nepi, for Lucretia's inauguration as Lady of that place and for the raising of her ducal ensigns. The error is manifest

130. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 120, although referring to the records of Nepi, mistakes in mentioning here the 12th of October,

131. Nepi, Libri de Brevibus, fiis 22, 23vo.

132. Ibid., fo 23vo.

133. Ibid. fo 24.

134. Memorie Stor. di Nepi, cap. XXIII, and Modern Inscriptions on the inside of the castle of Nepi.

from the fact that her nomination took place only on the 7th of the following month. Burchard [135] reports that the Pontiff left for Nepi on the 25th of September and returned on the 1st of October ; and the object of the excursion was, no doubt, to inspect the locality, to hear the requests of the people and to make the last arrangements for the proximate appointment.

Lucretia's escutcheon is still preserved in the portico of the communal house, where, quartered with the arms of her husband, Alfonso of Aragon, it is set into the wall. And well did she deserve this lasting memorial, for there is still a document to show that she loved both justice and her subjects. Notwithstanding the former exemption, the inhabitants of Nepi were required again to send some men to enliven the festivities of the Roman carnival. They complained to their Lady, and soon after, on the 30th of March, 1501, they received another brief from the Pontiff, informing them that, at the insistent intercession of his beloved " daughter in Christ ", the noble Lucretia de Borgia, he exempted and excused them altogether from the old customary obligation [136].

Lucretia's uncle, the Pontiff, treated her, moreover, with kind consideration ; and, with her help, succeeded in bringing back her lord, the duke of Bisceglia.

At his meeting with the duke in Nepi, the Pope prevailed upon him to return, with his lady, to their residence in Rome, and to sever his alliance with the discontented cardinals. The Duke kept his promise, and both he and his wife were in the City again the following month. Lucretia continued her functions of governess through the intermediary of a lieutenant, from the 10th of August, 1500. The functionary

---

135. Diar., t. II, p. 563.
136. Archiv. Commun. di Nepi. | Libri de Brevibus, f° 21.

was her cousin, cardinal Pedro Ludovico de Borgia. On the 1st of November, 1499, she gave birth to a son, who was baptized with great solemnity and received the name of Roderic [137].

On the 4th of November, 1499, Alfonso, duke of Bisceglia, received from pope Alexander VI a command in the papal army, of twelve cavalrymen, with a monthly salary of one hundred and twenty ducats, and he was also a well paid captain of twenty-four crossbowmen [138].

The Pope had confiscated the territories of the Gaetani barons, because of their rebellion and high treason ; and Giacomo, the head of that house, had been cast into prison and given up to the temporal arm of justice by a regular tribunal, after confessing his crimes [139]. With the written approval of eighteen cardinals, the Pontiff had ordered the officials of the Church treasury, to sell for a reasonable price to any decent person or persons, the Gaetani fiefs, which consisted of Sermoneta, Bassiano, Ninfa and Norma, Tivera, Cisterna, San Felice or Cape Circe and San Donato : all of them situated in the dioceses of Terracina and of Velletri. Lucretia de Borgia bought these possessions from the " Camera apostolica ", and paid for them with her own money, " de pecuniis prefatae Lucretiae ", the sum of eighty thousand ducats in gold, for which she was given a receipt [140]. On the 9th of March, 1500 [141], pope Alexander VI confirmed the sale by a Constitution signed by himself and by the cardinals [142].

---

137. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 119-121 ; Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 425, footn. 3.

138. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Alex. VI, Dic. Cam. 1497 ad 1501, lib. IIII. Armar. 29, n° 53, f° 17vo and 20vo.

139. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. II, nr. 19, s. 67.

140. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 15.

141. " Pontificatus nri Anno 8° ". Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 123, gives the year 1499, not noticing that the Florentine style was followed in the papal bull.

142. Bibl. Vaticana, Ottoboniana, cod. 2504, P. 2, f° 287.

The receipt for Lucretia's actual payment of eighty thousand ducats is a proof of the slanderous character of von Reumont's remark [143], asserting that Alexander VI granted to her Sermoneta and other possessions forfeited by the Gaetani, in order to enrich her first and afterwards her descendants. If we read the Pope's confirmation of sale, we will notice, on the contrary, that Lucretia rendered a signal service by buying Sermoneta from the President and Clerics of the Apostolic Treasury, which, as it is there stated, was in pressing need of money and, besides, had to bear the expenses of guarding and preserving the confiscated possessions [144].

This acquisition was very useful to the people of Sermoneta, for it was through the insistent intercession of their new Mistress that, on the 10th of October, 1499, they obtained forever the renewal of a former exemption from the taxes of salt and of the " focaticum ", or of their dwellings. Besides this, they were relieved of the duty of sending to Rome foot- and horsemen, on the occasion of the carnival [145].

ARTICLE IV. — MURDER OF ALFONSO, DUKE OF BISCEGLIA.

With increased revenue, enjoying the good will of the Pontiff and mutually loving each other, the duke of Bisceglia and his wife were living happily together in Rome ; but their bliss was not of long duration. On the 15th of

143. Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. 3, vol. XVII, p. 329.

144. Sanuto and the Venetian ambassador Paolo Capello mistake when they assert that Sermoneta was taken away from Lucretia by her brother Cesar saying : She is but a lady and could not retain it (Albèri, Relazioni, ser. 2, vol. III, p. 11.)

145. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Alex. VI, Div. Cam., 1501-1503. Lib V. Armar. 29, n° 54, f° 149vo.

ST. ALBERT'S COLLEGE LIBRARY

July, 1500, about ten o'clock at night, the Duke, accompanied by a couple of servants, left the Vatican palace for his residence on the other side of St. Peter's [146] ; when, of a sudden, he was assaulted on the covered vestibule of the basilica by several assassins, who, after inflicting three dangerous dagger wounds on his head, shoulder and arm, took to flight through the nearest gate of the city, the " Porta Pertusa ", under the protection of some forty horsemen.

The unfortunate prince was carried by his servants back to the pontifical palace and received the holy sacraments of the dying. His wife and the Pope were notified at once. Lucretia fainted when she saw him, and the Pontiff felt deeply offended by the crime and remained in very bad humor [147]. The Pope appointed at once sixteen men to guard his wounded nephew [148], and summoned not only his own physicians but also the best of the neighboring country to take care of him. The medical staff was soon increased by a learned physician and an experienced surgeon sent by king Frederic of Naples, in consideration of the Sovereign Pontiff ; and the Colonese barons procured another eminent doctor for their special friend, as a token of loyalty to their suzerain [149].

The day after the outrage, Cesar de Borgia, whose troops were in control of the City, issued an order forbidding

---

146. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 437 ; Brandolinus Lippus, ap. Römische Quartalschr., Bd. II, s. 185, 192 ; Alvisi, Cesare Borgia, p. 113, footn. 1 ; Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 428 ; Auct. passim. Gregorovius is misleading when he says that Alfonso was going to the palace where his wife still was, at less than an hour before midnight (Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 148-149).

147. Paolo Capello, ap. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 68, footn., and Ibid., p. 437.

148. Capello, ubi supra; Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 149.

149. Brandolinus Lippus, ap. Römische Quartalschr., Bd. II, s. 192 ; Burchard, Diar., t. III, pp. 68, 437.

anyone, under pain of death, to let himself be seen with arms in the neighborhood of the Vatican [150]. Lucretia de Borgia, Alfonso's faithful wife, and Sancia of Aragon, his sister, were his indefatigable nurses, and cooked his food with their own hands, for fear that poison might be administered to him. At the end of a month he was out of danger, but on the 18th of August, he was found dead [151].

Such are the public and generally admitted facts in the case, but about its further particulars or the culprits, there is no authoritative testimony, and but few contemporaries report uncertain and contradictory rumors, spread among the common people.

Burchard stoically relates first what publicly took place on St. Peter's square, and then what he heard said [152], namely, that Alfonso had been carried to the Vatican Borgia apartments facing on the larger garden ; and, because he refused to die, he was choked to death in his bed. He does not, however, say by whom or by whose orders. The same information was conveyed by others. Paolo Capello, the Venetian ambassador, who by his very office was an enemy of the Borgias, asserts that Cesar was the culprit ; that, namely, one day, he entered the sick room, ordered away Alfonso's wife and sister and called his hangman, Michele, who strangled the young man. In the same dispatch he reports Cesar's positive denial of having committed the deed, and in the next line he asserts that Cesar acknowledged having given the order to kill him because Alfonso was plotting to take his life [153]. Again, Paolo

---

150. Alvisi, Cesare Borgia, p. 108, from Capello's dispatch of the 19th of July ; Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 149.

151. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 73 ; Francis Capellus, the Florentine ambassador, Ibid., pp. 437, 438.

152. Diar., t. III, pp. 68, 73.

153. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 68, footn.

Capello relates [154] how, one day, the convalescent happening to see Cesar walking in the garden, hurried to take his crossbow and from his sick-room window shot an arrow with intent to kill him. The story sounds like nonsense, but Gregorovius [155] reports another version of it ; that, namely, Alfonso had commanded his crossbowmen—of whom he had not one present—, to do the shooting, Nay, it was rumored in Rome that the duke of Bisceglia was plotting also against the life of the Pope. Brandolinus Lippus, the Duke's former teacher, is indignant [156] at all such fictions, really invented to give an air of credibility to the accusations against Cesar de Borgia. Meanwhile, Paolo Capello continues to tell how Cesar, when shot at, became enraged and, this time, did not order Alfonso to be strangled by Michelotto, but employed the men of his bodyguard to cut him to pieces [157]. Another version of Alfonso's death was current in the City, disbelieved, however, by Brandolinus Lippus [158], who relates that Michelotto, Cesar's executioner, excused himself with Lucretia, distracted with grief, by saying that her husband had fallen from his couch upon his wounded head and had bled to death. This rumor is also reported by Franciscus Capellus, the Florentine envoy [159], although there is a slight variation in the account taken from others, who said that the enfeebled man was standing up in his room when Cesar's men intruded, that he fell terror stricken and died suddenly. Capellus [160] is convinced that Lucretia, his wife, and Sancia, his sister, were absent at the time of his death ; for, " considering him as almost cured, they were visiting lady friends ". In a

154. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 429.
155. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 150.
156. Römische Quartalschrift, Bd. II, s. 192.
157. Ap. Pastor, ubi supra.
158. Ubi supra.
159. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 438.
160. Ibid.

cryptograph he further communicated to the Florentine Seigniory [161] that, while some say in Rome that the Duke had been strangled, others pretend that a stiletto was thrust through the wound of his head into his brains. The unreliable Matarazzo, to whom Gregorovius himself denies all credibility [162], heard afterwards [163] that " lo cardinale di Valenza " [164] killed his brother-in-law with his own hand, and, worse yet, Grumello, the chronicler of Pavia [165], wrote that Cesar de Borgia himself invaded the sick man's room, found him lying by his wife, Lucretia, and slew him on the spot, at his own sister's side !

There is, finally, one more witness to be heard, the contemporary Biagio Buonaccorsi, a secretary of the Florentine " Magnifici Dieci ", Counsellors of War, who was in a position to be well informed since all the circumstances had been duly investigated, and who records as follows [166] : " The duke of Biselli, leaving the palace one night, was assaulted on the steps of St. Peter's and mortally wounded, and he finally died of his injuries ". And he makes no commentary.

Such is the circumstantial evidence of this historic criminal case ; so uncertain, discordant, contradictory, that, to-day, it would simply be thrown out of court. The charge of violence done to the duke of Bisceglia in his sick room would be entered upon the records as a non-suit, and the testimony of Buonaccorsi would form the substance of the judge's opinion. Certainly, no man would be found guilty of the alleged second assault, after the more reliable witnesses have stated that the culprit is unknown and the motive a secret. Indeed, Brandolinus Lippus gives no name

161. Ibid., p. 439.
162. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 181.
163. Alvisi, Cesare Borgia, p. 113, footn.
164. Sic, for Cesar, duke of Valentinois.
165. Alvisi, ibid.
166. Diario de' Sucessi piu importanti seguiti in Italia... dall' anno 1498, insino all' anno 1512. Edit., Firenze, 1568, p. 51.

of any suspect [167], nor did he know of any reason or cause of the misdeed. Neither Burchard nor the author of the Neapolitan chronicle say who committed the crime, and the latter shows that he did not know it [168]. Franciscus Capellus [169] writes : " We can not hear of any cause of his death ", and " there are such conflicting comments of the occurrence, that it is easier to conjecture than to learn the truth ".

Gregorovius makes a similar remark [170], but nevertheless continues to make use of the same absurd reports. He boldly renews and even exaggerates against the Borgias, in general, and against Cesar, in particular, the groundless assertions of writers to whom he afterwards [171] refuses any claim to belief and whose vile calumnies he takes the trouble to refute. W. Gilbert [172] discusses the incrimination of Cesar de Borgia by Paolo Capello and the numerous enemies of the Borgias, who lived in distant localities and wrote at different times, and are headed by Malipiero, Guicciardini and Çurita ; and he comes to the conclusion that the charge is likely false. Creighton [173] and Pastor [174], who cannot be suspected of partiality to the Borgia house, deny even a probability of Cesar's guilt.

The prudential secrecy, under which the young prince was cared for, within the precincts of the Vatican, was likely to excite suspicion among the people who, it is reported, loved him and were eager to receive favorable information ; till, at last, they were shocked by the unavoidable announcement

---

167. Römische Quartalschrift, Bd. II, s. 185, 192 : " Facinoris authorem supprimo, suspitionem aperio ".
168. Alvisi, Cesare Borgia, p. 108.
169. Ubi supra, pp. 438, 439.
170. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 149.
171. Ibid., s. 181, 182.
172. Lucr. Borgia, Duchess of Ferrara, vol. I, pp. 11-15.
173. A History of the Papacy, vol IV, p. 11.
174. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 429.

of his death. It was wise policy to give them full and satisfactory knowledge of the circumstances. Burchard tells that the physicians of the deceased man were arrested and led to the fortress of Sant'Angelo, together with a hunchback who had been his ordinary nurse ; and an inquest was held against them ; but afterwards they were released because found innocent, as they were well known to be by those who had ordered their capture [175]. Brandolinus Lippus relates that among the prisoners were the uncle of Lucretia de Borgia, Jofre, lord of Villalonga, and an orator of the king of Spain [176]. Capellus likewise informs his Florentine masters, that some of Alfonso's friends were taken to the fortress by armed men and strictly examined, times and again, by the governor of the City ; but until that day nothing of interest had yet been detected [177].

It will be noticed that this indictment and investigation of the duke of Bisceglia's intimates was a perilous move, should Cesar de Borgia or any of his relatives have been to blame ; but, innocent as they were, the governor feared not to use these peculiar, more than satisfactory, means, to check all suspicious thoughts and comments against the Borgias.

Gregorovius agrees with all other historians in stating [178] that, from the dispatches of the Venetian ambassador, it is evident that the Duke was murdered against the will of pope Alexander VI, who even tried to save his life ; but who would, after that, expect to hear that historian say, in the same paragraph, that he has no arguments to oppose to a suspicion of the Pope himself having planned or, at least, approved the crime ? Passion obscures the brightest minds.

---

175. Diar., t. III, p. 73.
176. Römische Quartalschrift, Bd. II, s. 192.
177. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 438.
178. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 150.

Fortunately, Gregorovius does not suspect Lucretia, although some of her more modern detractors, as Gilbert remarks [179], have not hesitated to accuse her of taking part in the murder of her husband ; because she remained on friendly terms with her brother, Cesar de Borgia. But so did Pope, cardinals and priests [180], so did every one else ; because no one believed Cesar guilty. No person, says von Reumont [181], could be more innocent than Lucretia.

But who, after all, were the real slayers of the duke of Bisceglia ? Alfonso was struck late at night under the balcony of St. Peter's basilica ; and the hired assassins, with forty horsemen, hurriedly fled away from the City. These details point to one of the lawless baronial families who raided Rome on many other occasions ; and Paolo Capello's first announcement of the assault charged with the crime the same one who had murdered Giovanni de Borgia, duke of Gandia. Pastor [182] is likely right when he says : " It is altogether probable that the frightful deed was done by the Orsini, who thought the prince to be plotting against them, with their inveterate antagonists, the Colonna ". We have noticed before that Alfonso was, indeed, an intimate friend of the Colonnese barons.

The duke of Bisceglia had for a long time been suffering from festering wounds, and had now died during the hottest season of the year. His corpse could not be kept in the Vatican. Gregorovius's account is misleading when he writes [183] : " Without song or sound, in wierd silence was the prince, after being throttled, carried away into

179. Lucr. Borgia, Duchess of Ferrara, vol. I, p. 19.
180. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 150.
181. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. III, p. I, s. 205.
182. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 429.
183. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 149.

St. Peter's ". In fact, Burchard places the death at three o'clock in the afternoon and the burial at about the first hour of the night, or, as Capellus states, at four o'clock of the evening, that is, about ten o'clock P. M. The diarist adds that the corpse was accompanied by Francis de Borgia, archbishop of Cosenza and treasurer of the Pope, and by the members of his household ; or, as the ambassador reports, by twenty priests and twenty torchbearers. The remains were deposited by the side of those of Calixtus III in the subterranean chapel of Our Lady of Fevres. The burial solemnities were, of course, postponed ; but the duke of Valentinois, Cesar de Borgia, and all his relatives and courtiers were conspicuous in their black vestments [184].

A whole page of unhistorical vagaries leads Gregorovius [185] to charge pope Alexander VI with truly inhuman cruelty ; for, he says that while Lucretia de Borgia knelt in the pangs of grief at the fresh grave of her beloved husband, he tried to crush her under the weight of his ill will, and sent her into exile. The historian compensates this calumny by saying, a few pages farther, that after a couple of months the Pontiff treated her again with scandalous nepotism. Burchard simply records the facts [186], as we might have expected them : " On Monday, the last of August, 1500, the Magnificent Lady Lucretia, lately de Aragonia, the Pope's daughter, [187] left Rome on her way to the city of Nepi, accompanied by six hundred horsemen or thereabouts, to seek consolation or diversion, in the sorrows and agitation

184. Burchard, Diar., t. III, pp. 73, 438 ; Alvisi, Cesare Borgia, p. 112.

185. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 152.

186. Diar., t. III, p. 74.

187. Burchard often manifests his respect for pope Alexander VI, and uses the terms of " son " and " daughter " not to revile him, but rather, like the common people most devoted to him, to praise his charity towards relations, at one time in distress.

which she suffered, these last days, at the death of her husband, the Most Illustrious Alfonso of Aragon, duke of Bisceglia and prince of Salerno ". In the comparative solitude of her castle of Nepi she could indulge her sadness amid surroundings that corresponded with the dark feelings of her soul.

From this place Lucretia wrote several letters, of which some have been preserved [188]. By the one of October 28th, 1500, she orders her Roman agent Vincent Giordano, to forward some clothing for Roderic, her child, and to recommend her, in her affliction, to the prayers of all religious communities. By that of the 30th, she sends Giordano to the cardinal of Cosenza to make arrangements for a Requiem Mass for the soul of the Lord Duke, her late husband, " may he be in saintly glory ". During the month of December, she writes to him again, telling that she must not go to Rome and thus all is well with her, that she has reasons to thank God and His glorious mother and, therefore, wants him to have a mass of thanks offered as soon as possible. She fears, however, that her quiet life cannot last in Nepi, and declares she is going to Rome, reluctantly, being so provoked at the thought of it [189], that she can write no more, but must weep all the time.— She was needed in Rome on account of new marriage schemes.

Çurita relates [190] that king Frederic, at the death of the duke of Bisceglia, required his little son, Roderic, to be sent to Naples ; but, as we noticed already, Lucretia took her infant to Nepi with her and tenderly cared for him. She also retained possession, in the orphan's name, of the estates of her lamented husband ; and, in the Spring of the

188. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. II, nr. 25, 26b, 26c, or pp. 78-83.

189. The contrary is Gregorovius' interpretation.

190. Hist. del Rey Don Hernando, lib. IV, cap. 22, f° 193.

year 1501, the Pontiff made it a condition of his investiture of the French king, Louis XII, with the kingdom of Naples, that the principality of Salerno and Sanseverino should be left to his niece, or compensated by other concessions. She was in a similar manner confirmed in the enjoyment of the large estates and revenues which she and her son owned in the southern provinces, that were to belong to the kings of Spain [191].

Lucretia returned to Rome probably at the beginning of the year 1501.

ARTICLE V. — LUCRETIA MARRIED WITH ALFONSO OF ESTE.

Already in November of the year, 1500, Gregorovius says [192], people commenced to talk of a marriage with Alfonso, the heir apparent of the duchy of Ferrara, a childless widower of lady Anna Sforza, twenty-four years old ; and the Venetian ambassador, Marino Zorzi, mentioned the plan in a dispatch of the 26th of that month. Gilbert [193] rebukes Gibbon for telling, in his History of the House of Brunswick, that Lucretia's marriage with Alfonso of Este was arranged before the death of her husband, the duke of Bisceglia. Gregorovius's prejudice is the only reason to make him say that such is a fact beyond doubt, although the very first historical data relating thereto are of the 18th of February, 1501.

It seems that even in the beginning of November, 1500, shortly after Lucretia had become a widow, there were in the field two noble suitors contending for her hand. Franciscus Capellus, the Florentine envoy, wrote on the 9th of November, 1500, that, taking the advice of cardinal Orsini, his

191. See Document 46.
192. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 170.
193. Lucr. Borgia in Ferrara, vol. I, p. 17.

nephew, Franciscus Orsini, duke of Gravina, who at the time was a condottiere of the Pope [194] had left his Neapolitan castle to come to Rome and make his application personally ; but the cardinal was now in bad humor and had retired from the court, thinking that the Orsini were losing to their rivals, the Colonna, who were in turn petted by the Pope and given hope of a family alliance [195]. Yet, at Christmastide there was still much talk of the possible success of the duke of Gravina [196].

It would seem that Lucretia de Borgia did not, at the time, look in reality as she was afterwards painted in literature. When she was a widow once and, apparently a second time, she was still a coveted prize, striven for by the highest Italian noblemen, lax in their estimation of a man's moral worth, but fastidious in regard to the extraction, the character and qualities of a lady to be admitted as an actual member of their illustrious houses.

Of the candidates mentioned, the most eligible evidently was Alfonso of Este. His father, Ercole, the duke of Ferrara, had earned the friendship of his suzerain, the Pontiff, on account of the great services rendered to that pontifical city ; while his diplomatical influence and military power, like those of his son after him, if they could be secured by an alliance with the Borgias, would form a strong bulwark for the Pontifical States on their northern frontier. No wonder if pope Alexander VI was desirous of such a union, but there was little hope of success after the king of France himself had sent his general d'Aubigny to offer his own niece, Louise, the youthful dowager of the

194. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Div. Cam. 1497-1501. Armar. 29, n° 53, f° 216vo.

195. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 442.

196. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 170.

duchy of Angoulême, as a bride for Ercole's son, Alfonso [197].

On the 18th of February, 1501, the cardinal John Baptist Ferrari, who had long been in the service of duke Ercole, wrote to him, exposing the signal advantages that would accrue to his State from a union of his son with Lucretia de Borgia [198]. The proposal of king Louis XII had not been accepted, and the duke did not fail to realize the strength of the cardinal's arguments ; but it would have been no diplomatic move to admit the niece of a Pope and, at the same time, refuse the one of a powerful king of France. The Pontiff understood the motives of Ercole's refusal. He saw, however, an opportunity to transform a competitor into an auxiliary.

Louis XII needed his consent and assistance in order to march his army through the Pontifical States against the kingdom of Naples and to legalize his intended conquest. He could not well refuse him a small service. Pope Alexander VI sent an envoy to France in order to request the King's intercession with the duke of Ferrara in favor of Lucretia's desired marriage. The King, for the sake of pride and of political interests, refused at first ; but Ferrari insisted in Ferrara, and the Pope was assured of success by a letter of the 1st of May, 1501, which the cardinal had received from the Duke, saying that he was in favor of the union, especially on account of the proximity of Cesar de Borgia's estates [199] ; that is, as Jovius expresses it [200], in order to secure his own possessions, held as pontifical fiefs, and threatened with invasion by Cesar, only a few months before [201].

---

197. Muratori, Antich, Esten, vol. 2, p. 267 ; Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 171-172, and footn. 1.

198. Gregorovius, Ibid., s. 171, footn.

199. Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 459, footn. 1.

200. Vita Alfonsi Atestini,

201. Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. I. Append., vol. II, p. 244.

On the 22d of June, 1501, Monseigneur de Trans, the most influential courtier of Louis XII, advised Ercole to consent, yet upon the condition of an exorbitant dower. Soon after, the French cardinal d'Amboise emphasized that counsel, and the King himself withdrew the offer of his niece. The duke of Ferrara wished no better. On the 8th of July, he sent word to the King, letting him know that he had resolved to do his royal bidding and to approve the marriage [202]. The will of the French king became his excuse with all who opposed the coming nuptials.

When it was too late, Louis XII wrote to Ferrara, on the 10th, 14th and 21st of July, that the duke should not hurry, nor send his son, Ferrante, to Rome to conclude the transaction till he should himself come to Milan during the next following month of September ; that he was keeping his word to give his niece to Alfonso ; and he manifested throughout his displeasure at the marriage with Lucretia de Borgia [203]. As late as August the 8th, he advised Ercole to profit by the occasion as much as possible, and offered as a wife for his son any lady he might choose in the whole kingdom of France [204].

The intended alliance was not only disagreeable to Louis XII, but it scared Bologna and Florence, being as they were on unfriendly terms with Cesar de Borgia ; and it was but natural if Venice did not hide its profound dissatisfaction at the coalition of two neighboring powers, upon whose territories it was constantly keeping a covetous eye. Even Maximilian of Germany tried to dissuade the duke of Ferrara. All this opposition proved to Ercole what an increase of power and universal consideration this mar-

---

202. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 174 and footn. 1, 2.
203. Gregorovius, Ibid., s. 174 and footn. 3.
204. Ibid., s. 185.

riage was to procure him, and it made him all the more resolute in his determination, as his letters to the Pontiff, written about the 25th of August, 1501, manifestly show [205].

The future bridegroom, Alfonso himself, was reluctant at first [206]; but was, already in the month of July, reconciled to his union with Lucretia. He soon declared her to be his free choice [207] and afterwards learned to love her and bitterly wept at her death.

The negotiations regarding Lucretia's dower were commenced immediately after Ercole's and Alfonso's preliminary consent. Following the suggestion of the French king, the Duke claimed two hundred thousand ducats in coin and twenty thousand in jewels, the exemption of all tribute for the duchy of Ferrara, the investiture of the cities of Cento and Pieve and of Porto Cesenatico, besides several benefices for his son, the cardinal Hippolito. This was excessive, more than the endowment of an empress. Pope Alexander VI consented to pay one-half of the money, this being his personal concern or, rather, that of Lucretia; and he was also willing to reduce the tribute of the ducal possessions. Relying on the intelligent fairness of his College of Cardinals, he accepted, by notarial act, on the 26th of August, 1501, the substance of Ercole's demands, thus modified and to be more specially adjusted in the future [208].

The duke of Ferrara was satisfied with the Pontiff's terms, and the marriage of Lucretia with his son Alfonso was solemnized by proxy with the essential words " de presenti

---

205. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 451; Gregorovius, ubi supra, s. 187.

206. Muratori, Antich. Esten, vol. 2, p. 268; Frizzi, Memor. per la Storia di Ferrara; Gregorovius, ubi supra, s. 171, 177.

207. Gregorovius, Ibid., s. 176, 220.

208. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 184, seq.; Muratori, Antich. Esten, vol. 2, p. 168; Gilbert, Lucrezia Borgia in Ferrara, p. 23, footn.; Gottlob, Aus der Camera Apostolica, s. 230.

vis, volo ", on the 1st of September, 1501, at the castle Belfiore in Ferrara. The only omission was the presentation of the nuptial ring, which was to be supplied afterwards in Rome [209]. On the same day Ercole wrote to Lucretia, now his daughter-in-law, that so far he had loved her on account of her virtues, of the Pontiff and of her brother, Cesar ; but now, he loved her more than a daughter [210].

Shortly before, on the 27th of July, 1501, the Pope absented himself from the City for a few days and, fully trusting his niece whilst distrusting others, he is said to have appointed her, not to govern the Vatican palace, as Pastor says [211], much less to govern the Church from her Vatican residence, as Matagne seems to intimate [212], but simply to take care of his private apartments, " cameras Pape " ; and it is also said that he allowed her to open letters addressed to him privately. Burchard, who, strangely enough, heard of this, is careful to add that he was no witness to it all [213]. The shocking pleasantry, " ubi est penna vestra ? ", which concludes Burchard's relation, casts a serious doubt upon the authenticity of the whole report, and vitiates its credibility ; for the diarist is no licentious writer, nor could the exemplary cardinal de Costa have repeated to him, nor a lady, Lucretia, have expressed the vulgar allusion. Neither did Burchard invent the ridiculous blunder of Gregorovius, who makes the Pope's housekeeper a president of the Sacred Consistory [214]. That she could not so much as allow a cardinal to be buried in St. Peter's crypt, follows from Burchard's next entry [215].

---

209. Gregorovius, ubi supra, s. 187, 219, and Bd. II, nr. 34, s. 109.
210. Ibid., s. 187.
211. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 448.
212. Rev. des Quest. Hist., vol. XI, p. 184.
213. Diar., t. III, p. 154.
214. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 176.
215. Ubi supra, p. 155.

Helped by her venerable cousin and former guardian, Lucretia acquitted herself so well, that she was entrusted with the same office during the Pontiff's following excursions, for a short time, on the 25th of September, and again on the 10th of October till the 17th [216]. These honorable, though trivial, duties, required from her, provoked neither criticism nor remark from any contemporary. None but the latest enemies of the Church or of pope Alexander VI are scandalized or blush for shame [217].

The news of Lucretia's marriage in Ferrara was announced in Rome, on the 4th of September, 1501, by the boom of cannon from the castle of Sant' Angelo. The next day, the bride went in solemn procession to the church of Santa Maria del Popolo, to invoke the protection of the Blessed Virgin on the coming event. Bonfires were lit all over the city [218]. Her marriage was an occasion of public rejoicings also in neighboring places, as in Nepi, where Lucretia was well known. At Città Castellana, the grand council resolved, on the 5th of September, 1501, to celebrate it with popular dances and large fires built in open air at night [219].

It had now become time for pope Alexander VI to fulfil the conditions agreed upon with duke Ercole, concerning the reduction of the census of the duchy of Ferrara due to the pontifical treasury, and the extension of its territories.

The Pope had no difficulty in making the Sacred College understand how the marriage of his niece was to be to the advantage of the Pontifical States, in that it would assure the Roman Pontiff of a faithful ally in case of attack from

---

216. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 164, where the dates are somewhat confused.

217. Gregorovius, Pastor and Matagne, ubi supra.

218. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 161 ; Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. II, s. 190.

219. Archivio Communale, Consigli Secreti, at the date.

other neighbors, as actually happened in the year 1506. In that year Alfonso, having become duke of Ferrara, sent auxiliary troops to the camp of pope Julius II in his war against Venice, helped him recuperate Romagna and in the year 1509, defeated the Venetian fleet, on the Po [220]. The immediate effect of the union was to give a free hand to Cesar de Borgia, the captain of the Church, in further subjecting her rebel feudatories.

Pope Sixtus IV had granted to Borso d'Este and to his lawful heirs, to the third generation, the personal title of dukes of Ferrara. Pope Alexander VI made the dignity local also, by erecting Ferrara with its territory into a regular duchy, and secured the ducal honors to Ercole and his successors by primogeniture forever, by his bull of September 17th, 1501.

The tribute first imposed was of four thousand gold ducats for Ferrara itself, and of one hundred with a pound of pure silver for its dependencies ; and it had been paid occasionally, to suit the vassal [221], as on September 1st, 1496, on January 15th and August 1st, 1499[222]. By the same bull, the Pontiff reduced the census to one hundred yearly ducats, payable on the feast of St. Peter and Paul by Ercole, by his son Alfonso and by Alfonso's successor born of him and of Lucretia de Borgia. Farther heirs of the duchy of Ferrara should, however, pay a yearly tribute of one thousand ducats [223].

All the cardinals present at the consistory consented, Burchard says [224] ; and these concessions were afterwards

---

220. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 323, 335.

221. Gottlob, Aus der Camera, s. 230.

222. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Introitus et Exitus, vol. 528, 530 and 531, at the dates.

223. See Document 48.

224. Diar., t. III, p. 163.

confirmed by the Roman Pontiffs, Julius II and Leo X [225].

Still another concession was made to Ferrara. The extensive territories of the castles of Cento and Pieve were situated so low, that they were either taken up by lakes and marshes, or were often flooded by the river Rhen or Reno ; and, on such occasions, the making or breaking of small dikes frequently gave occasion to private quarrels and murders.

The lands could not be protected against inundations but by expensive works and drainage into the river Po, that ran through the duchy of Ferrara ; and the suffering people looked to Ercole of Este for their only possible safety. When the Pontiff was made cognizant of these sad conditions, he readily obtained all needed consent of John Stephen Ferreri, the archbishop of Bologna, to whom the castles belonged, but whose loss would entail little or no damage, which the Pope, moreover, offered to compensate ; and he transferred the two places and their districts to the duchy of Ferrara, on the 28th of January, 1502 [226]. Pope Julius II consented to this grant, after hostilities about it with Ercole's successor, duke Alfonso ; and pope Leo X confirmed it in the month of April, 1513 [227].

Burchard says [228] that Pieve and Cento were given as further dot of Lucretia, and misleads Gregorovius [229], who further misstates that cardinal Giuliano della Rovere was still archbishop of Bologna at that time ; but the very date of the bull just referred to, and all its contents show the

---

225. Muratori, Antich. Esten, vol. II, pp. 317, seq. — After obtaining an extension of time, Ercole paid the reduced census on the 28th of July, 1502 ; and, at his request, the Pope excused him from paying for the next following year : Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Alex. VI, Secr., an. I, lib. I, Regest. 867, f° 96.

226. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Alex VI. Secret., an. I, ad XI, lib. V. Regest. 871, f° 310vo.

grant to have been made exclusively for the greater good of the inhabitants.

About the same time, in the year 1501, the Pontiff approved the cession of the districts of Argente and Lugo and of the village of San Petito made by the archbishop of Ravenna to the duke Ercole and his descendants ; one of his motives being the fealty and devotedness of the family d'Este towards the Holy See [230].

The official papers of Lucretia's dowry were being drawn up, when an incident is said to have taken place in the Vatican, which, if true, would have debarred her not only from the palaces of the Este but also from the homes of all decent families. In Thuasne's edition of Burchard's Diary is printed an unprintable description of a bestial scene at the apartments of Cesar de Borgia, at which the Pontiff and the recently married Lucretia are reported to have been spectators.

It is evident that Burchard, the alleged informer, was not an ocular witness of the scandal ; again, that nowhere else does he indulge in such pornography, and that on no other occasion does he report occurrences told by others, to ruin the character of any of the Borgias [231]. Hence it is no wonder if every modern historian either denies or, at least, discusses the genuineness of this Diary's passage [232]. The authors who belittle pope Alexander VI, generally mention a couple of contemporaries, whose statements disagree in every detail [233], in particular Matarazzo, who is of no author-

---

227. Hergenroether, Leonis X Regesta, p. 136, n° 2343.
228. Diar., t. III, p. 189.
229. Lucr. Borgia, vol. I, s. 198.
230. Paris, Archiv. Nation., L. 378, caps. 34, n° 21. Arm. 5, cap. I, n° 41.
231. Cfr. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 180.
232. Pieper, ap. Römische Quartalschr. 1893, s. 396.
233. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 167, footn. 2 ; Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 452, footn. 1.

ity, as Gregorovius says [234], in order to establish both the authenticity and the credibility of the Diary's report. Pastor [235] admits the filthy particular as a counterpart of a pretended carousal in Siena, which, after all, amounted to nothing, as we shall see farther on. Yet, in a footnote, he agrees that the whole affair is undoubtedly exaggerated. The bitter Protestant and erudite historian, Gregorovius, who calls it in his History of the City of Rome [236] a fib and worthless tale, puts the question in his later history of Lucretia Borgia [237] : " Where is the man who will believe that Lucretia, already the legally declared wife of Alfonso of Este and on the point of departing for Ferrara, was the approving beholder of such infamy " ? Matarazzo [238] asserts that the scandal was known not only by the people of Rome but of all Italy. This remark, Gregorovius says [239], indicates the source of the scandalous report : a rumor among the populace, which may have originated from some feast given by Cesar de Borgia. Should Matarazzo's statement be correct, we might well wonder that historians, like Guicciardini, or poets, like Sanazzaro and Pontano, do not say a word of the outrageous occurrence. And how did it happen that the Roman envoys of Ferrara, who were anxious to gather information about the bride of their prince, never heard of it, but wrote to their master, a few days after, that Lucretia was a lady of great amiability, reserve and modesty [240]? Burchard's item is not unlikely an interpolation made at the time of pope Julius II.

When Lucretia's dowry was settled to the satisfaction of the duke Ercole, he sent, as an escort of honor on her journey to Ferrara, the three brothers of her bridegroom :

---

234. Ubi supra, s. 181.
235. Ubi supra, s. 451-452.
236. Bd. VII, s. 456.
237. Bd. I, s. 181.
238. Ap. Gregorovius, ibid.
239. Ibid.
240. Ibid., s. 216.

the cardinal Hippolite, Ferrante and Sigismund, with a splendid company of noblemen, who, on December 23d, 1501, arrived at the gates of Rome, where they were brilliantly received, and entertained in the City for several days with all kinds of festivities [241].

It was admitted that the marriage of Alfonso of Este and Lucretia de Borgia, as celebrated in Ferrara, was sacramental and valid, although some ceremonies, customary in Rome and in Ferrara, like the surrender of the nuptial ring, had been omitted. Alfonso, however, had especially commissioned his brother Ferrante to renew, in his name, the contract with all its usual formalities, in order to make it more dignified, stately and sacred. On the 28th of December, 1501, a large and most brilliant assemblage of cardinals, bishops, nobility and royal representatives had gathered in the Vatican ; and, after the mutual consent of marriage had been renewed, Ferrante took the hand of the bride and slipped the nuptial ring on her finger at the same time saying these words : The illustrious lord Alfonso, your spouse, has of his own choice sent you, Illustrious Lady Lucretia, this marriage ring, which I present to you in his name. Lucretia responded : And I accept it willingly and freely [242].

On the evening of the 30th, the bride received, in the presence of the Pope and of thirteen cardinals, the jewels valued at eight thousand ducats, which her husband had sent to her by his brothers.

Burchard was wrongly informed when he said [243] that, on the 4th of January, 1502, the Pontiff counted into the hands of Ferrante and Sigismund d'Este the sum of one hundred thousand ducats, the dot of Lucretia, in coin. This detail

241. Burchard, Diar., t. III, pp. 174, seq.

242. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, B. II, nr. 34, s. 111.

243. Diar., t. III, p. 187.

seems strange, especially after we know that the Pontiff and the duke of Ferrara were transacting their financial business by means of their bankers, the Strozi company [244] and others ; and we find it corrected by Pozzi and Saraceni, who wrote to the duke Ercole, on the 2d of January, 1502, that on that day and the day before, his treasurer, Ziliolo, had received about twenty-seven thousand ducats—whether in specie or in drafts, they do not say—and expected to receive the rest the following day, all but five thousand ducats made payable in Ferrara by the firm of the Genucii, without discount and before their return [245].

To Lucretia herself was confided the papal document erecting the city of Ferrara into a duchy and reducing the amount of its census.

ARTICLE VI. — LUCRETIA DE BORGIA IN FERRARA.

Preceded by a long train of wagons, conveying her personal effects, and escorted by two hundred horsemen, Lucretia de Borgia left Rome for ever, on the 5th of January, 1502 [246]. Gregorovius by mistake names the 6th. She was accompanied by the Ferrarese delegates and a numerous court of the most distinguished Roman nobility.

Ercole's envoys wrote to Ferrara that she was received all along her journey with demonstrations of respect and affection, especially in the cities where she was known as the former Lady of Spoleto and its neighborhood [247]. While Nepi was to care for two hundred horse of her escort,

244. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Introitus et Exitus, vol. 531, at Aug. 1st, 1499.

245. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. II, nr 36, s. 114.

246. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 188.

247. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. II, nr. 39, s. 122.

during two nights and a day [248], the council of Città Castellana resolved, on the 2d of January, 1502, to receive the duchess as honorably as possible, and charged the executive board with making the arrangements of the festivities, calling well spent the money that they might lay out for the purpose [249].

From Bologna to Ferrara the bride gladly availed herself of the accommodations of a well appointed canal boat. When arriving at Castle Bentivoglio she had a pleasant surprise, for her husband, the prince Alfonso, who had been waiting there, called on her. She received him with demonstrations of respect and affability, which Alfonso reciprocated in a gallant manner. After a two hours' meeting the prince hurried back to Ferrara, where, at the head of a most brilliant cavalcade, he received Lucretia on the 2d of February, 1502 [250].

Tired of a week's festivities, the princely couple took up their abode in the high and beautifully located " Castello Vecchio ", Old Castle, which stands until this day as a remarkable monument of medieval architecture [251]. Here Lucretia continued her former virtuous and pious life, in greater retirement and tranquillity than she had ever enjoyed before, although she had her periods of adversity.

On the 5th of September, 1502, a miscarriage brought her to the very verge of death. Her consort showed her the tenderest affection, hardly ever leaving her sick bed. Her brother, Cesar, came to her on the 7th and stayed for two days, and the Pope sent her his ablest physician. Lucretia rallied, and, wishing to pass the time of her convalescence in the edifying solitude of a convent, she was conducted

248. Archiv. Commun. di Nepi, Libri de Brevibus, f° 20.

249. Archiv. Commun. di Città Castellana, Consigli Secreti, at the date.

250. Gregorovius, ubi supra, Bd. I, s. 241, 245.

251. Ibid., s. 275.

by her whole court to the Sisters of " Corpus Domini ", where she improved so rapidly that, on the 22d of October, she was able to return to the palace, to the great joy of the whole city, as the duke Ercole wrote to Rome, and especially of her husband, who, soon after, went on a pilgrimage to Our Lady of Loretto, in order to fulfil a vow that he had made in behalf of his wife's safety [252].

The latter half of the following year, 1503, was very trying for Lucretia. It is easily understood how keenly she must have felt the death of pope Alexander VI, which occurred on the 18th of August. That Pontiff had been, indeed, her protector and foster-father since her childhood, and Bembo in his letter of condolence to the bereaved lady was justified in calling him her great father ; for as a father by charity he had treated her [253].

The consequence of this misfortune for her brother, Cesar, besides the fears for her son Roderic, who had also enjoyed the Pontiff's benevolence, was another cause of grief and anxiety. During the short reign of Pope Pius III, the status of Cesar de Borgia underwent but little change ; but his doom was sealed by the elevation of cardinal Giuliano della Rovere to the supreme pontificate. After getting away from the hands of pope Julius II, Cesar was treacherously arrested in Naples by the Spanish general Consalvo, who had given him a safe-conduct ; he was sent to Spain, where he was imprisoned at Medina del Campo. Lucretia, at that time duchess of Ferrara, repeatedly pleaded with king Ferdinand to obtain her brother's liberty, but in vain. In October, 1506, the prisoner finally escaped to the king of Navarra, in whose service he fell in an ambush before the town of Viana, on the 12th of March, 1507. Lucretia had

---

252. Ibid., s. 286, 287.
253. Bembo could not have used the term, if any dishonor or blame had attached to it.

also taken under her protection Cesar's little son, Giovanni, whom she even took with her to her court, while she was forbidden by the laws of society to harbor in Ferrara her own child, Roderic [254].

Another occasion of sadness had been for Lucretia the death of her father-in-law, duke Ercole, who had treated her like his own daughter.

Her husband had now inherited the duchy, as Alfonso I, and she had become duchess of Ferrara. She had won already universal respect and affection, and her advanced position naturally increased her beneficial influence. While Alfonso was engaged in the more practical work of diplomacy, of warlike preparations and of war itself, the duchess was the soul of mental and literary activity in the capital city, and the patroness of Ferrarese and neighboring poets, who gratefully sang her exalted qualities [255].

She was, Gregorovius says [256], the mother of the people, for she listened to, and assisted all sufferers. When war brought about high prices and famine and the reduction of her income, Lucretia pawned her jewelry to help the poor. She gave up the pomps and vanities of the world, to which she had been accustomed from youth, as Jovius testifies ; and she became the leader of the Ferrarese society ladies in simplicity and modesty of dress. She continued her practices of piety and established religious institutions and hospitals.

Gregorovius himself testifies to her exemplary life, but tries to obscure the luster of her good works, when he casts over all of them the gloom of a pagan philosophical remark, saying that bigotry is the last form of female vanity left to the choice of women who have lived a high life [257] ; and this

254. Gregorovius Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 324, 342, seq.
255. Ibid., s. 111, seq.
256. Ibid., s. 345.
257. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 345, 346.

remark he applies to a lady not yet thirty years old, the defence of whose morality he had formerly taken upon himself. Pastor [258] is bitter and unjust, when he places Lucretia Borja by the side of a Vitellozo Vitelli and of a Catharina Sforza, and says that she tried to expiate by acts of piety and charity the guilt of her frivolous youth.

The main occupation of the duchess of Ferrara was the education of her children ; but, during the absences of the Duke, she was sometimes charged also with the government of the State. She gave proof of great intelligence and justice in the performance of these important duties, as when she issued an order for the severe punishment of such as had maltreated Jews living in Ferrara [259]. Her subjects admired her wise judgment and foresight, and Aldo Manutius, in his dedication of Strozzi's poems, not only lauded her for her piety, her liberality towards the poor and her kindness to all, but he also specially remarked that she had proved to be an excellent regent of the duchy [260].

Lucretia de Borgia died in childbirth, still young, on the 24th of June, 1519.

Gregorovius quotes in full [261] the letter which she wrote in a dying condition to pope Leo X, the one of her husband announcing her demise to his nephew, Frederic Gonzague [262], and that of Giovanni Gonzaga, who assisted at her burial [263]. These letters are a touching, magnificent panegyric of the regretted duchess of Ferrara.

Gregorovius is not apt to relate an untruth in favor of any of the Borgias, and we may, therefore, safely copy those letters from him :

---

258. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 68.
259. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. II, nr. 55.
260. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia. Bd. I, s. 335, 336.
261. Ibid. Bd. I, s. 364 and Bd. II, nr. 62.
262. Ibid., Bd. I, s. 365.
263. Ibid., s. 366.

" To the Holy Father and My most venerable Blessed Lord : With all possible reverence of my soul I kiss the holy feet of Your Beatitude, and humbly recommend myself to your saintly favor. After having suffered much for two months from a painful pregnancy, I gave birth in the morning of the 14th of this month to a little daughter, as it pleased to God ; and I hoped that, after I was relieved of the burden, my suffering also would be alleviated ; but the contrary has happened, so that I am forced to surrender to nature. Our most clement Creator has done me so much of a favor, that I am aware of the nearness of my life's end, and I feel that after a few hours I shall be out of this world, yet not before receiving all the Holy Sacraments of the Church. And in this condition I have thought of beseeching Your Holiness to deign and give my soul some assistance from the spiritual treasury, together with your holy blessing. And I recommend in your saintly favor my consort and my children, who all are the servants of Your Holiness. From Ferrara, the 22d of June, 1519, at the fourteenth hour.

Of Your Beatitude the humble servant,

Lucretia d'Este [264]. "

Gregorovius sensibly adds this remark : " That letter is so calm and so grave, so free of all excitement that we may well ask ourselves, whether it could have been written by a dying woman conscious of the crimes of which Lucretia Borgia had been accused " [265].

When pope Leo X heard the announcement of her death, he remarked : " We are sorry for it, because we considered her as devoted to us and as a protectress of the rights of the Church " [266].

Two days after, the duchess of Ferrara departed, and

---

264. From the State Archives in Modena.

265. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 364.

266. Ibid., footn. 1.

this is the dispatch which her husband sent at once to his nephew, Frederic Gonzaga, of Mantua :

" Most Illustrious Lord, My honorable brother and nephew. It has pleased God to call to him at this hour the soul of the Illustrious duchess, my dearest spouse. I could not neglect apprising you of this, because of our mutual friendship,which makes me believe that the weal and the woe of the one are also those of the other. Nor can I write this without shedding tears, so hard is it to see myself robbed of a companion so dear and so sweet ; for such she was by her good manners and the tender love that existed between us. In such a bitter loss, I would look for help in the consolations from Your Excellency, but I know that you also will take your share in the affliction, and it will please me better to have one mingle his tears with mine than give me words of consolation. I recommend myself to Your Lordship. Ferrara, the 24th of June, 1519, at the fifth hour of the night.

Alfonso, duke of Ferrara [267]. ".

The Marquis Gonzaga sent to Ferrara his uncle Giovanni, who wrote back to him :

" Your Excellency should not wonder if I tell you that I shall leave here tomorrow, for the funeral services are not to be celebrated now ; the offices were observed in the parish churches only. Yet, His Excellency, the lord duke has personally accompanied his Illustrious spouse to her grave. She is buried in the convent of the Sisters of Corpus Christi, in the same vault in which also his mother was laid away ; and, more than all others, did His ducal Highness manifest special grief. The people here tell great things of her life ; it is said that, since probably ten years, she has worn a cilice,

267. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, | Bd. I, s. 365.

that she confessed every day, these last two years, and received H. Communion three or four times a month. And let me therewith be constantly recommended to the good will of Your Excellency. Ferrara the 28th of June, 1519.

Giovanni de Gonzaga, Marquis " [268].

Perhaps no woman in history has been more deeply reviled, perhaps none more highly praised, than Lucretia de Borgia. Not even Pastor has found any objection to her conduct during the latter half of her life, passed in Ferrara. All the reproach, heaped upon her, pertains to the period of her stay in Rome, and is directed more against pope Alexander VI than against her. This method of slander was followed by the salaried scribes of princes, as being the most efficacious and the only possible way of taking revenge for the Pontiff's diplomatic and warlike activity to their masters' detriment. Not one of her accusers was an unimpeachable witness, a contemporary Roman, but they all were strangers to her by distance and time. Her violent enemy, Guicciardini, a secretary of the hostile court of Florence, who wrote from hearsay, has done the most harm to Lucretia's memory, by reason of his great repute as a historian, although he was not a reliable witness against her. Such are also the remarks of Gregorovius [269].

The secretaries of the numerous Italian princes, their orators, envoys or ambassadors were the news agents of that time, and their messages, good and bad, true and false, were flashed from court to court ; so that it was impossible for the duke of Ferrara and his son Alfonso to be ignorant of any accusations originated anywhere against Lucretia de Borgia, while they were necessarily more interested in

268. Ibid., s. 366.
269. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 178, 179.

knowing the actual truth about her, than even a modern historian, like Pastor, who is still in search after damaging information. It seems that, till the last moment before introducing her into their home, they wanted her character, unfolded in Rome, to be more and more fully cleared up to their entire satisfaction ; for often, indeed, do their Roman agents tell them of the qualities of Alfonso's bride.

On the 6th of October, 1501, Girardo Saraceni wrote to Ferrara, that the Pope had praised the duchess for her readiness to give audiences, her cleverness to obtain her requests and for the universal satisfaction which she had given by her government of the duchy of Spoleto ; and the Ferrarese envoy added that, in his opinion, she had well earned those commendations [270].

Giovanni Luca Pozzi wrote to the Duke, on the 23d of December : " I and Gerardo went to visit in your name the Illustrious Madona Lucretia, and spoke with her a long while on various topics, and we found her to be very prudent and discreet, amiable and good natured. She is graceful in all things, modest, lovely, and chaste, and not less a sincere Catholic, fearing God. Tomorrow she will go to confession, and to communion at Christmas. In a word, her qualities are such that we ought not and could not fear anything sinister, but may presume and firmly hope all that is best from her. It affords me pleasure, for the sake of Your Excellency, to write to you this testimonial without any prejudice and in conformity with truth, as it is my duty and my rule " [271].

Already on the 30th of October, Bartolomeo Bresciani, sent to Rome to transact some church business, had given of Lucretia a similar brilliant testimony, and added that

---

270. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 204.

271. See Document 49.

Ercole would for ever be perfectly satisfied with her, endowed as she was with such an upright moral character and virtue [272].

The Pontiff did not fear to praise before the Ferrarese envoys, Pozzi and Saraceni, the purity and morality of his niece, and expressed the wish that the duke of Ferrara should surround her with none but honest ladies and gentlemen. The envoys wrote on this occasion, on the 28th of December, 1501, a statement of His Holiness, that, namely, " Lucretia had promised never to let her behavior make him ashamed of her ; and, in our judgment, " they added; " she never will ; for the better we become acquainted with her and the more we consider her conduct, the higher also becomes our opinion of her worth, her modesty and discretion. We also notice that her manner of life at home is not only christian but even devout " [273].

The encomiums showered upon her at her arrival in Ferrara were earned in Rome. To recall but one of these, we may quote a line of Paniciatus, who placed Lucretia's beauty above that of the fabulous Helena, because while the latter had polluted her charms by immorality, those of the former were enhanced by the practice of numberless virtues [274].

Pastor, who has spared no trouble in defaming every person bearing the name of Borgia, casts doubt upon all praises given her by contemporary historians, and says [275] : " In spite of all researches of late years, much remains still

---

272. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 217, footn. 2.

273. Ibid., s. 227.

274. Moribus illa suis speciem [temeravit honestam :
Innumeris speciem dotibus ipsa [colis :
Ore deam praestas : virtute ve- [nustior alma.
Foeda Helenae facies aequiparata [tuae.
(Ap. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 250.)

275. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III s. 453.

in darkness, in regard to the time the remarkable lady passed in Rome ". Thus he tries to keep Lucretia's honorability under a cloud, although he must acknowledge that he has not succeeded to prove anything against her. Von Reumont says, on the contrary [276] : " It would be but justice, if we should quit calumniating Lucretia and be ashamed of tolerating on the stage the ugly product of Victor Hugo [277]. After she married Alfonso of Este, duke of Ferrara, is it possible to believe that she was known as guilty of so many misdeeds " ?

There is a bronze medal of Lucretia de Borgia, struck during her lifetime, probably when she became duchess of Ferrara, in the year 1505, which seems to have been designed to celebrate her exemplary purity of life. The obverse is a left bust of Lucretia, bearing the inscription : " Lvcretia Borgia Esten. Ferrariae Mvt. ac Regii D. ", Lucretia Borgia d'Este, Duchess of Ferrara, Modena and Reggio. On the reverse is the encircling legend, that explains the enclosed picture on the field : " Virtvti ac Formae Pvdicitia Praeciosissimvm " Of Goodness and of Beauty Chastity is the Most precious (ornament.). The symbol is a blindfolded Cupid, with his hands behind his back, bound to a laurel, from whose branches hangs, on the left, a broken quiver ; while, on the right, there is a trophy consisting of a bow whose string is broken, a book of music and a fiddle with its stick. Its summit is a cartel bearing the letters : Bo-F P H F F-E N [278].

The picture evidently indicates that unlawful love had no

---

276. Archiv. Stor. Ital., vol. XVI, p. 490.

277. Gregorovius himself calls Victor Hugo's " Lucrezia Borgia " a monstrous drama, a grotesque aberration of the art of poetry, excusable only by a false tradition initiated by Guicciardini : Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. X.

278. Cfr. Armand, Les Médailleurs Italiens des XVe et XVIe siècles, t. I, p. 118.

Medal of Lucretia de Borgia

power over the duchess. Yet, Charles Yriarte says [279] that the artist's intention may have been to signify that Lucretia's period of free love was now over. But, as a consequence, his implicit intention must have been, to remind her of an ignominious past, and to insult his employer, the duke of Ferrara, for taking into his illustrious house a woman disgraced, although behaving well at present. We ask whether the artist could possibly have had such an intention, or whether the absurd idea did not rather arise from Yriarte's prejudiced brain ?

The great poet, Ariosto, several years later, celebrated not only her beauty, her intelligence and her works of piety, but above all the chastity for which she was extolled already before she came to Ferrara [280].

The eulogies that she won during the latter part of her life were numerous and splendid, bestowed upon her by those who knew her best : the Duke, her father-in-law, her husband and the Ferrarese common people. In spite of the far-away, vindictive and impure Sanazzaro, all the poets and other writers of that period are unanimous in singing her praises ; and it is evident that, should they have dared to thus exalt her for qualities and virtues, of the lack of which she might have been suspected, their flatteries, justly received as bitter satires, would have been more injurious to their interests and their personal honor, than their meaningless expressions of poetical love.

We need not enter here into any of the details ; they have been sufficiently exhibited by several authors, and in particular by two Protestant historians, William Roscoe, in his Dissertation on the Character of Lucretia Borgia [281], and also by Ferdinand Gregorovius [282]. Cerri quotes, as extol-

279. Autour des Borgia, p. 118.
280. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I. s. 317.
281. Life of Leo S., vol. I, pp. 399, seq.
282. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 311, seq.

ling Lucretia de Borgia, the following literati : Ercole Strozzi, Antonio Tibaldea, l'Aldino, Giraldi, Sardi, Libanori, Caviceo, Ariosto, Antonio Cornazzano, Giorgio Robusto, Lucas Valenziano of Tortona, Aldo Manuzio, Marcello Filosseno : all authors of her time, and even Muratori [283].

ARTICLE VII. — CHILDREN OF LUCRETIA DE BORGIA.

Lucretia de Borgia had children by both her husbands. She gave to Alfonso, duke of Bisceglia, a son, Roderic, of whom she took a motherly care. But when her second marriage was agreed upon, she was obliged, by the customs of the time, to dispose of her orphan as she herself had been disposed of by her mother under similar circumstances, namely, to entrust him to some kind relative. She must have been deeply grieved when the Ferrarese envoy asked her, on the 28th of September, 1501, although in carefully chosen terms, what was to become of her child [284]. Yet the hardship had been foreseen, and the charitable Pontiff, who had earned the name of father of Lucretia, had consented to become the father of her relinquished orphan also ; and Lucretia could answer to Gerardo Saraceni that the little Roderic would remain in Rome and have an income of fifteen thousand ducats a year [285].

Indeed, pope Alexander VI appointed two cardinals as guardians of the Infant : the patriarch of Alexandria and Francis de Borgia, archbishop of Cosenza. The extensive fiefs of the Columna and the Savelli barons and of their accomplices, the Estouteville, the Poyano and the Mahentia, were confiscated to the papal treasury. Besides, Lucretia

283. Borgia, ossia Alessandro VI, Papa, vol. II, pp. 71-77.
284. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 196, 197, footn. 1.
285. Ibid., s. 197.

de Borgia, who had bought from the pontifical " Camera " the possessions forfeited by the Gaetani noblemen, appeared before the Pontiff on the 18th of September, 1501, and, being on the point of marrying Alfonso of Este, she resigned and gave up these properties in favor of her orphaned son, Roderic Borgia de Aragonia [286]. On the same date, pope Alexander VI, by a bull, subscribed by himself and the nineteen cardinals present in Rome, divided all of those fiefs and territories into two parts, to which he assigned respectively, as capitals, the cities of Sermoneta and of Nepi, and elevated these cities to the rank and privileges of duchies. He then bestowed them on Lucretia's son and on Giovanni, the infant son of Cesar de Borgia. To the former he gave the duchy of Sermoneta with the following cities, towns and castles of Bassiano, Ninfa, Norma, Tivera, Cisterna, San Felice, San Donato, Albano, Nettuno, Ardea, Laviniana, Nemi, Genzano, Castel Gandolpho, Roccagorga, Sumpumo, San Lorenzo, Poffi, Valtecorsa, San Stephano, Monte san Giovanni, Strangulagallo, Falvateria, Giuliano, Castelrippa and Arenaria [287].

Shortly after, on the 7th of January and the 20th of May, 1502, the kings of Spain confirmed Roderic, through the Pope's intervention, in the Neapolitan possessions of his father, as duke of Bisceglia and lord of Quadrata [288].

On the 28th of April, 1503, cardinal Franciscus de Borgia, as tutor and legitimate administrator of the Illustrious Lord Roderic de Borgia de Aragonia, duke of Bisceglia and of Sermoneta, paid, in the name of his pupil, to the papal treasury, the sum of sixteen thousand ducats. This sum was the purchase price of nine miles of real estate of Paul

286. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Alex. VI, Secret., an. I, ad XI, lib. V, Regest. 871, f° 57.

287. Ibid.

288. Gregorovius, ubi supra, s. 197, 302.

de Marganis, confiscated to the " Camera apostolica " namely, Cichogruola with its dwellings and appurtenances up to the limits of Comachiola, a fourth interest in the castle of St. Leo and other possessions with their appurtenances. The same day, Roderic, Lucretia de Borgia's son, paid again into the papal treasury, through his administrator, Franciscus de Borgia, another six thousand ducats, for the palace of the late cardinal Savelli, and the adjoining houses, that had formerly belonged to the lords Marconio and Lucas Savelli, but had been likewise confiscated in favor of the " Camera apostolica " [289].

At the demise of the Pontiff, Roderic lost his duchy of Sermoneta, of which the Gaetani barons took forcible possession again, and his very life became endangered in Rome. Lucretia did not follow the advice of cardinal Francis de Borgia, to send her son to Spain ; but, as the kingdom of Naples was equally secure as a place of refuge, she directed him to Naples, where the boy found as protectors, the cardinals Ludovico de Borgia and Remolino, and was probably well cared for by his aunt Sancia of Aragon. When this princess of Squillace died in the year 1506, Roderic was confided to the care of the unfortunate duchess of Milan, Isabella of Aragon, who was living a retired life, in her little duchy of Bari, not far from Bisceglia, and here he died in the year 1512 [290].

A. Ademollo [291] pretends that the famous Infant Giovanni, Cesar de Borgia's son, was a child of Lucretia and of pope Alexander VI. We have touched upon this slander already, and it may suffice here to translate part of a footnote of

289. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Introitus et Exitus, vol. 533, at the date.

290. Ibid., s. 340-343. Letter of the 28th of August, 1512, of Stazio Gadio, agent of Mantua, ap. Clément de Vebron, Les Borgia, p. 531.

291. Ap. Gori, Archivio, II, 94, seq.

Pastor's History of the Popes, Vol. III, p. 450 : Dante del Re [292] makes the remark, that historians of authority, like Roscoe, Campori, Antonelli, Cittadella and especially Gregorovius have already seth forth the reasons why the accusation of incest, made by the poets Sannazaro and by the politicians and historians Matarazzo, Marco Attilio Alessio, Guicciardini and others, simply to cast ignominy upon the Pontiff, must be thrown aside as calumny pure and simple. Ademollo tries in his article, " Lucretia Borgia e la Verità " [293], to find in a bull of the 15th of October, 1501, the declaration of Giovanni being a son of Lucretia, but del Re proves that there can absolutely be no idea of such a thing. There is no reason whatever, he says, to assert that Giovanni was the odious child of pope Alexander VI and of Lucretia ; for we have two bulls [294] of the 1st of September, 1501, one of which states the paternity of the duke of Valentinois, that is, of Cesar de Borgia, and the other, of the Pope, in regard to this child ; but neither one utters a word to indicate the mother ; and in the bull of October 15th the Infant Giovanni is mentioned in such a manner, that the intention to distinguish him from a child of Lucretia, as was Roderic, is clearly manifest. Be it finally allowed to add, Pastor says, that Burchard calls Giovanni's mother " quaedam Romana ", some woman of Rome, and that, in an official document of January 19th, 1518, Giovanni himself is designated as a brother [295] of Lucretia [296].

By her second husband, Alfonso of Este, Lucretia had several children. On the 4th of April, 1508, her first son

---

292. Archiv. della Società Roman. di Storia Patria, IV, 280.

293. Gori, Archiv., vol. II, fasc. 1.

294. Both forged, however.

295. Simply a relation : see supra.

296. Cfr. Cittadella, Albero, 48, and Reumont in Archiv. Stor. Ital. ser. 3, vol. XVII, p. 330. See also Masi in the Rassegna settimana, VI, 120.

was born, Ercole, who succeeded his father as duke of Ferrara and died on the 31st of October, 1534. Her second son was Hippolyt, who was created a cardinal and died at Tivoli in the year 1572. Her third son, Alessandro, born in April, 1514, lived but two years. On November 1st, 1515, she rejoiced in the birth of a daughter, named Eleonora, who died a nun in the convent of Corpus Domini in Ferrara, on the 15th of July, 1575. Her youngest son, Francesco, became marquis of Massalombarda and died in the year 1578.

CHAPTER XI.

Jofre and Roderic Lanzol y de Borgia.

ARTICLE I. — JOFRE AND HIS CHILDREN.

Jofre was the second son of Joanna, sister of pope Alexander VI and of her husband Pedro Guillen Lanzol, the only one reported by the " Arbol Segundo " of Fidel Fita [1]. His parents are clearly named in the bull of pope Sixtus IV, which we give as Document 27. Burchard describes him as Don Goffredus Borgia, nephew of His Holiness the Pope, from whose sister he was born, and father of the Most Reverend Lord cardinal de Borgia [2]. The second Osuna Genealogical Tree [3] states as follows : Dona Juana, sister of Rodrigo de Borja, married D. Pedro Guillen Llancol, lord of the castle and valley of Villalonga, and raised the children Don Jofre Llançol y de Borja, lord of Villalonga and of Anna and... The old historian Gaspar Escolano [4] emphasizes that statement when he says : It is a certain fact that Pedro Guillen Lansol had by Dona Juana, sister of Alexander VI a son named Jofre. So also does an Extract from two ancient Spanish books report Geoffroy de Borgia, the husband of Jeanne de Moncada, to have been a son of D. Jeanne de Borgia and Pierre Guillaume Lansol [5].

The modern publicist Fidel Fita [6] is equally plain when he writes that Juana de Borja, a sister of cardinal Rodrigo,

---

1. Estudios Histor., t. VI, p. 101.
2. Burch. Diar., t. II, p. 402. t. II, p. 402.
3. Ap. Fita, Estud. Hist., t. VI, p. 101.
4. Hist. de Valencia. Valencia. 1610, vol. II, lib. VI, cap. XXIII, col. 198.
5. Paris, Bibl. Nat. Fonds franç,. cod. 20288, f° 337.
6. Ubi supra.

married D. Pedro Llanzol, and that they had a son, D. Jofre de Llanzol y Borja, who consequently was a nephew of that cardinal, afterwards a Pope. We may complete our authorities with the name of H. Matagne, who is praised by the Civiltà Cattolica for assigning, with Burchard, to Jofre Llanzol his right place in the Borgia genealogy.

To one who is aware of the usages of the time, Jofre Lanzol y de Borgia does not seem to have been a first-born son ; for in those days the family cadets were devoted to the services of the Church and confided to her care, while their older brothers inherited the ancestral domains. He was, indeed, from his childhood, destined for the ecclesiastical career, as appears from several apostolic documents.

On January the 30th, 1453, Jofre Lançol, a nephew of cardinal Alfonso de Borgia, by both parents of knightly origin, was, at the age of ten years, made by pope Nicholas V precentor of the collegiate church of Xativa [7].

In the year following, on the 28th day of September, after he had received the clerical tonsure, being more than seven years of age, he was confirmed by the same Pontiff in his rights to that benefice [8]. Jaufridus Lanzol succeeded his uncle, Roderic de Borgia, in a canonry and prebend of the cathedral of Valencia, on April the 11th, 1457 [9].

The next year, Jofre was preparing to enter some university, for the study of both civil and canon law, and obtained, on the 13th of August, 1458, from pope Pius II allowance to lease, for a term of three years, the revenues of his prebends [10].

This pontifical favor marked the last intercourse of the Roman court with the cleric Jofre Lanzol y de Borgia.

---

7. See Document 13.
8. See Document 14.
9. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. : Cal. III, an, I, II, t. XII, Regest. 447, f° 91. He is here said to be eleven years old " or thereabouts ".
10. See Document 27.

Most likely was civil, more than canon, law suitable to him and, on becoming of age to make an intelligent choice, he preferred the secular to the ecclesiastical state of life, and married Dona Juana de Moncada, a lady of the house of the marquises of Aylone [11]. The next time we meet him, he seems to have become another man. Enjoying his father's title, he is lord of the valley of Villalonga. He is styled also lord of the barony de Anna, which, indeed, he had received from his grandmother, Dona Isabel de Borja, mother of Alexander VI [12]. Finally, his family name is modified from Llançol or Lanzol y de Borja to de Borja, simply. Yet, his identity is evidenced by his very estates and his designation as nephew of cardinal Don Rodrigo de Borja. We find Jofre thus transformed when, in the year 1473, cardinal Roderic secures him a legacy of eight thousand pounds Valencian money, as is set forh in the following document :

" On Saturday, the 11th of the month of September and year of the Lord 1473... Since anyone is allowed to make codicils before and after his testament, therefore, we Don Rodrigo de Borja, Cardinal Bishop, Bishop of Valencia and Vicechancellor in the court of Rome and Legate in Spain, by the grace of Our Lord Jesuschrist, sound of body and mind, wishing to pass to the city of Rome, aboard the Venetian galleys which are today lying at the wharf of Valencia ; considering and knowing how great are the perils of the sea, and therefore, inclined as we are to provide in some useful way for the noble Don Jofre de Borja, our nephew... we, by the present codicil, give and bequeath to

11. Osuna Second Geneal. Tree, ap. Fita, Estud. Hist. t. VI, p. 101 ; Paris, Bibl. Nation. Fonds franç., cod. 20288, fº 337 ; Gaspar Escolano, Hist. de Valencia, Vol. 2, lib. VI, cap. 23.

12. Both Osuna Geneal. Trees, ap. Fita, Stud. Hist., t. VI, p. 100, 101.

the said D. Jofre, a Knight, our nephew, Lord of the Valley of Villalonga and of the Place de Anna... eight thousand pound money real of Valencia " [13].

Manuel Oliver [14] remarks that this D. Jofre was the Llanzol who exchanged that name for the one of de Borja. Already Gaspar Escolano stated [15] that Jofre, son of Pedro Lansol, was the first to assume the name of Borgia, in order to earn the favor of his uncle Roderic, whose favorite he successfully became. Yet, he may, in so doing, have been actuated also by gratitude towards his grandmother, Isabella de Borgia, through whose liberality he became the Baron de Anna.

If he was the first, he was not the only one of the Lanzols to become a Borgia. All his nearest relatives were afterwards designated by that name. Yet, the change did not take place abruptly, by some formal concession or adoption, but was made slowly and gradually. The single Lanzol of Jofre, the cleric, first became Lanzol y de Borgia, which was applied to him and also to Rodrigo Llançol y de Borgia, his son, by the second Osuna genealogical Tree [16]. The terms of this compound appellation were afterwards inverted into de Borgia y Lanzol, as were named in the records of the cathedral of Valencia Jofre's other sons, the bishops of that archdiocese, Joannes de Borgia y Lanzol and Petrus Ludovicus Borgia y Lanzol [17]—H. Matagne [18], therefore, mistakes when he says that the cardinals Jean and Pierre Louis Llançol were known under the name of Borgia only—and, finally, in common use and even in

---

13. See Document 28.
14. Ap. Fita, ubi supra, footn. 1.
15. Hist. de Valencia, vol. 2, lib. VI, cap. XXIII.
16. Ap. Fita, Estud. Hist., t. VI, p. 101.
17. Gams, Series Episc. p. 88, Art. Valencia.
18. Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. IX, p. 468.

official acts, Lanzol was dropped, and Pedro Lanzol's descendants were de Borgias pure and simple.

Gaspar Escolano [19] thus gives to one of Jofre's sons the name of Don Juan de Borja y Lansol, cardinal ; but the others he calls de Borja only.

These latter are, however, the only relatives of Alexander VI whose family name was altered ; and there is no document nor any plausible reason for the assertion of several recent writers, that either Calixtus III or Alexander VI lavishly bestowed their patronymic upon nephews, cousins or other Spanish acquaintances.

The above-mentioned Barberini compilation [20] has the following interesting entry . Jaffridus de Borgia is dispatched, as representative of the Apostolic See, to Ferdinand, king of Castille and Aragon, on the 22d of April 1489.

The preamble to his passport reads as follows : " Innocent etc. To each and all who shall see these present letters Health etc. Our beloved son, the noble Jaufredus de Borgia, Lord of the places of Villalonga and Anna of the diocese of Valencia, has to betake himself to our most beloved son Ferdinand, king of Castille and Aragon, to whom we send him as our representative, to transact business for us and the Apostolic See. We desire the said Jaufredus, who is a nephew of our Venerable brother Roderic, bishop of Porto and Vicechancellor of the Holy Roman Church, and who, in consideration of the said bishop and of his own noble extraction and his deserts, is acceptable and pleasing to Us, to be... Letters of passport, 22d of April, 1489 [21].

On his return to Rome at the end of his mission, Jaufredus de Borgia, lord of the Barony of Villalonga, acted as special

19. Hist. de Valencia, vol. 2, lib. VI, cap. XXIII, col. 198.

20. Rome, Biblioth. Barberin., cod. XXXII, 242.

21. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 770 : Innocent VIII. Commun., an. V, lib. LXXIII, fo 277vo

procurator for his niece, Lucretia de Borgia, at her nuptial contract with Don Gaspar de Prochita, son of the count of Aversa. This took place on the last day of April, 1491 [22].

We find him in Rome still on the 29th of December, 1492. Burchard tells us [23] that on that day he was ordered by the Pope to direct the Magnificent Lord Jofre de Borgia, the natural nephew of His Holiness, born of his natural sister, to a seat on his throne, after the Illustrious Lord Count de Pitigliano, captain general of the Church, and the Duke of Sora ; and to give him a like place in the procession to and from the church and at all other public gatherings.

In his eagerness to assign children to pope Alexander VI, Thuasne says [24] that Jofre was the son of the Pope, and assures us that Burchard, who calls him a nephew here, gives him in other parts of his diary the designation of son of the Pope. Burchard always mentions him as a nephew [25]. Thuasne evidently confounds him with another Jofre de Borgia, whom he also wrongly considers as a son of the Pontiff, and who, by this time, was not a Magnificent Lord, but a cleric ten years of age.

After Jofre had shown his ability in transacting public affairs, his uncle Alexander VI felt justified in confiding to him, on March 9th, 1493, the administration of certain benefices, during the minority of his son, Pedro Luis, upon whom the Pontiff had lately bestowed them [26].

That he afterwards was in Rome, for a short time at least, appears from the fact that he took part in the solemn function which took place on the 6th day of September, 1497, on the occasion of his nephew's, cardinal Cesar de

---

22. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. II, p. 25.
23. Diarium, t. II, p. 31.
24. Ibid., footn. 2.
25. Ibid., pp. 56, 65, 402.
26. See Document 29.

Borgia's, return from the coronation of Frederic, king of Naples [27].

Not unlikely was it on his leaving for home that, on the 2d of the month of July, 1498, the Pope gave orders to pay to Joffredus de Borgia, his nephew, the sum of five hundred ducats in gold, as an allowance for his expenses and as a free donation [28].

A few days after, we find the nephew of Alexander VI to be his pensioner in Spain ; for, on the 8th of July, 1498, the papal treasurer, Francis de Borgia, is directed to credit the heirs of Ambrose de Spanochiis, the Pope's depositaries, with a sum of money, which they had paid in the city of Valencia to several of that Pontiff's relatives ; among whom Joffredus de Borgia, his nephew, had received six hundred ducats, and Roderic, Joffredus' son, two hundred, as a special allowance [29].

Alexander VI ordered again, on the 10th of January, 1499, to be repaid to the Spanochii the three hundred ducats advanced by them as a donation to his consanguineous, Gottifredus de Borgia [30].

In the order, however, issued on July the 28th, 1499, to give credit to the Spanochii for their payment in Valencia of the usual pension to the relatives of pope Alexander VI, while all are mentioned who had previously been granted allowances, the name of Jofre is missing [31].

He had left his Spanish home again and was residing in Rome, where all his children were at this time. Here we meet him about the middle of August, 1500, in the Vatican

27. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 402.

28. Archiv. Secret. Vatic : Div. Cameralia, 1497-1499, lib. III, n° 52. Armar. 29, f° 88vo. This sum is reported as a subvention, paid to the Illustrious lord Iuffredus de borgia, nephew of our Most Holy Lord, on the 3d day of that month — in the Vatican archives : Introitus et Exitus, vol. 530, f° 182.

29. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Ibid, f° 93.

30. See Document 18c.

31. See Document 18d.

palace, at the chamber of his unfortunate nephew, Alfonso of Bisceglia, the husband of Lucretia de Borgia. The Roman contemporary writer, Ralph Brandolinus Lippus [32], describing the murder of the Neapolitan prince, relates that Alfonsus was with his wife, his sister and a few private acquaintances when Michelottus, the murderer, burst into his room, arrested the ambassador of Naples and Alfonsus' uncle and handed them over to armed men, to be thrown into prison.

We found no record of Jofre Lanzol y de Borgia's demise, but we shall notice soon, that in the month of May, 1501 ; his son Roderic was in possession of the baronies of Villalonga and Anna.

Jofre had four sons, namely, Roderic, Giovanni, Pedro Ludovico and William Raymund. We remarked that Cittadella and Reumont did not know Jofre Lanzol y de Borgia ; nor did Pastor mention him. As a consequence, these historians necessarily ascribe to another, or to no one, the parentage of his children, of whom they speak, and some of them ignore all or most of his progeny. Of his son Roderic they do not say a word.

ARTICLE II. — RODERIC DE BORGIA.

On the 15th of May, 1501, we see Roderic de Borgia, a nephew of pope Alexander VI, in possession of the baronies of Villalonga and Anna [33]. The Osuna genealogist [34] reports D. Rodrigo Llançol y de Borja, lord of the castle and valley of Villalonga and of Anna, as son of D. Jofre Llançol, the

32. Römische Quartalschrift, Bd. II, s. 192 : Extract from Biblioth. Vatic. Latin., cod. 3460.

33. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 882 : Alex. VI, Bull. Div., an. IV, ad XI, t. IV, fo 471vo.

34. Ap. Fita, Estud. Hist., t. VI, p. 101.

former owner of those estates. Gaspar Escolano [35] likewise writes that Joffre de Borja y Lansol had a son named Don Rodrigo de Borja, lord of Castelnov. His descent from Jofre is further attested by Joseph Pellicer [36], admitted by H. Matagne [37] and the Civiltà Cattolica [38], and finally rendered indisputable by a papal document that explicitly names him Roderic son of Joffredus [39].

Judging from the age of his brother, cardinal Giovanni the younger, and from subsequent particulars, we may set forth the year 1473 as that of Roderic's birth. The first mention of him in the pages of history takes place on the 9th day of July, 1498, when Alexander VI, adding to the pension of his father a gift of two hundred ducats for himself, clearly distinguishes him from Roderic, his uncle, by designating him as Roderic born of Joffredus ; on the other hand his uncle is, on similar occasions, always spoken of as being a consanguineous of the Pontiff.

He received that donation in the city of Valencia, where he had married shortly before, and a son was born to him the previous year ; but in the month of October, 1500 [40], and during the year 1501, he was filling in Rome the office, formerly held by his uncle, namely, that of captain of the pontifical guard, as it is told in a papal bull, which records the following very interesting event [41].

At the request of Roderic, pope Alexander VI gave a public token of the devotion of both to the Mother of God,

35. Hist. de Valencia, vol. 2, lib. VI, cap. XXIII.
36. Paris, Blib. Nation. Fonds franç., cod. 20288, f° 337.
37. Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. XI, p. 191.
38. Ser. 8, vol. IX, p. 721.
39. Archiv. Secret. Vatic : Alex. VI, Div. Cam., 1497-1499, lib III, n° 52, Armar, 29, f° 93.
40. Archiv. Secret. Vatic : Alex. VI, Div. Camerae, an. 1497-1501, lib. IIII, n° 53. Armar. 29, f° 164.
41. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 882 : Alex. VI, Bull. Div., an. IV, ad XI, t. IV, f° 471vo.

and raised a monument to the ancient belief of the Catholic clergy and laity in the recently proclaimed dogma of the Immaculate Conception.

We here give the literal translation of the document :

Alexander etc. In perpetual remembrance. As we preside over the government of the Most Holy Church which Jesus Christ, the son of God, the very author of love, has founded, we favor with the affection of a loving father all pious and salutary desires conducive to the salvation of the souls of the faithful of Christ and to the increase of divine worship, and we foster them with our help and assistance, that they may obtain their desired effects.

Now, there has of late been presented to Us, in the name of our beloved son, the noble Roderic de Borgia, temporal lord of the places of Villalonga and Anna in the diocese of Valencia, a petition representing that, for the zealous devotion which he bears towards the most blessed Virgin Mary, he ardently wishes a Confraternity of three thousand persons of either sex, a husband and wife being computed for one person, to be erected in the city of Valencia, under the title of the Conception of the same most blessed Virgin Mary. The members of this Confraternity, at the time being, should have to pay at their entrance and admission two reals, and every year one sol, Valencian money, for the current needs of the said Confraternity and the performance of other good works.

Wherefore, an humble request was laid before Us, on behalf of the same Roderic, that We might with apostolic kindness, deign to erect and establish forever, in said city, a Confraternity of three thousand persons of either sex, a husband and wife reckoned for one person, under the said title, and further conveniently provide for its concerns.

We, therefore, who gladly approve the just and pious

desires of everyone, feeling inclined to grant the entreaties of the above-said Roderic, who is also our nephew by birth and the Captain of our guard ;We, with apostolic authority and by dint of these present letters, do erect and establish forever in the city of Valencia one Confraternity of three thousand persons, faithful of Christ of either sex, a husband and wife being counted for one person, under the said title, " Invocatione ", of the Conception of the most blessed Virgin Mary.

And we ordain and decree that the reception and admission of the brotherhood members, and the substitution of other members to those who die as time passes on, shall belong to the above-said Roderic and to the first-born of his and of his successive heirs.

And that each above-said member, a husband and wife, as stated, being reckoned for one, shall at his entrance and admission be bound to pay two reals, and each year one sol of before-mentioned Valencian money, for the incidental needs of said Confraternity and other pious works to be performed ; the moneys to be spent according to the direction and will of Roderic and of the above-said first-born son of his and of his successive heirs :

And that each brotherhood member may, in danger of death, choose a proper confessor, who shall have faculties for plenary absolution ;

And that Roderic and the before-said first-born of his and his successors, may substitute and accept other members in the place of those who die as time goes on, yet only up to the said number ; and also that they may make, for the government of the said Confraternity and of its members, fair and reasonable statutes, not in opposition to the sacred canons ; and these shall, after their publication, be deemed confirmed by the same apostolic authority ;

And that, when male members should depart this life, their wives remain supernumerary female members of the said Confraternity and enjoy the privilege of choosing a confessor who, in said danger of death, can impart to them a plenary absolution.

Any apostolic constitutions and regulations and whatever else to the contrary notwithstanding. Let no one, therefore, etc. Should any etc. Given in Rome at St. Peter's on the 15th of May, in the year etc. One thousand five hundred and one, of our pontificate the ninth [42].

We could not ascertain until what date Roderic kept his honorable position at the Roman court ; but, when we notice that a William Raymund de Borgia was in command of the papal guard at the beginning of the year 1502, we may well presume that Roderic had, by this time, left for Spain, to bring the new Confraternity into actual existence, and attend to the education of his young family.

He had three children spoken of in history.

Gaspar Escolano [43] and Joseph Pellicer [44] report Don Gaspar Joffre, who became bishop of Segorve,and Don Juan, or Jean, Roderic's eventual heir of the castle of Villalonga, Castelnov or Castelnon. The former historian adds that Juan's heritage passed into the hands of Dona Beatrix de Borja through the death of all her brothers.

Gaspar Jofre, the bishop of Segorve, became archbishop of Valencia, sat in the year 1551, in the general Council of Trent and died in his native city on the 18th day of February, 1556 [45].

---

42. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 882 : Alex. VI, Bull. Div., an. IV, ad XI, fo 471vo.

43. Hist. de Valencia, vol. 2, lib. VI, cap. XXIII.

44. Généalogie de la Maison de Borgia, Paris, Bibl. Nation. Fonds franç., cod. 20288, fo 337.

45. Villanueva, Viage Literario, t. III, p. 82.

ARTICLE III. — CARDINAL GIOVANNI DE BORGIA, JR.

Better known than Roderic and his children are two other sons of Jofre de Borgia, second-nephews of Alexander VI, and both elevated to the cardinalitial dignity, to wit, Giovanni and Pedro Ludovico de Borgia.

At the death of the former, the famous Cesar de Borgia called him " mio fratre ", his brother ; and likewise Ercole, duke of Ferrara, designated him as Cesar's brother by descent [46]. Cesar, therefore, would seem to have been, like Giovanni, a son of Jofre de Borgia ; but the term of brother led the Ferrarese chronichler, Bernardino Zambotto, to a reverse conclusion ; for, setting out from the idea that Cesar was a son of Alexander VI, he inferred that cardinal Giovanni also must have been ; and asserted, though he was the first and the last writer to do so, that this cardinal de Borgia was a son of pope Alexander [47]. Gregorovius emphasizes the word, brother, and wonders at it in such a manner as to let his readers believe Zambotto's evident mistake.

The puzzle of the expression vanishes, however, as soon as we remember that the term brother, was often extended at the time to signify first-cousin ; and this is precisely the case on this occasion.

Cardinal Giovanni de Borgia the younger is reported by several authors, by Moroni [48], Gams [49], Pastor [50], H. Matagne [51] and the Civiltà Cattolica [52], and in a number of papal documents, as nephew of Roderic de Borgia, either cardinal

---

46. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 138.

47. " A. 1500 22 Jan. mori il Carle. Borgia fiolo del Papa Alex° a Orbino " : Silva Cronicarum Bernardini Zambotti, Mscr. in der Bibl. Ferrara, ap. Gregorov. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 138.

48. Dizion. Art. Borgia, p. 50.

49. Series Episc. Art. Valencia, p. 88.

50. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 354.

51. Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. XI, p. 191.

52. Ser. 8, vol. IX, p. 721.

vicechancellor or pope Alexander VI. To further determine his parentage we have already quoted the authority of Matagne, Burchard and the Osuna genealogical tree, which states that Jofre, lord of the castle and valley of Villalonga and of the barony of Anna, raised the sons... D. Joan de Borja and D. Luis de Borja, both archbishops of Valencia and cardinals. Burchard, furthermore [53], mentions Goffredus Borgia, born of the Pontiff's sister, as father of the Most reverend lord cardinal de Borgia ; and Gaspar Escolano [54] states that Jofre de Borja y Lansol married Juana de Moncada and had by her Don Juan de Borja y Lanzol, a cardinal.

From these parents, who both belonged to the nobility [55], Giovanni de Borgia was born in Valencia [56], during the year 1474 [57], and was at an early age admitted as a cleric in his native diocese [58].

At the age of ten years, on the last day of February, 1484, this nephew of the cardinal bishop of Porto was named precentor of the cathedral of Valencia [59].

Burchard reports [60] that Giovanni was, on the 26th of March, 1494, a prothonotary apostolic, and received on that day, together with his first-cousin, Cesar de Borgia, the four minor orders and those of subdeacon and of deacon.

Cardinal Cesar de Borgia resigned the archdeanery of Valencia in favor of Giovanni, to whom it was actually

---

53. Diar., t. II, p. 402.
54. Hist. de Valencia, vol. 2, lib. VI, cap. XXIII, col. 198 or seq.
55. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest, 690 : Innoc. VIII. Secret., an. 3 ad 8, t. IX, f° 232.
56. Villanueva, Viage Literario, t. I, p. 52.
57. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., cod. XXXII, 242.
58. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 759, f° 213vo.
59. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 702 : Innoc. VIII, Bullar., an. I, lib. V, f° 170vo.
60. Diar., t. II, pp. 99, seq.

granted on the 6th of July, 1494, when he had entered upon his twentieth year of age [61].

Chevalier [62] mistakes when he says that Giovanni was administrator of the diocese of Melfi in the year 1486. He has, indeed, been appointed to govern that church for a short while ; and by one and the same " motu proprio ", or Pope's will, he was exempted from the tribute and taxes due to the papal treasury, on both the occasion of his letters of administration and of those of his election as ordinary bishop of Melfi. The latter nomination, providing for the retention of his archdeanery of Valencia and of all other benefices, was made, with the advice of the Sacred College, on the 11th of February, 1495 [63].

Towards the end of A. D. 1495, after he had become a prothonotary apostolic [64], he was made a papal delegate, with the ample faculties of a legate " a latere ", in the kingdom of Naples [65].

While he was there attending to delicate and important duties, the Pontiff requested, on the 15th of February, 1496, the opinion of his natural advisers, even of the absent cardinal Giovanni Colonna [66], about his design of elevating to the cardinalate his nephew, the bishop-elect of Melfi ; and, with both their assent and advice, he created him, as cardinal deacon, a member of the Sacred College on the 19th day of the same month [67]. The Barberini compiler [68] records

61. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., cod. XXXII, 242 ; Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 784 : Alex. VI, Bullar., an. I, II, III, t. XIII, f° 143.

62. Répertoire, p. 333.

63. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 796, f° 60 ; and Reg. 883 : Alex. VI, Bull. Div., an. IX, X, XI, t. V, f° 202vo.

64. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 264.

65. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 873, f° 361.

66. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 826.

67. Rome, Bibl. Vallicell., cod. I, 61, f° 3 ; Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 873, f° 361 ; Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 264.

68. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., cod. XXXII, 242.

the event one year earlier, in 1495 ; but he was evidently not aware of the frequent use of the Florentine calendar style, although the Vatican register plainly states the 19th of February of the fourth year of Alexander's reign, " Pont. nri. anno quarto ".

We may here incidentally remark that we can place but little confidence in Thuasne and in his authority, M. Sanuto; when, after seeing all the cardinals present confirm by their signatures their consent and counsel towards Giovanni de Borgia's and his companions' elevation, we hear them saying [69] that the Vatican prelates were highly incensed at this promotion !

Giovanni's appointment was published in a secret consistory only, but provisions were made by the pontifical bull to secure to him full rights even before receiving a cardinal's insignia [70].

On the 9th of the following month, Alexander VI assigned to the new cardinal, still absent, the title-church of St. Mary in Via lata [71].

The elevation of the Pontiff's nephew to the cardinalate was due not so much to nepotism as to the desire of increasing Giovanni's personal prestige and importance, in order to derive more benefit from his precocious talents and great activity.

The young cardinal Giovanni was, until his premature death, almost constantly employed in the difficult administration of territories of the Church, the defence of the pontifical rights and in diplomatic missions.

Shortly after his return from the Neapolitan delegation, he was sent forth, on October the 2d, 1496, as papal legate to

69. Footn. 1, p. 264. Tome 11, of Thuasne's edition of Burchard's Diary.

70. See Document 30.

71. Osuna genealogical tree, ap. Fita, Estud. Hist. t. VI, p. 101; Rome, Bibl. Vallicell., cod. I, 61, f° 3.

the city of Bologna, the exarchate of Ravenna and the province of Romagna [72], all of them, places whose feudal lords were of doubtful allegiance to their suzerain.

On the 19th of March, 1497, we see him enter upon the functions of governor of Narni.

It appears that his administration proved satisfactory from the very beginning, for his jurisdiction was soon extended to the cities of Todi, Spoleto, Foligno and even Perugia [73], and, already on May 22d, 1497, he received the additional rights and faculties of a legate " a latere " in Spoleto and Perugia [74].

At the end of the year 1498, he was still discharging these honorable duties and received as salary, for the past year, the sum of three thousand ducats [75], barely enough to pay the wages of a clerk and live in a manner becoming his position.

During the following month of January, 1499, he is again a papal legate in the province of St. Peter's Patrimony, having at his command three hundred soldiers, generally called Swiss [76], whom he kept constantly employed in keeping order and repressing the assaults of the nobility transformed into highway robbers.

Meanwhile, the Pope was not inappreciative of his valuable services and granted him the archiepiscopal See of Capua [77] ; not, however, that of Monreale, wrongly attributed to him by Reumont [78], who mistakes not only his parentage but

---

73. Tesoreria de Perugia, Registro anno 1498, carte 67, ap. Archivio della Società, ut supra, p. 135.

74. Ibid. ; Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 877, fo 19vo ; Burchard, Diar, t. II, p. 368 ; Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 354.

75. Tesoreria di Perugia, ubi supra, ap. Archivio della Società, ubi supra.

76. Archiv. Secret. Vatic.: Alex. VI, Div. Cam., 1497-1499, lib. III, n° 52, Armar. 29, fo 140vo.

77. Gams, Series, Episc. Art. 72. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., XXXII, 242. Valencia, p. 88.

78. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, III, I, s. 563.

here also his identity, by confounding him with Giovanni de Borgia the elder. When cardinal Cesar de Borgia had withdrawn from the ecclesiastical career and surrendered all his dignities and prebends, Giovanni de Borgia y Lanzol was, on the 9th of August, 1499, elected as his cousin's successor in the archdiocese of Valencia in Spain [79].

As customary with the Roman prelates of that epoch, cardinal Giovanni had his vicars general to govern his dioceses, while he himself continued to labor mainly, as an officer of the Pontiff, for the temporal interests of the Church.

We found no confirmation of the statement made by Moroni [80] and by Moreri [81], saying that Giovanni was named commander of the troops which His Holiness sent into southern Italy, to combat the French and assist Ferdinand, king of Spain ; but they are correct in reporting [82] that the cardinal was sent by pope Alexander VI on various diplomatic missions.

About the end of August, 1499, he was in Florence for the purpose of recommending the union of this republic with Louis XII, king of France, against the Sforzas of Milan and of the papal province of Romagna ; and on the 11th of the following month, he appeared before the Senate of Venice, requesting their neutrality, in the impending contest of the Pontiff with his rebellious vassals [83]. His pleadings were not in vain, even though the Venetians did not, afterwards, keep their word. When Louis XII made his triumphal entry into Milan, cardinal Giovanni was present, to successfully

---

79. Not in Italy, as we read in Moreri, Grand Diction. Art. Borgia, Jean. — Gams, ubi supra , Villanueva, Viage literario, t. I, p. 52 ; Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 417, referring, footn. 2, to Acta consistorialia, c. 303, f° 8; alii.

80. Dizion. Art. Borgia, p. 50.

81. Grand Diction. Art. Borgia, Jean.

82. Ibid.

83. Alvisi, Cesare Borgia, p. 59.

help his cousin, Cesar, duke of Valentinois, in securing the King's assistance towards the capture of Imola and Forli. Imola surrendered on the 24th of November, 1499, and its fortress on the 11th of the following month. Cesar, then captain general of the Church, left at once to go and lay siege to the stronghold of Forli. Giovanni, who had lately been reappointed papal legate of Romagna, arrived in Imola on the 13th, administered to the city council the oath of allegiance to the Roman Pontiff, and remained a few days to restore order in the conquered city [84].

He departed in time to go and celebrate the feast of Christmas at the camp of the pontifical army before the city of Forli ; and, on the 28th of December, proceeded to Cesena in order to induce its citizens, it is said, to submission. By this time he was summoned to Rome, for the celebration of the solemn Jubilee of the year 1500, and started in haste on the 8th of January ; but he was, on his journey, taken with fever and, hardly arrived in Urbino, after two days' illness, he died at eight o'clock in the evening of the 14th. Thus Alvisi [85].

Gregorovius [86] agrees on those details of Giovanni's call to Rome, of his malady, and of the place of his death ; but, relying on a letter kept in the Mantuan Gonzaga Archives, he differs on the date of the sad event, which he assigns to the 8th of the month, and adds that Cesar de Borgia received the news on the 12th, the very day that the stronghold of Forli surrendered to him. Pastor [87] mentions no dates, but, following the information reported by Burchard [88], says that when Giovanni, already suffering of fever, heard in Urbino of the capture of Forli, he hurriedly mounted a

84. Alvisi, Ibid., pp. 75. 76.
85. Ibid., pp. 81, 82.
86. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 137, 138.
87. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 426.
88. Diar., t. III, p. 11.

horse to go and congratulate the conqueror ; yet reached no farther than Fossombrone, where he died of a violent recurrence of the fever. We should remark, however, that geography hardly suggests this route from Urbino to Forli. Burchard [89] also notices Giovanni's prompt obedience to the papal summons, but his information is rather confused, probably an echo of popular rumors. He designates the night after Friday, the 16th (the 17th) of January as the time, and Fossombrone as the place of his death. Moroni [90] agrees with him that the place was the city of Fossombrone, while Moreri [91] prefers Urbino, and gives January the 17th as the date. Chevalier [92] wavers between Urbino with the 17th of January and Rome with the 22d of June, 1500. This latter time was set by two generally reliable authors, probably deceived by some mistake in the episcopal register of Valencia, namely, by Villanueva [93] and Gams [94], who adds that the cardinal archbishop of Valencia, Joannes de Borgia y Lanzol, died in Rome.

His corpse was conveyed to Rome and buried in the church of Santa Maria del Popolo, on the 27th of January, 1500 [95].

We should not leave unnoticed another circumstance, historically the most important, of Giovanni's death, that is, the cause of it. All contemporary writers state that he died of fever; but his attendant, the bishop of Tivoli, informed the Pope, by a first message, that the fever caused suspicion to the physicians, " febrim medicis valde suspectam " [96]. By this phrase he probably intended to say [97],

---

89. Ubi supra.
90. Dizion. Art. Borgia, p. 50.
91. Grand Diction, Art. Borgia, Jean.
92. Répertoire, p. 333.
93. Viage literario, t. I, p. 52.
94. Series Episc., Art. Valencia, p. 88.
95. Burchard, ubi supra ; Moroni, Dizion. Art. Valenza, p. 291; Moreri, Grand Diction., Art. Borgia, Jean.
96. Burchard, ubi supra.
97. According to the Italian word " sospetto ", a secret fear of future evil.

that the fever appeared to be of a malignant kind ; for he hastened to reassure the Pontiff by a second courier, saying that the disorder was not of a dangerous nature, " febrim periculosam non esse " [98].— In Prato's History of Milan we read that the cardinal and all his suite were cut to pieces by certain Romans in the county of Urbino [99].

Sanuto records the information sent to the Venetian Senate by their agents of Ravenna, who speak only of fever, but he adds the comment : " It is thought that the cardinal was poisoned " ; and as if this were not sufficient, he further appends : " It afterwards became certain that the duke of Valentinois gave orders to poison him, because he knew that the Pope loved him tenderly, and feared that his cousin might wish to become the lord of some town [100] ". When the news of Giovanni's demise reached the man whom emperor Charles V called one of his two liars, Paul Jovius simply wrote that Cesar de Borgia had poisoned his cousin ; and, for what reason ? Because he had been friendly to the duke of Gandia, Cesar's brother !

For three centuries the slander has been believed by romancers and many historians, such as Moroni [101] and Moreri [102], who sustains his assertions by referring to Garibay, Onuphre and Aubrey. Even as late as A. D. 1875, Gregorovius [103] considers the cardinal's visit at Cesar's camp as a sufficient reason to accord probability to what he names a suspicion.

Pastor [104] rightly calls it a groundless fiction. What, indeed, could have been the object of Cesar de Borgia in

---

98. The term may, however, be, and was not seldom understood to intimate some intentional causation of the illness.

99. Alvisi, Cesare Borgia, p. 83, footn. 1.

100. Alvisi, ubi supra, p. 83.

101. Dizion. Art. Borgia, p. 50, and Art. Valenza, p. 291.

102. Grand Diction. Art. Borgia, Jean.

103. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 138.

104. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 426.

murdering his cousin? Alvisi justly scoffs at the pretext of Sanuto, because it was evident that no relative of Alexander VI stood higher with him than Cesar himself. Nor could the duke by alarmed by the cardinal's pretended ambition, especially at a time when the latter was effectively contributing towards his victories. On the contrary, he wrote to Ercole of Este a communication of his " brother's " death, such as to draw from the duke a hearty letter of condolence in his sorrow [105]; nay, in a pitiful letter on Giovanni's death, Cesar complains that the Heavens have permitted the misfortune, to bring to naught all his designs [106].

In search of some plausible motive, Alvisi [107] supposes the ambitious captain to have been offended either by the dignities and revenues of the cardinal, for whose riches he was longing, Moroni says [108]; or by the nuptials of Angela, his sister, with the infant prefect of Senigallia. But actual facts exclude the idea; since, not long before, Cesar had spurned all those, with many more honors and prebends, and soon after he exerted his powerful influence to have them all bestowed upon the dead cardinal's brother, Pedro Ludovico. Neither should he have been disturbed at Angela's engagement, whose contract he had managed himself, during the last months of August and September, and had arranged for the solemnization of it before the ambassadors of France.

Cesar, therefore, had no cause whatever to commit the imputed crime, but rather good reasons to safeguard the life of his cousin; and yet, he killed him, it was said, and in such a manner as would leave no evidence behind. When

---

105. Gregorovius, ubi supra.
106. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 838.
107. Cesare Borgia, p. 83.
108. Dizion., Art, Valenza, p. 291.

the cardinal stopped in his camp at Forli, Cesar administered poison to him, the white Borgia powder, forsooth, which did not then indispose him in the least, allowed him to travel to Cesena and there to advocate the cause of his alleged slayer, and to further make on horseback the long and arduous journey to Urbino ; but at last, after being harmless for two weeks, caused an attack of fever, that abated, however, and then recurred with fatal effect ! Let those who never heard of toxicology believe in imaginary poison as cause of Giovanni de Borgia's death ; while we blame the catarrh mentioned in Cesar's letter to the duke of Ferrara [109], a cold contracted during the chilly season in the Apennine Mountains, which caused the symptom of fever and developed into pneumonia, indicated by the eruption, " morbilli ", mentioned by Burchard [110].

Alvisi makes the sensible remark that the fable of cardinal Giovanni de Borgia's poisoning could never have spread but for the prejudice against the Borgias, which made credible anything that might be spoken or written in their disfavor [111].

ARTICLE IV. — CARDINAL PEDRO LUDOVICO DE BORGIA.

Cardinal Pedro Ludovico, or simply Ludovico, de Borgia was another second-nephew of pope Alexander VI. He was a brother, not of cardinal Giovanni de Borgia the elder, but of the younger ; neither was he a son of Johanna, the Pontiff's sister, but her grandson. He was born of the Valencian knight, Jaufridus de Borgia, as it is plainly expressed in a papal brief [112]. The second Osuna genealogical tree [113] reports him as son of Jofre Llançol, lord of Villa-

109. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 138.
110. Diar., t. III, p. 11.
111. Cesare Borgia, p. 83.
112. See Document 29.
113. Fita, Estud. Hist., t. VI, p. 101.

longa and as brother of Giovanni the younger ; and most modern historians admit the latter statement, as, for instance, Moroni [114], Reumont [115], Matagne [116] and Alvisi [117].

His native place is Valencia in Spain [118], where he was born in the year 1480, as is shown from the fact that, on the 26th of August, 1492 [119], and on March the 9th, 1493 [120], he was in his twelfth year of age or thereabouts.

At this early period of life he had manifested already his predilection for a military career and the wish of serving the Lord under the regular habit of the Knights Hospitalers of St. John of Jerusalem. Pope Alexander VI not only ordered the Rhodian prelates to admit his nephew, but procured for him at once a high standing in the Order. On August the 26th, 1492, he conferred upon him the independent bailiwick of St. Euphemia with its revenues of one thousand and five hundred gold florins, the preceptory of the house Pulani or Bucino in the diocese of Cosenza, worth five hundred, and also that of S. Barbara in the diocese of Siponto, with an income of four hundred florins in gold [121].

Pedro Ludovico had become a cleric of Valencia, when his uncle conferred upon him, on the 13th of March, 1493, the right to several valuable dignities at their next vacancy [122], and shortly after, the Pontiff excused him from paying the usual taxes on the provision to those offices [123].

It was evident that a boy twelve years old could fill those

---

114. Dizion. Art. Borgia, p. 50.

115. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, III, I, s. 563.

116. Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. XI, p. 191.

117. Cesare Borgia, p. 83.

118. Moroni, ubi supra ; Ciaconius, Vitae Roman. Pontif., p. 167, vel seq. ; Villanueva, Viage literario, t. I, p. 52.

119. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 774 : Alex. VI, Bullar., an. I, t. III, f° 4vo.

120. Ibid. Regest. 869 ; Alex. VI, Secret., an. I, II, III, lib. III, f° 20.

121. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 774 : Alex. VI, Bullar., an. I, t. III, f° 4vo.

122. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest 782, f° 258.

123. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 883: Alex. VI, Bull. Div., an IX, X, XI, t. V, f° 77.

places to the advantage of neither the interests concerned nor of himself. The Pontiff, therefore, appointed his father, the Valencian knight, Jaufredus de Borgia, to be his son's procurator till the latter should become of lawful age [124].

Pedro Ludovico had formally entered the religious and military Order of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, when, on the 11th of January, 1494, he received, free of all taxes, not only the preceptory of St. Mary, which annually brought him four hundred gold florins [125], but also other preferments in the diocese of Nicastro [126].

During the year 1495, he was exempted from annates and dues, to the payment of which he had become liable through his further appointment as hospitaler Prior of Catalonia, in the diocese of Lerida, on the 4th of June, 1495, when he was in his fiteenth year of age [127] ; and as preceptor of the house of Novilles, which was situated in what was once the diocese of Randazzo [128].

From the granting of all these and more favors, such as the gift of the priory of St. Euphemia in the diocese of Nicastro, on the 5th of November, 1499 [129], we may safely infer that Alexander VI destined his young nephew to the highest honors, at the same time expecting from him the most important services.

When his older nephew, cardinal Giovanni, Pedro Ludovico's brother, had failed him, the Pontiff consulted his natural advisers and the captain of his army, Cesar de

---

124. See Document 29.

125. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. : Alex. VI, Div. Camer., 1495-1497, lib. 2, Armar. 29, n° 51, f° 217.

126. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 788, f° 94.

127. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. : Alexandri VI, Bullar., an. III, t. XXI, Regest. 792, f° 180.

128. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. : Alex. VI, Div. Camer. 1495-1497 Armar. 29, n° 51, f° 30 ; Cfr. Moreri, Grand Diction. Art. Borgia.

129. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Alex. VI, Bullar., an. VII, VIII, t. LVII. Regest. 828, f° 232.

Borgia [130], and tried to repair the loss by making Pedro Ludovico the heir, as it were, to the deceased prelate's offices and dignities. He appointed him archbishop of Valencia, on the 29th of July, 1500 [131], thus increasing also his financial influence by the yearly sum of ten thousand florins. On the same day he gave him " in commendam " the Cistercian monastery of Vallisdigna, outside the walls of Valencia, valued at two thousand florins of revenue [132].

On the 10th of August, the Pontiff named him the lieutenant of his first-cousin, Lucretia de Borgia, then governess of Spoleto and Foligno [133], and, at short intervals, conferred upon him other charges and dignities, become vacant through cardinal Giovanni's demise [134]. The most important was that of a cardinal of the Holy Roman Church.

Pedro Ludovico de Borgia was raised to this eminence in the private consistory of the 28th day of September A. D. 1500 [135]. Ciaconius [136] has unduly anticipated this consistory by placing it on the 20th of the preceding month of March, and misled Moroni, who [137] further hesitates between the date of the 16th and that of the 20th.

On this occasion he was named a cardinal deacon and received the title church of Santa Maria in Via lata, formerly

---

130. Alvisi, Cesare Borgia, p. 83.

131. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 71 ; Gams, Series Episc. Art. Valencia, p. 88 ; Villanueva, Viage literario, t. I, p. 52 ; Chevalier, Répertoire, p. 334 ; Moroni, Dizion., Art. Borgia, p. 50, and Art. Valenza, p. 291. Archiv. S. Consistorii : Provis. Innoc. VIII et Al. VI, ab. 1489, f° 87vo, where it is stated that cardinal Giovanni had held the arch-diocese as its administrator, and that his brother Pedro Ludovico succeeded him in the same capacity.

132. Archiv. S. Consist. ab 1489, f° 87vo and Ibid., 1492-1523, f° 7.

133. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 121.

134. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 836 : Alex. VI, Bullar., an. VIII, t. LXV, f° 10vo, and Regest. 842, fv 235oo.

135. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 77 ; Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 431 ; Archivio della Soc. Rom. di Storia patria, vol. IV, p. 130, footn.

136. Vitae Roman Pontiff., p. 167, vel seq.

137. Dizion., Art. Borgia, p. 50.

held by his brother [138], and afterwards, Chevalier states [139], he was promoted to be a cardinal priest of the title of Ss. Nereus and Achilleus and, eventually, of St. Marcellus [140].

A noteworthy circumstance of Pedro Ludovico's exaltation is the fact that he was exempted from all impost, while his companions in honor were taxed according to their means, to contribute certain sums towards to defence of Christianity, and of Venice in particular, against the murderous inroads of the Turks [141]. As expressed on a similar occasion, Ludovico was excused because, being a knight of the military Order of St. John of Jerusalem, he and his Order were almost constantly fighting the Mohammedans. The pretext alleged by Thuasne [142], namely, that he was a nephew of the Pope and accounted as penniless because of a vow a poverty, is more mischievous than plausible ; for, in the next following Spring, when, holding a position at the Roman court, he was no more an active member of his Order, his blood relationship did not shield him, nor any nephew of the Pontiff, from paying towards the same cause like any other cardinal, the tithes of their revenues ; while the three cardinals of Rhodes, of Poland and of Gran paid nothing, because they were in countries where the war was being waged, " quia in bello existunt " [143].

Pedro Ludovico also succeeded his brother Giovanni as governor of Narni and, in this capacity, received, in January the 11th, 1502, for five months' service, the sum of two hundred and fifty ducats [144].

---

138. Qsuna record, ap. Fita, Estud. Hist., t. VI, p. 101 ; Moroni and Gams, ubi supra.

139. Répert., p. 334.

140. Sigismondo dei Conti, Le Storie de' Suoi Tempi, t. II, p. 337.

141. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 77 ; Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 438, 439 and footn. 2 ; but not Pastor, Ibid., s. 431, after Sanuto, footn. 4.

142. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 77, footn.

143. Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles. ad an. 1500, n° IX ; Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 439, 440.

144. Camera Apost. Patrimo-

He was also named archbishop of Monreale [145], and enriched with the dignities and prebends of archpriest of the basilica of St. Mary Major, of Abbot of St. Simplician in Milan, and of Great Penitentiary [146].

Cardinal Pedro Ludovico de Borgia assisted at the conclaves in which were elected the popes Pius III and Julius II. The latter, as cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, had been anything but friendly to Alexander VI and his relatives, and after his election, he was far from encouraging the Borgias. When Pedro Ludovico heard of the arrest of his cousin, the Captain of the papal army, he resolved to save himself and the little sons of Cesar and of Lucretia de Borgia by a timely escape from Rome, and secretly fled, together with cardinal Remolino, to the city of Naples, on the 20th of December, 1503 [147]. Pope Julius II, chagrined at the departure of this worthy prelate, wrote to him on the 2d of January, 1504, to request his speedy return [148], but the cardinal had lost all confidence and remained in Naples, leading a pious and retired life and looking for better times under a future Pontiff. Here, he hospitably received his fleeing cousin, Cesar de Borgia, towards the end of the month of April, 1504 [149]. When wrongly informed that pope Julius II had died, he started to perform his duty at the next conclave, but in mounting his horse he fell, and in consequence of the accident, he died on October the 5th, 1511, in the city of

---

nio, 1501-1502, carte 118 *tergo*, ap. Archivio della Soc. Roman. di Storia Patria, vol. IV, p. 130.

145. Gams, Series Episc. Art. Valencia, p. 88.

146. Moroni, Dizion., Art. Borgia, p. 50 ; Chevalier, Répert., p. 334.

147. Sigismondo dei Conti,-Le Storie de' Suoi Tempi, t. II, p. 337 ; Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 320-321 ; Villari, Disp. di Ant. Giustinian, vol. II, p. 351 ; Moroni and Moreri, ubi supra. — Sigism. dei Conti mistakes here by calling Francesco Borgia, the cardinal of Sts. John and Paul, whose name was Francesco Remolino.

148. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 544, footn. 1.

149. Pastor, Ibid., p. 545.

Naples, where he was buried in the church of St. Peter Celestine [150]. Gregorovius [151] mistakes in giving the year 1512.

ARTICLE V. — WILLIAM RAYMUND DE BORGIA AND SISTERS.

We have noticed that the lord of Villalonga, Roderic de Borgia, was succeeded in the captaincy of the pontifical guard by a certain William Raymund de Borgia. The latter is called by Gregorovius [152] Don Guilio Raimondo, a nephew of the Pope. Like other members of the family of Jofre Lanzol y de Borgia, he was addressed as Magnificent Lord [153], and bore the title of Illustrious [154]. From the few particulars of his life which are known we gather that he was always in the company of Jofre's children, which indicates that he also was one of his sons.

He is little known among historians. We saw him simply mentioned in the Civiltà Cattolica as captain of the palatine guard [155], and, in Gregorovius' Lucretia Borgia, we discovered two items of interest pertaining to his life.

Pope Alexander VI, who doubted the loyalty of Italian condottieri, was hardly seated on St. Peter's chair, when he confided his personal security, as we shall observe soon hereafter, to Roderic de Borgia, one of his first-nephews, and requisitioned the services of his young second-nephew, William Raymund, as a subordinate captain or condottiere in the small standing army of the Pontifical States.

---

150. Gams, Series, Episc. Art. Valencia, p. 88; Archivio della Soc. Roman. di Storia patria, vol. IV, p. 130, footn.; Moroni, Dizion., Art. Borgia, p. 50; Moreri, Grand Diction., Art. Borgia; Villanueva, Viage liter., t. I, p. 52.

151. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 358.

152. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 226.

153. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Introitus et Exitus, vol, 524, fo 189vo.

154. Ibid., vol. 525, fo 131vo.

155. Ser. 8, vol. IX, p. 722.

It appears, from the concise remarks of the papal account books, that Raymund's favorite command was a company of mounted crossbowmen.

On May the 2d, 1493, the papal treasurer paid to D. Guillermus Raimondus Borgia five hundred and eighteen ducats, as stipends of one month commenced the 18th of the previous April [156], and we found him at the pontifical treasury, monthly receiving his pay for himself and his men, from that time until the 10th of December, 1501, with the exception of the year 1500 and the greater part of 1501 [157].

After all these years of faithful service he was raised to the captaincy of the palace guard, when his older brother, Roderic, resigned that important office and returned to Spain. Gregorovius [158] indicates that this promotion took place on or before the 1st of January, 1502. At the beginning of this month he was paid for another term of military service, and he left Rome on the 6th, as one of the honorary attendants of his first-cousin, Lucretia de Borgia, on her bridal journey to Ferrara, but soon returned to his command in the Pontifical States. He received on the following 23d days of April and of May, on the 8th of August [159] and the 22d of September, 1502, one hundred and twelve florins as captain of his light cavalry. Four days later he was paid six hundred and twenty-five florins, the monthly salary of one hundred mounted crossbowmen, and again the next day, in his capacity of captain of the guard of our Holy Lord, fourteen hundred and thirteen ducats, as stipends for himself and his two hundred and thirty-two guardsmen.

---

156. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Introitus et Exitus, vol. 524, fo 170vo.

157. Rome, Archiv. di Stato, Mandati 1492-1494, fo 87vo; Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Introitus et Exitus, vols. 524-532.

158. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 226.

159. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Introitus et Exitus, vol. 532, at the dates.

160. Ibid.

We finally met his name at the papal treasury [160], on August the 4th, 1503, when he obtained one thousand four hundred and thirty-six florins, as one term's stipend for himself and two hundred and thirty-eight men of the palace guard.

He died two days after, and Sigismondo dei Conti states [161] that the Pope, his granduncle, saw his funeral cortege from the windows of his palace, the day before he was attacked himself by the fever which eventually caused his death.

A noble lady, named Hieronyma [162] de Borgia, was a sister of cardinal Giovanni the younger [163], a daughter, therefore, of Jofre Lanzol y de Borgia and a grandniece of pope Alexander VI. She married a scion of the most powerful family of Rome, Fabio Orsini, a son of Paolo and a nephew of cardinal John Baptist Orsini. The event took place at the Vatican palace, in the presence of the Sovereign Pontiff and of a brilliant assembly, on the 8th day of September, 1498 [164]. To manifest his pleasure at the friendly disposition of the Orsini house and the marriage of his niece, pope Alexander VI made, a few days after, a gratuitous present of five hundred ducats to the bridegroom's father, then one of his army leaders [165].

In the year 1502, Jeronima accompanied her cousin, Lucretia de Borgia, to Ferrara, and was one of the three ladies that figured on horseback in the procession when, on February the 2d, the new duchess first entered that city [166].

160. Ibid.
161. Le Storie de' Suoi Tempi, t. II, p. 267.
162. Jeronima or Girolama.
163. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 115, 202.
164. Ibid., s. 115.
165. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Div. Camer., an. 1497-1501, Lib. IIII, Armar. 29, n° 53, f° 161vo.
166. Gregorovius, ubi supra, s. 227, 247.

Roderic, lord of Villalonga, and the cardinals Giovanni and Ludovico de Borgia had another sister, the Illustrious Dona Angela de Borgia, as we learn from a document preparatory to her nuptials. Such is the testimony also of ancient and of modern writers. Gregorovius [167], von Reumont [168] and Cittadella [169] declare her, in spite of impossibility, to be a daughter of Guillen Lanzol and of Joanna, sister of Alexander VI. Yet, she was only a grandniece of this Pope, her father being Jofre Lanzol y de Borgia [170].

She was born about the year 1488, probably in Valencia ; but shortly after her father's death, she sailed for Italy and dwelt with her relatives in Rome.

When at the royal court of France, Cesar de Borgia, with the aid of Louis XII, arrived at an understanding with the voluntary exile, cardinal Giuliano della Rovere ; and it was arranged that the reconciliation should be sealed by the espousals of the young maiden, Angela, Cesar's first-cousin, with the cardinal's nephew, Francesco Maria della Rovere, the ten-year-old son of the lord of Senigallia, Johannes, then prefect of Rome. The betrothal was solemnized at the apostolic palace, in the presence of the ambassadors of France, on the 2d of September, 1500 [171]. This compact was not, however, of long duration.

On the occasion of Lucretia de Borgia's marriage with Alfonse of Este in the year 1501, Angela accompanied her cousin to Ferrara, where she remained as a lady of honor to the new duchess ; and where, it is said, her uncommon beauty became an innocent occasion of disturbance and

167. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 116.
168. Archivio Stor. Ital., ser. 3, vol. XVII, p. 332.
169. Saggio di Albero Geneal.
170. Gregorovius, ubi supra, s. 115 ; Matagne in Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. XI, p. 191 ; Civiltà Cattol., ser. 8, vol. IX, p. 721.
171. Von Reumont in Archiv., Stor. Ital., ser. 3, vol. XVII, p. 332 ; Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 115, and Bd. II, s. 75, 76; Alvisi, Cesare Borgia, p. 61.

scandal [172]. She married Alexander Pio, count of Sassuolo, on December the 6th 1506 [173].

ARTICLE VI. — RODERIC LANZOL Y DE BORGIA.

Like most modern historians, Imhof [174] has strangely confounded the different degrees of lineage of Guillen Lanzol's and Joanna de Borgia's descendants, when stating that Joanna had four sons, namely, Roderic, William Raymund, and the two cardinals, Joannes and Petrus Ludovicus ; since the former two were her children, and the latter her grandchildren. Although he further confuses Roderic with his nephew, the lord of Villalonga and Castelnon, he has however conferred a benefit upon students of history, by allowing to the sister of pope Alexander VI a son of that name, thus solving the puzzle of Dante del Re, and rendering intelligible a number of important historical facts and records, which cannot relate but to him.

Already during the reign of his uncle, Calixtus III, pope Alexander VI had learned to rely rather on the fealty and affection of his blood relations than on Roman or other Italian noblemen, to whom a Spaniard was but a Catalan, if not a " marrano ". No wonder if, soon after his elevation, he placed at the head of the guardians of his residence and of his person, one of his nephews, Roderic de Borgia, a son of his sister Joanna. Gregorovius [175], following Imhof, calls this Roderic a grand-nephew of the Pontiff ; but Roderic, his grandnephew and grandson of Joanna de Borgia, not having at this time attained his twentieth year of age, was unfit for the responsible position, to which he

172. Reumont and Gregorovius, ubi supra.

173. Reumont, ubi supra ; Gregorovius, ibid., s. 317.

174. Genealogia XX. Illustrium in Hispania Familiarum, p. 24.

175. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, p. 49.

was to be appointed only several years later, as second successor to Roderic, his uncle.

On the 12th day of November, 1492, one thousand one hundred and eighty-nine ducats and thirty bolognese, or their equivalent, twelve hundred and thirty-eight florins and sixty-nine bolognese, were paid to this nephew of pope Alexander VI, the Discreet lord Roderic Borgia, Captain of the guard of our Holy Lord, as stipends for one month's service, the price of a pair of boots and other expenses [176].

The captain of the palace guard, Roderic, further received his monthly salary again during the month of February, 1493, and the order of payment gives an interesting account of his command at that time. It, namely, consisted of one hundred and thirty-four men on foot, sixteen constables, twenty-five crossbowmen and two pipers. The pay of them all amounted, for that month, to nine hundred and sixteen ducats [177].

Don Roderic de Borgia had probably enlisted some more men for the Vatican guard, when, on the 9th of May, 1493, he received nine hundred and sixty-two ducats [178].

Pope Alexander VI issued, on May the 11th, 1493, a bull addressed to his beloved sons, Roderic de Borgia, Jeronyma, his wife, and to their children of either sex, as also to a few noblemen of Valencia, by which, at their humble request, he granted them, but specially to Roderic, whom he calls his nephew, the privilege of choosing a competent confessor, whom the Pontiff empowered to absolve from reserved cases and to commute their vows. Roderic further obtained on this occasion the favor of a domestic chapel [179].

---

176. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Introitus et Exitus, vol. 524, f° 145.

177. Rome, Archivio de Stato, Mandati, 1492-1494, at the date.

178. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Introitus et Exitus, vol. 524, f° 171vo.

179. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 879 : Alex. VI, Bull. Div., an. I, t. I, f° 207.

It may be noticed that these spiritual benefactions were not intended for Roderic, the son of Jofre Lanzol y de Borgia, who in all probability had no wife at the time, and had no children of such an age that they might benefit by the pontifical concessions. Similar privileges were granted to him and his lady in the year 1501.

The captain of the palace guard, the older Roderic, received his stipends again on the 27th and the 28th of March, 1494 [180], and also during the following month of May [181], on the 7th and the 8th of October, the 10th and the 11th of November, and the 17th of December of the same year [182].

He was paid about the usual amount on February the 4th, 1495, but on the 11th of March the guard had been increased to three hundred and three foot and twenty-five horse, and Roderic's pay amounted to eighteen hundred and fifty-nine florins. His infantry numbered sixty-two more men on April the 10th, and the salary was in proportion. As captain of the palace guard, he received twenty-two hundred and twenty-three florins on the 21st of July, 1495 [183].

This is the last time we saw him at the papal treasury. Shortly after, his place in the Vatican was occupied by one of his distant relations, Bartholomew de Serra, and Roderic de Borgia spent the rest of his days with his family at Valencia in Spain, but was not forgotten by the Pontiff, his uncle.

Pope Alexander VI commenced, in the year 1497, to grant to some of his relations living in Spain, a yearly donation payable semi-annually on the feast of St. John the Baptist and at Christmas. As noted before, the Pontiff ordered, on the 9th of July, 1498, to reimburse the money that his

180. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Introitus et Exitus, vol. 526, fo 161vo, at the date.

181. Ibid., vol. 525 at the date.

182. Ibid., vol. 527 at the dates.

183. Ibid. at the dates.

depositaries had advanced in the city of Valencia to several of his kinsmen, in particular, two hundred ducats to Roderic de Borgia, son of Jofre [184]. On this occasion he did not mention Roderic, the son of his sister ; but a few days later, on the 20th of the same month, he sent to his treasurer an amended duplicate of the order, omitting this time his grand-nephew and inserting, under the generic title of relative, " conjunctus ", his first-nephew, Roderic, who also had received one hundred ducats [185].

From a similar mandate of repayment we see that the older Roderic received, during the next year, 1498, both on the feast of St. John the Baptist, and on Christmas Day, donations of one hundred ducats each [186].

The agents of the Spanochii heirs, bankers of the papal treasury, paid again in Valencia, on St. John's day of the year 1499, the semi-annual donation of the Pope to his relations, among whom Roderic is mentioned especially for one hundred ducats [187].

Anew, on the 6th day of March, 1500, the Pope gave orders that his treasury should refund to the heirs of Ambrose de Spannochiis, the moneys they had advanced for him in Spain, namely, five hundred ducats to his sister, Beatrice de Borgia, one hundred to his nephew, Roderic de Borgia and wife, and two hundred and fifty to his relative, Raymond Castellar [188].

The Pontiff took care that his nephew and other beloved kindred should continue to receive his generous allowance during the remainder of his life. To this effect he commanded, on the 20th of November, 1500, to be paid in two equal instalments to his relatives, " consanguineis " : one thousand ducats to Beatrice de Borgia, two hundred to

184. See Document 18a.
185. See Document 18b.
186. See Document 18c.
187. See Document 18d.
188. See Document 18e.

Roderic de Borgia and wife, and five hundred to Raymond Castellar [189]. He issued similar mandates on November the 13th, 1501 and on January the 13th, 1503 [190].

It will easily be noticed that Roderic, the son of Pedro Guillen Lanzol and of Joanna de Borgia, was thus favored in his retreat of Valencia in Spain, at the very time that Roderic, the son of Jofre, his brother, was actively engaged in the Vatican palace as captain of the pontifical guard.

From the papal bull of the 11th of May, 1493, just mentioned, we learn that Roderic de Borgia was married to a lady named Jeronyma, by whom he had sons and daughters ; but we are sorry to say that we did not find the name of any of his children nor the family title of their mother.

We thus finish the biographical sketches of the sons of Joanna, sister of pope Alexander VI, and of their numerous posterity during the lifetime of that Pontiff.

Of Isabella, daughter of Pedro Guillen Lanzol and of Joanna de Borgia, we found nothing but what is said of her in Fita's second genealogical tree [191], namely, that she married her cousin, Don Luis Jofre del Milá, Lord of Massalaves, and became the mother of D. Luis Milá, who succeeded his father in the seigniory [192].

---

189. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Alex. VI, Div. Cam., an. 1497-1501, lib. IIII, Armar. 29, nº 53, fº 86.

190. See Douments 18f,g.

191. Estudios Histor., t. VI, p. 101.

192. Fita, Estud. Histor., t. VI, p. 101 ; " I Borgia ", p. 52.

CHAPTER XII.

Tecla and Beatrix de Borgia.

ARTICLE I. — TECLA DE BORGIA, THE POPE'S SISTER.

Doña Tecla or Thecla de Borja was the second sister-german of pope Alexander VI [1]. She was born, like all her brothers and sisters, at Xativa, but went with her mother and the whole family, about the year 1440, to live in Valencia [2], where she received a high education. She was a lady of remarkable beauty, and recognized as a fairly good poetess by the most renowned Spanish bard, Mister Ausias March, the Valencian Petrarca. In his works [3] is to be found in versified form a chivalrous correspondence with Tecla de Borgia, a literal translation of which we here give.

Mr. March wrote to her :

Between the eyes and the ears
I find there is a very great contest ;
And of it they make me the judge,
Those who speak of your wonderful qualities.

The eyes say that it is much better
To see you than to hear you ;
The ears will not agree,
And say that it is the contrary.

1. Fita, Estud. Histor., t. VI, pp. 101, 194, 196 ; Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 4 ; Archiv. della Soc. Roman. di Storia Patria, vol. IV, p. 116, footn.

2. See Document 1.

3. Las Obras del poeta Mossén Ausias March, Valladolid, 1555, f° 140.

You, who of all are worth the most,
By outward as by inward excellence,
Of these both you see the confines
But not the separation from each other.

Tecla answered :

Having heard your nice statements,
Good Mister March, to whom I commend me,
I briefly answer you to what you have said
Regarding the judgment you make of them.

Very small is the worth that is in me ;
But since I am forced to speak my word :
The one who shall say : It is well to admire me,
Him I condemn to lose the case.

Yet, should I speak the contrary
Of truth, reversing turns,
I submit my judgments to you,
Who are of all the most expert [4].

Tecla de Borgia married a man of high nobility, Vidal de Vilanova [5], lord of the barony of Pego near Alicante, and a scion of the house of the counts of Castella [6].

This nephew of pope Calixtus III, like several more of his first-cousins, enlisted for the fleet which that Pontiff sent to the Aegean sea against the Mohammedans, as we see from the papal brief directed to him on the 29th of March, 1457 [7]. Did he give his life for the preservation of

4. See Document 51.
5. Fita, Estud. Histor., t. VI, p. 195 and Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 4, both quoting Çurita, Anales de Aragon, lib. XVI, cap. 32, alias V, 36.
6. Paris, Bibl. Nation. Fonds franç., cod. 20288, f° 337.
7. See Document 24.

Church and civilization in Europe ? We know that his demise was deplored by his young widow [8].

Tecla de Borgia died herself in the middle of the year 1459 [9].

Fidel Fita [10] doubts whether Tecla had any children, while Escolano reports [11] that " Don Francis de Vilanova married [12] Doña Andolça de Vilanova, daughter of Juan Vidál de Vilanova, lord of Pego, who had married a sister of pope Alexander VI ". He adds that Andolça's spouse died in the year 1460.

ARTICLE II. — BEATRIX DE BORGIA, ALEXANDER'S SISTER.

The third and youngest sister, " soror germana ", of pope Alexander VI was Beatrix [13] de Borgia [14], baroness of Castel Nuevo, in the diocese of Segorve.

She married a Spanih gentleman of high nobility, probably the lord of the barony of Arenosis in the diocese of Valencia [15], Don Ximen Perez de Arenos [16].

Ximen de Arenos, through his marriage a nephew of pope Calixtus III, responded to his uncle's zealous appeal for volunteers, to man his fleet against the fierce, invading Mohammedans ; and, in a brief of the 29th of March, 1457, the Pontiff praised him, like others of his nephews, for past

8. Fita, ubi supra, p. 199 : Antonio Tridento writes in Tecla's Elegy " ... Viduata meo lugens tristisque marito ".

9. Ibid., p. 198.

10. Ibid., p. 200.

11. Hist. de Valencia, Edit., 1611, part II, p. 1012.

12. Or contracted espousals, " casó " ?

13. Dona Beatriz, Beatrice.

14. Fita, ubi supra, p. 200; Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Alex. VI, Bull. Div., an. 4 ad 11, t. IV. Regest. 882, f° 486vo ; etc.

15. Fita, ubi supra, pp. 101, 195 ; Archiv. Secret. Vatic : Nicol. V, De Curia, lib. XIX, Regest. 424, f° 215vo.

16. Eximen Pérez de Arenós, Arenòs, Arenes, Aranos, and, euphonized, de Arignano. — See Document 1 ; Fita, ubi supra ; Çurita, Hist. del. Rey Don Hernando, lib. V, cap. 42, f° 298.

services and urged him to still greater deeds [17]. We found no further account of his life or death ; but Beatrix de Borgia is still called his wife, not his widow, on the occasion of cardinal Roderic de Borgia's election to the supreme pontificate in the month of August, 1492. He is not, however, alluded to any more in a pontifical letter of the year 1500 to his wife.

When the news of Roderic de Borgia's elevation to the papacy reached Valencia, great festivities trook place and public congratulations were offered to Beatrix, who was, it seems, the only sister of pope Alexander VI still living [18].

On the 9th of the following month of September, she wrote from Valencia to her exalted brother, begging to grant, for her sake, a gracious audience to the noble Nicholas Balbi of Venice, one of her loyal clients who had suffered reverses in several localities [19].

In the year 1500, she requested spiritual favors for herself, and the Pontiff readily granted them by a bull of the 10th of March of that year, directed to the noble Lady Beatrix de Borgia, baroness of Castel Nuevo, his sister-german, bestowing upon her the privilege of a domestic chapel exempt from local interdict, the free choice of a confessor, who would have jurisdiction to absolve from reserved cases herself and the members of her household ; special indulgences and dispensations in the rules of fasting, together with the right of visiting nuns in their cloister [20].

Commencing in the year 1498, pope Alexander VI allowed to his sister, Beatrix, a yearly pension of one thousand ducats, paid regularly, the last time being on January 13th, 1503 [21].

---

17. See Document 24.
18. See Document 1.
19. See Document 50.
20. Archiv. Secret. Vatic.: Alex. VI, Bull. Div., an. 4 ad 11, t. IV, Regest. 882, fo 486vo.
21. See Documents 18a to g.

She died a few days before the Pontiff, her brother, thus realizing, Çurita remarks [22], an expectation of the Pope, who always said that he would outlive all his brothers and sisters.

Beatrix de Borgia " no tuvo hijos " [23], was not blest with children. The Roman pontiffs, therefore, found no one in her family to be of service to them, except her husband, Ximen Perez, and no one on whom they could bestow secular or ecclesiastical preferments.

It seems, however, that this alliance with the niece of pope Calixtus III was beneficial to the house of Arenos ; for already in the year 1449, on the 13th of January, we find a Francis Arenes, a doctor of canon law and chamberlain of pope Nicholas V, who received the parish of Holy Mary de Quinto in the diocese of Saragossa [24].

A Ferdinand Aranos had been appointed a canon of Valencia by Alfonso de Borgia, then a cardinal, and, on the 15th of July, 1451, pope Nicholas V confirmed him in this dignity [25].

Still another Arenes, Anthony, a member of the household of pope Calixtus III, was granted the benefice of the almonry of the cathedral of Saragossa on the 26th of February, 1457 [26], and on the next 17th of June, he obtained the right of succession to another benefice [27].

---

22. Hist. del Rey Don Hernando, lib. V, cap. 42, f° 298.

23. Osuna document, ap. Fita, Estud. Histor., t. VI, p. 101.

24. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 408, f° 81.

25. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Nic. V, De Curia, lib. XI, Regest. 416, f° 169.

26. Ibid. Calix. III, De Curia, an. II, III, t. XIII, Regest. 448, f° 55vo.

27. Ibid. Calix. III. Secret, lib. VII, an. I, II, III, t. XXV, Regest. 460, f° 44.

Jofre de Borgia and Isabella de Borgia

Pedro Luis, | Roderic, or Alexander VI. | Joanna, married Pedro Gulielmo Lançol | Tecla, married Vidal de Villanova | Beatrix, married Ximen Perez de Arénos

William Raymond Lançol de Borgia, married Vannoza de Cathaneis | Jofre, (1) | Roderic, | Isabella married Jofre del Milá

Luis del Milá

Girolama, | Pedro Luis, affianced Mary Enriquez | Giovanni, married Mary Enriquez | Cesar, married Charlotte d'Albret | Jofre, (2) Lucretia (3)

Giovanni, Isabella | Louise

(1) Jofre married Joanna de Moncada

Roderic, | Giovanni, | Pedro Ludovico, | Wm Raymond, | Hieronyma, | Angela.

Gaspar Jofre

(2) Jofre married Sancia of Aragon, and Aldonsa del Milá

Anna

(3) Lucretia married Alfonso of Aragon and Alfonso of Este

Roderic | Ercole, Hippolyt, Alessandro, Eleonora, Fr...

APPENDIX.

A DISCUSSION OF THE NAME OF SONS AND DAUGHTERS OF THE POPE, OFTEN GIVEN TO THE CHILDREN OF WILLIAM RAYMUND DE BORGIA; AND THE PRETENDED DOCUMENTS CALLING THEM ILLEGITIMATE.

The question of the morality or immorality of pope Alexander VI hinges on the one of the parentage of William Raymund de Borgia's children, attributed to him by his enemies.

We have established that all those children were born in Spain, while pope Alexander was all the time residing in Rome and, consequently, they could not be his offspring.

Jeronima, Pedro Luis, Giovanni, Cesar, Lucretia and Jofre de Borgia are often called brothers and sisters, and, on other occasions, full brothers and sisters-german. Therefore, what is known of the parentage of any one of them ought to be applied to that of all the others. Cesar and Jofre are in various pontifical bulls called nephews of cardinal Lewis John del Milá ; but the Roman curia would not have designated them by this close relationship, if they had been the illegitimate children of cardinal de Borgia, who was but a cousin of his colleague. Their father must have been a brother or a true nephew of the former cardinal, as William Raymund de Borgia really was by marriage.

To destroy the fair name of pope Alexander VI, it was necessary to destroy many documentary papers of the time ; yet we have found a contemporary document that speaks of the father of Giovanni de Borgia. His baptismal name

has been erased from it, for an obvious reason ; but there are sufficient particulars left, to prove that cardinal de Borgia was not Giovanni's parent nor, by induction, of his brothers and sisters [1].

We have noticed how Pedro Luis and his brother, Giovanni, became by marriage the first cousins of king Ferdinand of Spain, how Lucretia became the daughter-in-law of Ercole, duke of Ferrara, and we shall farther observe that Cesar married into the kingly house of France, the sister of the king of Navarra. The historians hostile to pope Alexander necessarily admit that those proud monarchs and princes wantonly forfeited the honor and decency of their houses, by admitting into them the bastard progeny of a sacrilegious clergyman and of a wretched woman ; but we would not venture to propose to the belief of our judicious readers, that, actually, they lowered themselves to such a disgraceful condescension.

In spite of these facts, pope Alexander's adversaries, in order to bolster up their slanders, confidently allege the testimony of several contemporary or rather subsequent writers, who call children of the Pope, the sons and daughters of William Raymund de Borgia ; and they assert that the Pontiff recognized them as his own. Moreover, Thuasne published of late [2] and Fita, shortly after [3], a number of pretended documents, found in the Archives of the duke of Osuna, in Madrid, that are evidently composed with the intention of denigrating the memory of pope Alexander VI. Their publishers regard them as genuine and Pastor sum-

1. We suggest that some one of our readers, able to do so, make researches in the Library of the Academy of History of Madrid, Collection Salazar, where the present mutilated document was found. His reward will probably be the discovery of other papers regarding William Raymund de Borgia and his children.

2. Burchard, Diar., t. III, Supplément.

3. Estudios Histor., t. VI, pp. 106, seq.

marily declares that, after them, any future justification, of that Pope is made impossible [4].

We shall, therefore, in this Appendix, expose the meaning of " son " and " daughter " of the Pope, applied to Cesar de Borgia and to his brothers and sister, often, yet not always, in Rome and Italy ; but never in other countries, nor, anywhere in papers of any consequence, in which they are invariably designated as his " nephews " and " nieces ". We shall prove that the Pontiff never recognized them as his children, and, finally, demonstrate that the so-called documents extracted from the Osuna Archives are but a bundle of mischievous papers, whose forgery is evident.

---

4. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s. | 589, n. 1.

CHAPTER XIII.

Children attributed to Alexander VI.

ARTICLE I. — SOME WERE CALLED BOTH, " SONS " AND " NEPHEWS " OF POPE ALEXANDER VI.

To establish Cardinal de Borgia's paternity of William Raymund de Borgia's children, his enemies continue to apply to them what Infessura [1] asserted of Cesar : " He was always held, considered and reputed as the son of pope Alexander VI ". They pretend or suppose that every writer of that time has named those children, his children. There are contemporaneous testimonies asserting Vannoza Cathanei de Borgia to be the mother of the children ascribed to that Pontiff [2] ; but there is not, besides the misleading diarist, a single historian of that time who asserts that the Pope was the real father of the Borgia children, or intimates that he ever had any kind of relation with their mother. Savonarola himself, who bitterly accuses him of several specific vices, never charges him, either in word or in writing, with having any children or committing any act of levity with any woman [3].

It is true that Burchard, the Pope's master of ceremonies, simply adds to the names of Giovanni, Cesar, Jofre and Lucretia de Borgia, as often as he mentions them, the designation of sons or daughter of the Pope ; but he does so without any suggestion of blame or indication of diminished

---

1. Ap. Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles. ad an. 1493, n° XXXIV ; and by interpolation, ap. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 84.

2. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. XIV ; Fita, Estudios Historicos, vol. VI, p. 129 ; Her funeral monument, etc.

3. Cfr. Cantu, Réforme en Italie, disc. XI, p. 457.

esteem ; nor does he, for instance, mean to say that Giovanni de Borgia was the natural son of the Pope, when he calls him simply a Valencian, " Johannes Borgia dux Gandiae Valentinus, filius SS. D. N. [4] ". It is a spurious insertion into his Diary, where we find the word " spuria " added [5]. Had he suspected anything sinister in " sons ", he would have made use of the words : nephew and niece, as he did even when mentioning the legitimate children of pope Innocent VIII [6] ; for, in no passage of his Diary, that is not an interpolation from Infessura, does he speak disrespectfully, or to the detriment of pope Alexander VI. Moreover, should Burchard have intended to denote by his designations of " son " or " daughter ", any more than practically adopted children of pope Alexander VI, he would clearly have said so ; for he was not reserved in cases of illegitimates. On this point he does not spare the " cardinalis Ursinus, Gentilis Virginii de Ursinis filius naturalis sive bastardus " [7].

Burchard wrote the language of the people among whom he lived, and the historian, Çurita, who is, generally, not favorable to Alexander VI, makes a very credible report, when he says that " Cesar de Borgia was called by the people of Rome a son of the Pope, but affirmed that he was not " [8]. It is quite natural that the common people should have called the orphans of the Pope's deceased nephew, his children, when they saw him, both as Cardinal and as Pope, take a fatherly care of them, promote their education and advancement, and frequently receive them at the pontifical palace ; treat them, in a word, as he had been treated, when

4. Diar., t. II, p. 69.

5. On page 78, t. I, of Thuasne's edition. — Thuasne himself notifies, Ibid., p. 77, n. 2, his readers of the vicious interpolation from Infessura.

6. Ibid., p. 275.

7. Diar., t. II, f° 238 ; Item pp. 318, 434, 493.

8. Hist. del Rey Don Hernando, lib I, cap. 22, f° 28 : " Tenia el pueblo a Cesar Borja per hijo del Papa, y affirmo que no lo era ".

an orphan himself, by his uncle Calixtus III. They gave them the name of children of the Pope, all the more readily, because of the recent fact and example of the children of pope Innocent VIII. That the people did not, however, attach to the appellation any idea of disgrace or guilt, is sufficiently illustrated by the frequent proofs of their constant attachment and devotion to the Borgian Cardinal and Pope. The prelates and better classes of Roman society well knew the actual relationship between the Pontiff and his nephews ; and, some of them, like Burchard, may have applied the popular name of son and daughter to these, as a term of praise of the Pontiff's charity, through which he had become a second father to them.

We cannot refrain from relating here a reminiscence from our boyhood. When about ten years old, one of my brothers and I were going to the communal school of Bouchaute in Belgium. Our parish priest, the Rev. Karel Moens, had grown old in the village and was universally respected. Great was the surprise of all of us, children, when, one morning, our number was increased by one or two boys and two or three girls, perfect strangers. Some of the pupils had seen them come from the presbytery, and we watched them return to it. This was enough to call them, " the Pastor's children ". My brother and I, when returning home, told our mother the news of " the Pastor's children "' She reproved us and said that we should not call them by that name, because " Pastors have no children ". We soon learned their given names, but their patronymic was and remained " Pastor's ", with the children and many people of the village. After a few months they suddenly left both school and presbytery, and returned, as we learned several years later, to the distant home of their widowed mother, the venerable priest's niece, who had sent her

children to remain with him during the time that an epidemic was raging in her village. Had they stayed in Bouchaute, they would, most likely have continued to be known as " the Pastor's children ".

It is no wonder if some envoy or diarist, acquainted with the language of the Roman people, should make use of the expression, of son or daughter of the Pope, with the same improper, familiar meaning.

The ambassador of Ercole d'Este writes from Rome, on the 6th of May, 1494, to the bishop of Ferrara : " Virginio Orsini is gone to Naples and has taken along a nephew son of Our Lord, ' uno nepote figliuolo di N. S. ', who has been granted an estate in the kingdom and has taken for wife a daughter of the King " ; that is, Jofre de Borgia. " Nepote " is here evidently used as an adjective, to qualify or restrict the meaning of the elastic noun " figliuolo ", used at the time to designate, especially among princes, any kind of relation or even acquaintance, as in the letter of Giovanni de Borgia, dated the 12th of September, 1496, to the marquis of Mantua, wherein he names himself the son of the marquis Gonzaga, his father ; in fact, a simple acquaintance [9]. If, according to the interpretation of de l'Epinois [10], the word " figliuolo " should be a correction of " nepote ", the ambassador would not have written " nepote ", or have erased it ; or, if " nepote " was the designation used at the chancelleries, where official instruments were made, then it must have meant what it said, namely, a nephew ; so as not to invalidate the documents there written.

So also have Nicolo Cagnolo, Malipiero, Manfredi and Paolo Capello followed the language of the people and called Cesar de Borgia simply son of the Pope [11].

9. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. II, s. 48.
10. Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. XXIX, p. 375.
11. H. de l'Epinois, Ibid. p. 375.

In the same way Pietro Bembo made use of the popular Roman expression, in the letter that he wrote [12], to console Lucretia de Borgia, duchess of Ferrara, at the death of her benefactor, pope Alexander VI. You have lost, he says, " your father, who was so great that not even Fortuna herself could have given you a greater one ". He was trying to find in the remembrance of his worth a compensation for the sorrow of her loss. H. de l'Epinois must be a hard hearted writer to find [13] in that expression a testimony of the Pontiff's guilt and of Lucretia's disgrace. What shall we say of Bembo who at this sad moment reminds a good and pious lady, that she is but a sacrilegious bastard, and that her progenitor suffers now the punishment of his crime ? What a consolation, indeed ! Did he not know the saying : " De mortuis nihil nisi bonum ", say nothing but good of the dead ? He did know it ; and he effectually afforded consolation to the afflicted duchess, by the remembrance of the great charity of her illustrious foster-father.

The nondescript Spanish literatus, Peter Martyr, who reviles pope Alexander for his love of those whom he designates as his children, finally, when speaking of the death of Cesar de Borgia, admits the belief common in Spain, that held him as a nephew, a grandson of a brother of that Pope, " cujus ipse fratris nepos esse dicebatur " [14]. And so he was, indeed: a " nepos ", a grandson of Pedro Guillen Lanzol, brother-in-law of pope Alexander VI. Florimondo Bragnolo, writing from Rome to the Marchioness of Mantua, on the 19th of March, 1493, likewise designated Cesar as the " Nipote de uno fratello di N. Signore ", the nephew of a brother of Our Lord the Pope [15].

12. Opera, III, 309.
13. Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. XXIX, p. 378.
14. Leonetti, Papa Alessandro VI, vol. I, p. 197.
15. Clément de Vebron, Les Borgia, p. 564.
d'Urbino, vol. II, p. 81.

In a similar manner, Ugolini calls the Pontiff the uncle, " zio ", of Cesar de Borgia [16], although, three pages farther on, he asserts that the same Cesar was born of him and his concubine Vannoccia. The contradictory statements of those and of other writers of the time should be a warning for us, not to attach any more importance to their calumnies than they themselves seem to do.

Father Benedict Maillard, the great prior of the abbey of Savignies, reports in his chronique, written from day to day, on the occasion of Cesar de Borgia's passage through the city of Lyons : " In the month of November of the said year, 1498, the lord duke of Valentinois, " he says, " the nephew of pope Alexander VI, " neveu du pape Alexandre VI ", entered Lyons with great display of garments and of horses ".

At the demise of pope Alexander VI, when a tempest of hatred and revenge of the nobility broke loose against him, the popular term of son and daughter was generally changed into illegitimate son or daughter, into bastard, by the malcontents of his reform administration, by the salaried scribblers of princes whom he had justly punished, and by diarists and historians of the next following period, whose slanders were unpunished, if not encouraged during the reign of an unfriendly successor. It is under such influences that a stupid manuscript archslanderer wrote, as also Allegretto de Allegrettis, the Dominican Jerome de Bursellis [17], Guicciardini and several subsequent historians. But the Florentine Francesco Vettori, although an author of this period and rather hostile to pope Alexander VI, denies the accusations of his contemporaries against the purity of that Pontiff's life ; when, at the end of his " Sacco di Roma [18] ", he says : I am not willing to speak of the immorality of his

16. Storia dei Conti e Duchi
17. De l'Epinois, Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. XXIX, pp. 376-377.
18. Viaggio in Alemagna di Fr. Vettori, Paris, 1837.

conduct. So many scandalous things are being told of him, that it is hard on me to consider them as true, and I dislike to repeat what could be shown to be mendacious [19].

It is a serious mistake of most modern writers to assume or to say, like de l'Epinois [20], that all contemporary ambassadors and chroniclers declare pope Alexander to be the father, whether natural or adoptive, of Cesar de Borgia and of his brothers and sisters.

Before relating any of the testimonies contrary to that assertion, we may be allowed to make, with Leonetti [21], the remark that the chroniclers who followed the French king, Charles VIII, in his conquest of Naples, severely blame pope Alexander VI of other faults, but never say a word of his pretended paternity or immorality, which should have been, if true, most notorious at the time ; and that the Popes, under whom he served as a cardinal, instead of shamefully deposing him for the crime of being the sacrilegious father of several children, competed among themselves as to who should honor him the most. de l'Epinois calls those facts specious and tries to explain them away by the fallacious argument of the alleged universal corruption of society— and of five consecutive Popes ! one of whom is said to have severely rebuked the cardinal for a levity, of which he was accused, but not guilty.

Gian Andrea Boccaccio, bishop of Modena and ambassador of Ferrara in Rome, designates Lucretia de Borgia, in his dispatch of the 2d of November, 1492, as niece of the Pope ; when he writes that the first husband of the said niece had come to Rome ; but, neglected there, was sent back to Naples, " Era venuto il primo marito de la dicta nepote, qual fu rimesso a Napoli, non visto da niuno " [22].

19. Von Reumont, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. III, s. 498.
20. Ibid., pp. 374, 378.
21. Alessandro VI, vol. I, p. 198.
22. Archiv. of Modena, ap Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 50, footn.

He calls Lucretia niece of the Pope again, in a missive to the duke Ercole d'Este, on the 6th of May, 1493 : " Ma Adriana Ursina : ha sempre governata esse sposa (Lucretia) in casa propria per esser in loco de nepote del Pontifice ", Lady Adriana Ursini has always governed that spouse in her own home, because she holds the rank of a niece of the Pontiff [23].

Fioramondo Brognolo, a Roman agent of Mantua, indicated Lucretia de Borgia by the name of niece of the Pope, when writing to the Marquis of Gonzaga, on the 9th of December, 1492 : The application of the Illustrious Giovanni of Pesaro for the hand of Lucretia still hangs in suspense ; it seems to me that the Spanish nobleman—Gasparo de Prochita—to whom the " niece " of the Pontiff was promised, is not willing to give up his claim [24].

Brognolo, likewise, called Cesar de Borgia a nephew of the Pope, almost with the identical words used by Peter Martyr. In his letter of the 19th of March, 1493, to the Marchioness of Mantua he says : " Dicise que quello nepote di uno fratello de N. Sre. que epis. de Valenza, metera sozolo abito, e torra per moglie una nipote ovvero figliuola de la Mta. del Re ", It is rumored that the " nepos ", grandson of a brother of Our Lord, the bishop of Valencia, will put aside the habit, and take for wife a niece or a daughter of the King [25].

Ferdinand I, the king of Naples, who had heard of the designation, " son of the Pope ", at that time a popular expression in Rome, testifies that Jofre de Borgia was a nephew of pope Alexander VI. On the 22d February, 1493, he wrote to his envoy in Rome, Luigi de Paladinis : His

---

23. Ibid., s. 24.
24. Ibid., s. 51.
25. Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 378, ap. Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. XXIX, p. 375 ; Leonetti, Alessandro VI, vol. I, p. 196.

Holiness has no reason to complain, since at his request, that we should provide " his nephew ", the prothonotary, with one of the benefices, worth from eight hundred to a thousand ducats, to become vacant in our kingdom, we are very willing to do so, in order to be agreeable to His Holiness. He ought to be satisfied, all the more, while he can rest assured that if any prince on earth is wishing to do good to " his relatives ", we think to be the one. As soon as a prelacy of an annual one thousand ducats shall become vacant in the kingdom, we are ready to have " his nephew " invested with it. If there shall ever be in our accounts with him a balance of a hundred ducats, more or less, he may give it to someone of " his ", by preference to the Prothonotary, to whom we feel especially inclined [26].

It is true that king Ferdinand called this same " nephew ", Jofre, a " son of the Pope ", when announcing his marriage with Sancia, the illegitimate daughter of the duke of Calabria [27] ; but, in so doing, he made use of a complimentary exaggeration of relationship, customary with princes, especially at that time. It is remarkable that, while Ferdinand invariably applied the term " illegitimate " to Sancia, Jofre's bride, he never attributed this epithet to Jofre or to any of his brothers or sisters.

The same King also wrote, on the 10th of June, 1493, a private letter to Giovanni Sforza, lord of Pesaro, congratulating him on his marriage with the Most Illustrious Lady Lucretia, the niece of His Holiness Our Lord, " con la Ill. Donna Lucretia, nepote della Sta de N. S. " [28].

Cardinal Julian Caesarini, a colleague of Cesar de Borgia, has left us a short diary, recording the events that took place during the capture and occupation of Rome in the

26. See Document 118.
27. Trinchera, Codice Aragonese, t. II, P. II, pp. 227, 229.
28. Trinchera, Codice Aragonese, vol. II, P. II, p. 67.

years 1494-1495. He relates that the Pope submitted, on the 6th of January, to the judgment of the Sacred College three new demands of the French conqueror, Charles VIII. The second of these was that the cardinal of Valencia, Cesar, should be given to him as a legate, in reality as a hostage, on his expedition against Naples, while " an other of the Pope's nephews " was living with the kings of Spain and " the other " in Neapolitan territory, " Valentinum legatum, cum ex aliis Pape nepotibus alter apud Reges Hispaniarum, per Neapolitanum alter degat ". Cardinal Caesarini thus indirectly declares Cesar, Giovanni and Jofre de Borgia to be the nephews of pope Alexander VI [29].

It is regrettable that the original source be not indicated ; but Cerri relates, in spite of his own theory, that one condition of the agreement between pope Alexander VI and king Charles VIII was, that Cesar de Borgia, " the Pontiff's nephew ", should accompany the King of Naples [30].

On the 27th of January, 1495, Alfonso II, king of Naples, recommended by last will to his son, the duke of Calabria, to take under his special protection the " nephew " of the Sovereign Pontiff, established in the kingdom of Naples ; namely, Jofre de Borgia [31].

When, at the death of the bishop of Freisingen, Rupert, a son of the duke of Bavaria, had been chosen to succeed him, the Electors of the empire and other German princes sent, on the 29th of August, 1495, a joint letter to His Holiness, to beg the confirmation of the bishop elect. They also wrote to the Sacred College and, in particular, to four

29. Rome, Bibl. Barberini, cod. XXXIII, 48, f° 24 : Ex manuscriptis manu propria Juliani Secundi Diac. Cardlis Caesarini.

30. Borgia ossia Alessandro VI, Papa, vol. I, p. 257 : " Cesare, cardinale Valentino, di lui nipote ". Osservisi non si dice *figlio*.

31. Naples, Bibl. Brancaciana, Scanza 2. Let. D. N. 39. The original, ap. De Cherrier, Hist. de Charles VIII, t. 2, p. 102.

of the most influential cardinals, namely, to Ascanio Sforza, the Datary, the cardinal of Siena, and to the cardinal of Valencia, the " nephew " of the Holy Father, " Ad Valentinum, nepotem S^mi ". This last cardinal was Cesar de Borgia [32].

In the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, Cod. 2930, f° 1, Fonds Français, there is an authentic document by which king Louis XII gives, on the 4th of February, 1499, instructions to his envoys, how to make his solemn act of obeisance to pope Alexander VI. Monsieur le duc de Valentinois, Cesar de Borgia, was one of the deputies, and a preliminary remark calls him a " nephew " of the Pope, " nepveu du pape Alexandre Sixiesme ".

So also, on folio 131 of Codex 6559 of the Vatican library, we find the following introduction to a letter of Cesar de Borgia, regarding the surrender of Romagna to pope Julius II : " Original letter of Cesar Borgia, duke of Valentinois, nephew of pope Alexander VI, 'nipote di Papa Alessan-Sesto', written from Rome on the 17th of December, 1503 ".

Neither do all historical writers of the period following the demise of pope Alexander VI designate as his children or illegitimates, the orphans of William Raymund de Borgia. Just for the oddity of it, we will notice here that an anonymous archslanderer calls Lucretia de Borgia, his niece, " una nipote " [33].

A certain B. Gaddi [34], more honest than the stupid defamer, yet abounding in historical errors, refers to his ordinary authority, " l'Istorico ", the historian, and relates that, Cesar

32. Vienna, Haus- Hof- u. Staatsarchiv, cod. II. Conceptum Missiven et cetera id genus, f° 252.

33. Rome, Bibl. Vallicellana, cod. P, 201, f° 30.

34. Rome, Bibl. Corsiniana, cod. 1323, or 33, A. 2 : Relatione del Pontificato di Papa Alessandro Sesto, fiis 5, 6.

de Borgia, after the election of pope Alexander VI, when passing through Siena on his way to Rome, refused being detained any longer by that city's nobility, who ran to congratulate him on the good fortune, brought to his house through the sublime office of the Pontiff, his uncle, " del zio "; and he next reports how, on his arrival in Rome, the cardinals rejoiced with him and introduced him to his uncle, " lo introducero dal zio ".

A historian of greater importance, Çurita, who wrote that Cesar de Borgia was popularly called son of the Pope, calls him, himself [35], the Pontiff's nephew, saying that king Charles VIII sent word to the Pope, asking him to appoint the cardinal of Valencia, his nephew, " su sobrino ", as legate to accompany him on his conquest of Naples.

Although Mariana habitually calumniates pope Alexander VI, yet we find in the translation of his principal work [36], that he also designates Cesar de Borgia as a nephew of that Pontiff, when he states that Cesar, then a hostage in the hands of Charles VIII, escaped in disguise from Velletri, and did not go to Rome, for fear that the Pope might be accused of having taken part in the flight of his nephew, " de son neveu ". Again, when he unjustly asserts [37] that, at the tumbling down of a chimney which placed the life of the Pope in danger, the duke of Valentinois sought the assistance of France and of the other Powers for the election of a successor to his uncle, " après la mort de son oncle ", who would be favorable to his interests.

St. Gelais also gives to Cesar de Borgia the title of nephew of pope Alexander [38].

Muratori [39] prints the following statement of Giuseppe

35. Hist del Rey Don Hernando, lib. I, cap. 42, fo 53vo.
36. Histoire d'Espagne, t. V, p. 160.
37. Ibid., p. 293.
38. Hist. de Louis XII, ap. Ranke, Zur Kritik, s. 131.
39. Scriptores Rerum Ital., P. II, p. DLI.

Catalani : The next year, the duke of Valence, the nephew of the Pope, " nipote del Papa ", took possession of all the seigniories of Romagna.

Moroni [40] indicates more accurately the relation of Cesar de Borgia to pope Alexander VI, when he calls him the cousin, " cugino ", of cardinal Pedro Ludovico de Borgia ; for, the term means that Pedro Ludovico and Cesar were the children of two brothers, of Jofre and of William Raymund, the sons of Pedro Guillen Lanzol, who was the husband of Johanna, Alexander's sister.

Moroni notices [41] that pope Alexander VI is also exonerated from the accusation of immorality and of having any children, by Bzovius and by cardinal Cienfuegos in his Life of St. Francis de Borgia.

We might extend the list of historians who allow to the popularly called children of the Pope, the correct expression of their relation to him, by calling them his nephews and nieces ; but may it suffice to simply mention Bérault Bercastel [42], Alfred von Reumont [43] and Leonetti [44].

ARTICLE II. — OFFICIAL AND BUSINESS DOCUMENTS HOLD CESAR DE BORGIA, HIS BROTHERS AND SISTER AS NEPHEWS AND NIECE OF POPE ALEXANDER VI.

Of greater importance than the testimonies of historians are those found in the official documents of the chanceries of the time, which are precise in naming and designating the personages concerned in the documents they issued. Such

40. Dizionario, Art. Valenza, p. 291.
41. Dizion., Art. Borgia, p. 46.
42. Histoire de l'Eglise, T. X, pp. 539 and 552.
43. Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. 3. vol. XVII, p. 328.
44. Papa Alessandro VI, vol. I, p. 197.

a testimony is found in the archives of the city of Orvieto. At a session of its great council, on the 24th of September, 1494, their envoy to Rome, reported that the Most Reverend cardinal of Valencia, the nephew of Our Holy Lord, " Item rettulit ex parte Rmi. D. Cardinalis de Valentia, nepotis S. D. N. ", was willing to take the office of Protector of the city of Orvieto. It is further stated that Cesar de Borgia was there and then chosen for the honorable position, by the unanimous vote of the ninety-one electors [45]. Another testimony of this kind is the act of the Venetian Senate, admitting Cesar de Borgia to the nobility of Venice, on the 18th of October, 1500. The record of their action is : 1500, the 18th of October, the Illustrious Don Cesar Borgia, duke of Valentinois, nephew of pope Alexander VI, " nipote di papa Alessandro VI "... [46].

Of this same nature partake the letters of Ferdinand I and of Alfonso II, kings of Naples, noticed shortly before.

We might here also recall to mind a document of the pontifical chancery, issued in the year 1486, by pope Innocent VIII [47], where Pedro Luis de Borgia is simply referred to as being one of the relations of both Roderic, bishop of Porto, vicechancellor of the Roman Church and of John, archbishop of Montereale, " consanguineorum, affinium et aliorum ipsius episcopi et vicecancellarii servitorum ", and, soon after, he is mentioned without any further allusion to cardinal de Borgia.

The testimonial value of such documents is still greater, when they treat of temporal affairs and interests ; for then

45. Arch. del Com. d'Orvieto, Rif. CLXII, c. 324, ap. Luigi Fumi, Alessandro VI, e il Valentino in Orvieto, p. 74. — Cesar de Borgia was further named, on the 16th of July, 1495, Governor and Castellan for life of Orvieto, with the faculties of a Legate " a latere ".

46. Leonetti, Papa Alessandro VI, vol. 1, p. 197 ; de l'Epinois, Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. XXIX, p. 375.

47. See Document 35.

ST. ALBERT'S COLLEGE LIBRARY

indeed, the description of the parties concerned must be truthful and correct, so as not to invalidate the business transacted. Such a transaction is related in a Memoir of the year 1501, transmitted by the French ambassador in Rome to king Louis XII, in which pope Alexander VI sets forth the conditions of his assent to the partition of the kingdom of Naples between France and Spain. He stipulates that his nephews and relations, " ses nepveuz et parens ", namely, " Don Johan Bourgia, duc de Gandia ; Don Geouffroy Bourgia, prince Desquillasse; Dona Lucressa Bourgia, duchesse de Visally et son fils, Don Roderico, and the duc de Vallentynois, shall retain the territorial possessions, which they held during the reign of the three last Kings, in that part of the kingdom that was to be granted to the king of France, and he requires the King to confirm his said nephews in their seigniories, " de confermer les seigneuries de sesdicts nepveuz ". On his part, the Pontiff offers to give the investiture free of charge and to remit the yearly tribute due to him from the fief. He finally expresses his confidence that the Catholic kings of Spain will grant a similar favor to his said nephews and relations, " sesdicts nepveux et parens ", in that portion of the kingdom which is to be their share [48].

There is another official paper, whose every statement is of paramount authority, and which ought to settle definitely the question of the relationship of Cesar de Borgia to pope Alexander VI. It is, indeed, the authentic report of a lawsuit, decided in the year 1573, by the court " de Parlement " of Paris, between king Charles IX and Claude de Bourbon, baron of Busset, a grandson of Cesar de Borgia, in regard to the inheritance of the latter. The facts were still suffi-

48. See Document 46.

ciently known by the interested parties at the time that nothing but the exact truth could have been alleged to any avail. Yet, Claude de Bourbon pleads before the court that his grandfather, Cesar de Borgia, was a nephew of pope Alexander VI, " Domp Cezar de Bourgia neveu du Pappe Alexandre Sixiesme " ; that, relying on the word and promises of king Louis XII, he had left his country and relatives, his properties and the rich appointments which he regularly received, as well from the said pope Alexander, his uncle, " dudit pappe Alexandre, son oncle ", as from other Italian princes, and that he had rendered many and important services to king Louis, by his own exertions and by those of the said pope Alexander, his uncle, " dudit Pappe Alexandre, son oncle " [49].

A testimony of the highest importance is the solemn agreement, preliminary to the espousal and marriage of Lucretia de Borgia with Alfonso of Aragon [50]. The document is of the 20th of June, 1498, and was written by the Roman notary, Camillo Beneimbene. The Pontiff promises to the representatives of the king of Naples to care and see to it, that the Illustrious Lady Lucretia Borgia, his niece, " ejus neptis ", shall effectively contract espousals and matrimony with the Illustrious Alfonso of Aragon, son of the late king, Alfonso II and nephew of Frederic, the reigning king of Sicilia. In this document the two principal parties to the engagement are officially described. No false designation for the sake of decency could be tolerated here, without impairing the validity of the contract.

The same notary Beneimbene had also drawn up the papers of the promise of marriage between Lucretia with Giovanni Sforza, Lord of Pesaro, which occurred on the

49. See Document 119.
50. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. II, s. 56.

2d of February, 1493 [51]. In this document he is less explicit than in the former, in describing Lucretia's relation to the Pope, yet he speaks of her in such terms as to exclude all idea of her being his daughter. She is, he says, the sister german of the Illustrious Lord, Giovanni Borgia, duke of Gandia, and a person much beloved by Our Holy Lord, the Pope himself, " Illustris et excell. Dni. Johis. Borgie Ducis Gandiae germanam sororem eidemque Smo dno. nro. PP. dilectissimam ". He would have added the single word " filiam ", and the well beloved daughter of Our Holy Lord, it only the word had been justified by the fact.

We cannot let this document pass by, without noticing its indications of the distinction and separation of the temporal possessions and financial interests of the children of William Raymund de Borgia from those of pope Alexander VI. When Pedro Ludovico had , as first-born, inherited his father's patrimony, he had also assumed, according to the laws of the time, the duty of taking care of the family's cadets, and kept the right of profitting by inheritance from them, in case that they should die without other heirs. When on the point of death, he had made a provision for his sister Lucretia, and left to his brother Giovanni all his rights and duties as an oldest son. In consequence, it is stipulated in this contract of Lucretia's first marriage, that her brother Giovanni must pay the eleven thousand florins, Valencian money, left her by the last will of her deceased brother, Lord Pedro Luis, the late duke of Gandia. While another sum of ten thousand ducats was to be procured by donations and contributions of jewels and ornaments for the bride, the Pope himself was to pay in cash, up to thirty-one thousand ducats, with moneys otherwise provided for the dot. Yet, it is stipulated that, should Lucretia die childless

51. Ibid., s. 34.

before her husband, the whole dot should be returned, not to the Pontiff, but to the said Illustrious Giovanni, duke of Gandia and to his heirs. From all this it is apparent that no temporalities were in common between pope Alexander VI and his alleged children, and that, actually, those children were not his.

Camillo Beneimbene drew up also the contract of marriage between Lucretia de Borgia and Alfonso of Este, celebrated in Rome, in the presence of the Pontiff, on the 28th of December, 1501. Neither in this public document is the slightest allusion made to any illegitimacy. Beneimbene describes the bride by referring to the most remarkable personage among her relations, namely, as the sister-german of the Lord Cesar de Borgia, duke of Romagna and of Valencia [52].

How could we, therefore, admit as a fourth document from the same notary public [53], a paper in which Lucretia is branded as an illegitimate daughter of the Pope ? This writing is called a Dissolution of the marriage contract of Lucretia de Borgia and don Gasparo de Prochita, and is a worthless counterpart of that lady's marriage contract with Don Cherubim Joan de Centelles [54], of which we have spoken already [55] ; for both the young noblemen concerned are, rightly or wrongly, indicated as being from Valencia in Spain, and both were betrothed with the distinguished girl, " insignis puella ", as Lucretia is here styled, about the same time ; the former, namely, on the 26th of February and the latter, on the 30th of April, 1491 ! In both documents Lucretia is said to have for procurator a simple Roman citizen " civis Romanus ", Anthony de Porcariis, who acts as her representative at both weddings. Yet, her official descrip-

52. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. II, s. 109.
53. Ibid., s. 24.
54. Ibid., s. 13.
55. Supra.

tion is not, like in the former, as a bastard, " filla carnal " of the Most Reverend Cardinal de Borgia, but simply as a sister-german of the Illustrious Lord Giovanni Borgia, duke of Gandia ; but the stigma of illegitimacy, " naturalis filia ", is needlessly slipped in further on into the document.

It is stated that, at the request of the contracting parties, the Holy Father shall deign to dispense them from the canonical consequences of the espousal and of the oaths taken on its occasion ; but there is positive proof at hand [56] that neither the Pope, who is represented as here present, nor Lucretia paid the least attention to this clause ; moreover that the parties had liberated each other by mutual consent from all consequent obligations, and Lucretia, six years after, had requested the Pope to dissolve the said marriage, that is, the contract of espousals made in the year 1491, and apparently still in existence, " Pro parte Lucretie nobis fuit humiliter supplicatum ut primum matrimonium predictum dissolvere aliasque in premissis opportune providere de benignitate apostolica dignaremur ". The present alleged contract of dissolution is entirely ignored in the pontifical bull, as if it had been invented in later days.

What makes this writing more suspicious yet, is the disgraceful unilateral bargain by which the distinguished Lord John Francis de Prochita, knight and count de Aversa, binds himself, under heavy penalty, for a whole year, not to engage or marry his son, Gaspar, with any other lady, unless Lucretia, who is declared free to marry any other man, should, in the meantime, have contracted another marriage. Where shall we find another nobleman to submit to such ignoble conditions imposed by a faithless spouse ?

Finally, it is worth the while to notice that this pretended document is but a copy, not an original, of a notarial act,

56. See Document 45.

found in a place where there was no reason to look for it.

Can we, as is done most uncritically by Gregorovius and de l'Epinois [57] consider a paper of that kind as fit to outweigh or even to balance the testimonials of the notary Beneimbene, written on the occasion of the three historic marriages of Lucretia de Borgia ?

ARTICLE III. — POPE ALEXANDER VI DID NOT RECOGNIZE ANY CHILDREN AS HIS OWN.

The second great argument used by the enemies of pope Alexander VI to prove that his imputed children were his indeed, is their own assertion that he himself acknowledged and recognized them as such.

Such action would, however, evidently have stood in the way of the ambition which they ascribe to cardinal de Borgia ; and this circumstance compelled Gregorovius to make of him a hypocrite and a profligate at the same time. On the same page 12, Volume I, of his " Lucretia de Borgia ", he writes that the cardinal tried to hide his relations with Vannozia, his concubine, by providing her with a husband—a very risky means ; and then, that already in 1480, this woman was the mother of several recognized, " anerkannten ", children of his. Again, he assures us [58] that the cardinal solemnly admitted Girolama de Borgia to be his daughter, in the presence of two cardinals of the Church, of captain Virginio Orsini and two other Roman citizens. A little further [59], he says that the cardinal procured a brilliant education for his children, but let them grow up under the name of his nephews, until he could present them in their true light, after having attained his own great-

57. Rev. des Quest. Hist. t. XXIX, p. 377.

58. Ibid., Bd. II, s. 5.

59. S. 18, Bd. I, Ibid.

ness. He goes on to say that Lucretia was ever treated as his niece [60], and finishes by asserting [61] that on the morning of that cardinal's election to the papacy, his disgraceful conduct was publicly known all over Rome, " sein Lebenswandel war stadtkundig ".

Such language, apt to suit the varying needs of a calumniator, is unworthy of a serious historian ; but Gregorovius could not exclusively choose for the prudent cardinal, either an impossibly successful hypocrisy, or a certainly ruinous shamelessness. Pastor avoids the difficulty by ignoring the dilemma, and is satisfied with saying, after de l'Epinois [62], that, on the 1st of October, 1480, pope Sixtus IV legitimated cardinal Rodrigo de Borgia's son, Cesar ; without remarking that the bull of legitimation is but a miserable forgery, as we shall notice soon.

When cardinal de Borgia ascended the papal throne, it should have become both his duty and his policy to take care of his good name more than ever before ; andyet, his enemies say, that from this day on he was brazen enough to publicly recognize his bastards, by calling them his sons and daughter.

He actually addressed Lucretia de Borgia in one of his letters to her, as his " dearest daughter " [63] ; but if that expression designates her as being his child, why should not the term of " our beloved daughter ", which he constantly applied, for instance, to the queen of Spain, prove that pope Alexander was queen Elisabeth's father ? Moreover, he precludes the idea of such an interpretation, when he signifies that the word " daughter " must be understood, not in its literal, but in a spiritual sense, by adding to it the explan-

60. Ibid., Bd. I, s. 34.
61. Ibid., s. 45.
62. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III s. 263 ; Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. XXIX, p. 373.
63. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 74.

atory words, " in Christo ", our daughter in Christ, which virtually excludes the former meaning. As such he mentions her in the bull of dissolution of her marriage engagement with Don Gaspar de Prochita [64]. Again, on the 8th of August, 1499, he writes to the " Priores " of Spoleto, advising them that he had confided the government of Spoleto and Foligno to his " beloved daughter in Christ ", the noble lady Lucretia de Borgia, duchess of Biseglia [65]. So does he in a bull granting her spiritual privileges [66], and so also in several briefs to the Community of Nepi [67], and, in particular, in his letter to the " Priores " of that city , whereby he orders them to accommodate two hundred horsemen that are to accompany " our beloved daughter in Christ, the noble Lady and Duchess Lucretia de Borgia ", on her way to Ferrara [68].

We might, moreover, remark that the escutcheons of pope Alexander VI and of Lucretia were not quite the same ; for, what was black in the one of the Pontiff was brown " morello aperto ", in that of his niece [69].

It is true that pope Alexander VI called Giovanni and Cesar de Borgia, " his beloved sons ". But we should remark again that he uses the same title in regard to emperor Maximilian and his envoy, Marcobald [70], to the " Priores " of Nepi, just mentioned, and to all Christians, in fact, with whom he had any correspondence. Were they all his illegitimate children ? It should, furthermore be observed that, while the duke of Gandia was named " beloved son " by the Pontiff, he never allowed himself to call the Pope " his

64. See Document 45.
65. Sansi, Saggio di Documenti dall' Archivio di Spoleto, p. 81 ; Gregorovious, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 117-118.
66. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Alex. VI, Secret., an. I, ad X, lib. VII, Regest. 873, f° 492.
67. Communal Archives of Nepi, Libri de Brevibus, fiis 21, 23.
68. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 228.
69. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 238, n. 1.
70. Corio, Storia di Milano, vol. III, p. 536.

dear father ". When writing to the Marquis Gonzaga, he addressed him as " Most Honorable Father ", but further in speaking of the Pope, he, like every Christian, made use of the title of " Our Holy Lord " [71]. Neither did Cesar de Borgia ever mention him as " Our beloved father ", but, as when writing to the Marchioness of Mantua, he invariably designated him as " His Holiness Our Lord " [72].

When Cesar de Borgia was named bishop of Pamplona, Alexander VI, then yet cardinal Roderic, recommended him to the people of that city, by stating that he was a person closely related to him, " persona a nos muy conjunta " [73]. If these words could be understood to mean a son of him, they would be no commendation, but a disgrace to Cesar as well as to himself. When, therefore, he thus makes use of the expression, it evidently signifies, not a shameful but an honorable relation, as was that of being a nephew of the Vicechancellor of the Church. Just once did we, in our researches, find Cesar de Borgia giving to pope Alexander VI the title of " father "; namely, when, on the 22d of June, 1503, he appointed James de Nardinis as his lieutenant governor of the city of Fermo. The diploma commences with the words : " Since Our Most Holy Father in Christ and Lord, the Lord Alexander VI, by divine providence Pope, named us, until revocation, Governor of Fermo, etc. ". He does not say simply : " Our Most Holy Father " ; but adds the significant phrase : " in Christo " ; or : Our Spiritual, not our natural, father [74].

To oppose this negative proof, de l'Epinois exhibits [75] the

71. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. II, s. 48.

72. Ibid., Bd. I, s. 289, 290.

73. Yriarte, Les Borgia, t. II, Docum. 2

74. Paris, Archives Nationales. J. 734, n° 23 : An original paper, with the signature " Cesar " and his small seal : Cum Sanctissimus in Christo Pater et Dominus nr Dominus Alexander Divina providentia Papa Sextus nos ad ejus beneplacitum Civitatis Firmi Gubernatorem constituerit...

75. Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. XXIX, p. 374.

signature of a letter of Cesar de Borgia to pope Alexander VI, dated the 28th—correctly, the 29th—of January, 1503 : " Vestre Sanctitatis humillimus servus et devotissima factura ", evidently taking " factura " in the vulgar sense of " your doing ", your child. The publicist is no linguist, however, to know that " factura " is the verbal, improper, translation of the Spanish " hechura ", which stands for the Latin " creatura " and our " creature " ; with the meaning of a person who owes his rise and fortune to another, as we see from a sentence in which Çurita uses both words as equivalent : Cesar de Borgia promised, at the death of pope Alexander VI, the vote of all the cardinals that had been " creados y hechura ", of pope Alexander [76]. The Pontiff himself, who was a Spaniard, like Cesar, uses the idiomatic term, " factura ", instead of " creatura ", generally applied to cardinals, when he says that cardinal Bacocks of Gran was " egregia et excellens manuum nostrarum factura " [77]. Neither was the Spanish expression altogether unknown in Italy as a synonym of the usual " creatura " ; for, under the picture of cardinal Guglielmo Enchevoer, in the ladies' hospital in Rome, was the distich :

Olim factor eram nunc sum factura Hadriani.
Pro mitra retulit is mihi pileolum [78].

Nay, at that very time, the cardinal of Naples, Caraffa, told the ambassador of Venice that he was the " fattura della santa memoria di Paulo II " [79]. Should Cesar have meant : " Your Son ", when he signed : " Factura ", he would have addressed the Pope with : " Dilectissime Pater ", but he used the words :

---

76. Hist. del Rey Don Hernando, lib. V, cap. 44, f° 299vo.

77. Towards the beginning of the last third part of a lengthy document on f° 136, of Varia Politicorum, cod. XXX, in Archivio Vaticano ; found also in Bibl. Vaticana, Ottoboniana, cod. 2726, f° 197, and Urbinata, cod 864, f° 187.

78. Belli, Ospedale delle Donne presso S. Maria, p. 17.

79. Villari, Dispacci, vol. II, p. 126.

" Sanctissime Pater et clementissime Domine, post devota pedum oscula beatorum, " as every other Christian did in writing to the Pontiff [80].

With the same purpose, de l'Epinois [81] recalls a letter of pope Alexander VI to Louis XII, king of France, in which he writes that in sending Cesar de Borgia to France, he sends to him his heart, " cor nostrum ". From the whole letter [82] it is evident that the expression is simply an hyperbole, explained at once to mean simply, that pope Alexander VI was giving to the French king the most precious token of his affection, by confiding to him the duke of Valentinois, dearer to the Pope than anyone or anything else. It was at the same time to be the only and supreme recommendation of Cesar to the King's good will. In the same letter the duke is honored with the common title of " beloved son ", but the King is styled : " Our most beloved son ". Douais [83] answers de l'Epinois by saying : Our correspondent explains the " cor nostrum " as being another Spanish expression, from which absolutely nothing can be drawn either for or against the paternity of Alexander VI.

H. de l'Epinois finally concludes [84] his attempted demonstration of the Pontiff's paternity with an expression of the king of Naples, who wishes to " unite his blood with that of the Pope ", when proposing to him the marriage of the illegitimate daughter of his son with Jofre, the brother of Lucretia de Borgia. It is true that in the letter to which the author refers [85], the King even mentions His Holiness as about to give his son to be our son, " darne suo filiolo per nostro ". But it is hardly necessary to call the reader's attention to

80. Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, pp 513, 514.
81. Ubi supra.
82. Paris, Bibl. Nation. fonds fr., cod. 2929. f° 13.
83. La Controverse, an. 1883, p. 221.
84. Ubi Supra, p. 379.
85. Trinchera, Codice Aragonese, vol. II, P. I, p. 331.

this exaggeration of the degrees of relationship, usual among princes and manifest in this case ; for, as Jofre was not to be the son of Ferdinand of Naples after his marriage with the King's bastard niece, so was he not now the son of the Pope. The King himself reduces the word " son " to a more correct term, by changing it, in the same letter [86], into his blood and ours, " lo sangue suo et nostro ", that is, their relative. The vulgar idea of mixing their blood, " en mêlant leur sang ", is not to be found there. That the word, blood, was then as now used to signify blood relatives of any degree, appears from the fact that the term was applied, for example, to pope Calixtus III and cardinal Roderic de Borgia, by Aeneas Sylvius [87]. When urging the latter to return to Rome he says : You shall be a comfort to the old Pontiff, your uncle, for it is not without some spiritual pleasure that the blood sticks to its own blood " consolareris grandaevum illum Pontificem, patruum tuum... neque enim sine dulcedine quadam mentis et animae suo sanguine sanguis haeret ".

On another occasion the word is used to designate a brother of Julius Cesar Varano, whom he had murdered, " in sanguinem suum inhumaniter seviens, in necem Rudolphi ejus fratris machinatus fuerat ", and so again are cardinal Basso della Rovere and the Prefect of Rome, nephews of pope Julius II, called his blood, " il proprio sangue " [88]. de l'Epinois himself relates on the previous page, that Ferdinand of Naples designates still more accurately the relation of Lucretia de Borgia and of her brothers to pope Alexander VI by calling her his niece.

Matagne [89] pretends that Jofre, duke of Squillace, is called

86. Ibid. and P. II, p. 201.
87. Opera, Edit. Basileae, 1571, p. 787, Epist. 257.
88. Villari, Dispacci di Ant. Giustinian, vol. II, p. 398.
89. Rev. des Quest. Hist. vol. XI, p. 190.

son of Roderic de Borgia, by all authors without an exception. We presume that by this time he will have noticed his mistake. But he further asserts that pope Alexander VI himself recognized him as his son; and, to prove it, he alleges a document of the 20th of December, 1503, four months after the Pope's death, which he found in Gozzadini [90], in which the Pope calls Jofre a brother of Cesar Borgia. Would it, however, occur to the mind of a father to point out his own son as the brother of this or that other man? Nor could the Pope have used that strange designation to save his honor, because it is supposed that Cesar was well known as a son of his; and by admitting Jofre to be his brother, the Pontiff's disgrace would have been doubled. In fact, should any unprejudiced man have heard pope Alexander VI state that Jofre was the brother of Cesar de Borgia, the thought would naturally have occurred to him, that neither Cesar nor Jofre was his son.

90. Memorie per la Vita di Giovanni II, Bentivoglio, Bologna, 1839. Append. p. LXXXVII.

CHAPTER XIV.

False documents regarding the Borgia's children.

ARTICLE I. — DOCUMENTS OF THE ARCHIVES OF THE DUKE OF OSUNA.

We wonder that de l'Epinois has recourse to such weak and wretched arguments, while having before his eyes a whole package of documents, each one of which, if only genuine, plainly establishes, beyond the possibility of a doubt, the illegitimacy of the children attributed to pope Alexander VI and the criminal paternity of this Sovereign Pontiff. It is not less surprising that he makes hardly any use of these apparently most important papers, reporting but two of them in footnotes [1], and keeping silence about all the others. Did he know, or suspect at least, the forgery and consequent worthlessness of these documents, which were lately found by Manuel Oliver among the archives of the duke of Osuna in Madrid ? These documents were published by Thuasne at the end of his Diarium Burchardi, and afterwards more correctly edited by Oliver himself, in Tome VI of the Estudios Historicos of Fidel Fita, on pages 106 to 129, under numbers 1 to 26.

It is particularly striking that Pastor, who tries by every means to villify pope Alexander, more than any other writer, keeps his hands off these documents. After sounding in a footnote [2] to all future historians his pompous warning : that all further attempt at saving the honor of Alexander VI has been impossible forever, through the recent publication

---

1. Rév. des Quest. Hist., t. XXIX, p. 373.

2. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. I, s 589, n. 1.

by Thuasne of the documents extracted from the Archives of the duke of Osuna, he copies from de l'Epinois the ugly substance of a single one of them and touches no more upon any other ; for fear, we presume, that the insertion of them might prove a boomerang, reacting against his hostile prejudice. His silence is a matter of prudence, indeed ; for he knew that these documents were prepared by no impartial hand, that they were not taken from an authentic historical source and that they were not confirmed by the official registers of the papal chancery. The very fact that they come from the Archives of the duke of Osuna renders them suspicious to any one who has become acquainted with the publication of Thuasne's and Oliver's collection of extracts from them.

We could not avoid paying attention, in the course of our narrative, to some of those documents, and we have had occasion to prove, from both extrinsic and intrinsic evidences, the forgery of a duplex prentended bull of pope Sixtus IV, published by Oliver, under number 10, and fabricated apparently for the sole purpose of calling four times Pedro Luis and Giovanni de Borgia children of Roderic, bishop of Porto and vicechancellor of the Holy Roman Church. With the aid of the pontifical registers we have shown the documents published by Oliver, under numbers 6 and 7, to be unreliable, erroneous. By comparing the Osuna document, given under number 8 with the authentic records, we have proved this pretended bull of legitimation of Cesar de Borgia to be simply a fabrication of some criminal, ignorant of the habits of the Roman Curia. Again, the document under number 12 is found to be defective, and so is that bearing number 14.

After such examples of error and falsification have been detected in the famous extracts from the Osuna Archives,

we would be justified in replacing the warning of Pastor, with the advice of prudent circumspection at the appearance of any other pretended document drawn by Manuel Oliver from the same source.

The principal defect of them all is that there is no record of them in the registers of the Vatican Archives ; for it must be remembered that no authentic paper, whether diploma, bull or brief, ever went forth from the Roman Curia, before being duly copied in its official registers.

Ancient historians, who wrote to a great extent upon the authority of documents, such as Guicciardini, Nardi, Ammirati, Jovius, Panvinio and Raynaldi, did not see any original or copy whatever of all those Osuna documents. The modern writers, von Reumont, Gregorovius, the editors of the Civiltà Cattolica, von Pastor, who carefully searched the Vatican Archives ; and who were not disposed to suppress what might prove to the disgrace of pope Alexander VI, did not discover in the authentic registers any record of those mischievous papers. We ourselves have not met in Rome with any trace of them.

Their genuineness is not attested by the fact of their existence in the archives of the duke of Osuna, either on paper or on parchment, as originals or as copies, in plain writing or illuminated with gold and colors, for it is well known that hundreds of similar false bulls found their way into such private collections.

Thus Burchard tells us[3] that " about the middle of September, 1489, Dominic Gentilis, a papal scriptor ; Francis Maldente, a canon of Forli ; Conrad, and Baptist de Spello, a notary of the apostolic treasury ; Lawrence Signorettus, a writer of the registers of bulls, and Bartholomew Budellus, a procurator of the penitentiary, were arrested and detained

3. Diar., t. I, p. 365.

in the castle of Sant' Angelo, under the charge of falsifying apostolic letters. The said Dominic confessed that he had forged about fifty papal documents, concerning matters of different kinds, among them a dispensation for a priest of the diocese of Rouen, who had married, to allow him to retain his wife. They all were conducted to the prison of the Soldanus, where they were told to provide for their soul, as they had to die the next day.

Thuasne here adds [4] a judicious remark from Brequigny who says [5] : " Burchard does not tell us whether orders were given to destroy all their forgeries. How many similar cases there are, where this wise precaution was neglected, and, as a consequence, how many false documents have passed on to posterity ! It is not, therefore, without good reason, that diplomatists proceed cautiously when historical documents are laid before them ; because, besides those that modern falsifiers continue to fabricate, there are grounds to suspect the existence of a great number forged by their predecessors ".

Pope Alexander VI, himself, was greatly inconvenienced by false bulls sent forth during his own reign. Certain individuals of the Spanish kingdoms having found an occasion of making money by the publication of bulls of indulgences granted for the extension of religion among the Mohammedans, interpolated them and fabricated others of a similar kind ; and the Pontiff was compelled to suspend, by special letters of the 27th of July, 1493, all grants of indulgences, made in the past and to be made in the future, until they should be viseed and certified as genuine by several prelates before their publication [6].

The Pope's confidential secretary, Bartholomew Florido,

4. Ibid., p. 367, footn.
5. Notices et Extraits des mss. du Roi, t. I, p. 89.
6. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Alex. VI, Secret., an. I, II, III, lib. III, Regest. 869. fo 136vo.

archbishop of Cosenza, was a forger of fraudulent bulls. The Pontiff had him arrested on the 14th of September, 1497, and ordered proceedings against him according to law. He was found guilty of having issued more than three thousand false papal briefs ; and, consequently, was degraded and condemned to death ; but the Pontiff commuted his sentence into imprisonment for life in the castle of Sant' Angelo, where he died penitent, on the 23d of July of the following year [7].

As an evidence that falsification or forgery of papal documents was practised, we may, from among several other proofs, add that the spiritual penalty of that crime was published every year in the bull " In Cena Domini ", by which excommunication and anathema or spiritual death was inflicted upon all guilty of it [8] ; and that in Hungary, even during the celebration of the Jubilee of the year 1500, the absolution of the sin of falsifying apostolic letters was still reserved to the Holy See [9].

From the enumeration of all these facts it clearly results that many false documents were scattered abroad at the time of pope Alexander VI, so that we may well doubt the authenticity of the Osuna documents, which did not follow the royal road through the papal chancery's registration offices ; and we may well ask whether it is critical and prudent to follow Oliver, de l'Epinois and Pastor, in admitting at sight such defective documents.

It is true that the archives of the duke of Osuna contain papers also, of which we cannot look for a record, being acts of civil business transactions, some of which were written by notaries public. These may be accepted as genuine, if they contain no statements opposed to historical

7. Burchard, Diar., t. II, pp. 405, 490.
8. See Document 94, § 5.
9. Theiner, Monumenta Hungariae, p. 549.

facts, although notarial instruments of that period are much discredited by pope Julius II, 1503-1513, who declares in his Constitution of the 1st of December, 1507, that a very great number of falsifications and frauds are committed by notaries and other public scribes, whose writings are found to disagree with actual events ; and that the Roman courts are constantly kept busy, in spite of the Apostolic See and to the detriment of churches, orphans and widows, with lawsuits about the falsehoods and deceits of their official acts and other writings, or the suspicion of them.

Sane non sine maxima animi displicentia ex diversorum fidelium querelis, ac judicum et aliorum officialium relatione pluries accepimus quod in Romana Urbe, propter notariorum et aliorum scripturas conficientium diversitatem, sive dolum, aut ignorantiam et incuriam, vel eorum a Romana curia recessus, quamplurimae falsitates et fraudes committuntur, res aliter scriptae quam actae reperiuntur, protocolla et originalia deperduntur, ultimae voluntates non exequuntur, damna et incommoda fidelibus irrogantur, aliaque scelera, inimico humanae naturae instigante, perpetrantur, ac super fraudibus, falsitatibus instrumentorum, et aliarum scripturum hujusmodi, aut earum suspicione, lites et controversiae in judiciis et tribunalibus Curiarum dictae Urbis assidue vertuntur, in divinae Majestatis et Apostolicae Sedis offensam ; ecclesiarum, pupillorum et viduarum spoliationem fideliumque praedictorum ac totius reipublicae detrimentum et jacturam.

Therefore, pope Julius II establishes a new college of Notaries Public of the Archives of the Roman Curia [10].

Pope Leo X repeats the same charges in his bull of October 6th, 1513 [11].

---

10. Bullarium Roman., Julii II, Constit. XV, § 5, Edit. Taurin, t. V, p. 458.

11. Ap. Hergenroether, Leonis X, Regesta, p. 297.

ARTICLE II. — INTERPOLATIONS IN THE VATICAN ARCHIVES.

These statements of a Pontiff, who was evidently well informed, were an admonition for us to subject to a critical examination all such doubtful documents. A similar solemn assertion of pope Alexander VI before the Sacred College was a rather unexpected warning, to be watchful also against deceit from another kind of apparently official, public writings. No man puts more implicit confidence than we do in the authority of the Secret Vatican Archives ; and yet, when we found fault with the Osuna papal bulls for not being recorded therein, we did not mean to say that, conversely, they would be guaranteed as authentic, simply by being found copied in those valuable registers ; that is, we admit the possibility of false registration or of forgery of papal briefs and of their records in the official volumes. When, in the year 1482, pope Sixtus IV instituted the office of Solicitors of apostolic letters, he placed all the new officials under the authority of the Vicechancellor, cardinal de Borgia, to whom he gave the right of punishing them for their delinquencies, even of deposing them, in particular, if they should be found guilty of the crime of falsifying papal bulls or briefs [12].

Pope Alexander VI not only declares the possibility, but states in his Constitution " Cum ad sacrosancte ", of the 1st of April, 1503, that such had been found to be a reality, during the foregoing years. He recites how pope Innocent VIII had increased the number of the Apostolic Secretaries, from six of thirty. " Yet, as well after as before this increase, all the writing, occasioned by the briefs that were issued through the apostolic secretariate, was

12. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Sixti IV, Bull., lib LXXV, Regest. 620, f° 145.

usually done by divers men, who were removable at the will of the secretaries and who worked at a stipulated wage ". He continues : " And now, it would, indeed, be most convenient and useful to appoint a certain number of Scriptors of Briefs, men that are honest and capable, by whom only all such briefs should be written and also registered, for the security of the persons to whom they are granted ; and to avoid the delays and expenses of those parties, who could not obtain the authentic original briefs, before they were recorded ; and, finally, to preclude effectually the falsifications which, it was found, have been committed, during the foregoing years, in the expedition of suchlike briefs ". He, therefore, establishes a new college of eighty-one Scriptors of Apostolic Briefs, who shall personally sign the documents written by them and shall record them.

Alexander Epus... Sane dudum felicis re. Innocentius pp. VIII, predecessor noster ex certis rationabilibus causis tunc expressis numerum dilectorum filiorum Secretariorum apostolicorum, qui tunc sex numero dumtaxat erant, de fratrum suorum S. Ro. Ecclie. cardinalium de quorum numero tunc eramus consilió, ad numerum triginta Secretariorum, eisdem sex inter eos computatis, sub certis modo et forma auxit. Qui, prout etiam ante augmentum hujusmodi fiebat, brevia que per secretariam apostolicam pro tempore expediuntur per nonnullos eorum ministros ad eorum nutum amovibiles certo eis pro eorum labore constituto salario scribi facere consueverunt. Verum cum... profecto maxime expediens et conveniens existat quod... ipsorum quoque Brevium Scriptores, qui viri integri habiles et jdonei esse, et per quos dumtaxat, et nullum alium, omnia Brevia hujusmodi scribi et partium quibus illa conceduntur securitate registrari debeant, certus numerus instituatur, et ex hoc non solum collegii Secretariorum et totius Curie predictorum decori et amplitudini, sed etiam diligentiori, celleriori maturiori et fideliori ipsorum Brevium expeditioni commoditatibusque illa sollicitantium qui ab expensis quas propter expeditionis hujusmodi tarditatem subire coguntur, relevarentur, plurimumque consule-

retur et ipsarum partium que, brevibus ipsis non registratis, ipsorum brevium autentica sumpta habere hactenus non poterant dispendiis, nec non *falsitatibus* que superioribus annis in Brevium hujusmodi expeditione comisse comperte fuerunt oportune occurreretur. Nos igitur, habita super hiis cum Venerabilibus fratribus nostris Sancte Romane ecclesie Cardinalibus deliberatione matura, et de eorum consilio, ipsorumque et Secretariorum predictorum consensu ; et ex certa nostra scientia ac de apostolice potestatis plenitudine, auctoritate apostolica, tenore presentium Statuimus et ordinamus quod de cetero, perpetuis futuris temporibus, in ipsa Secretaria sint octuaginta unus officiales qui Scriptores Brevium Apostolicorum nuncupentur et omnia brevia apostolica... scribere et in illorum plica ab extra nomen suum, videlicet illius qui breve scripsit, ad instar literarum apostolicarum et penitentiarie, hujusmodi scriptorum apponere, ac brevia hujusmodi pro tempore expedita registrare... debeant... Datum Rome apud Sanctum Petrum Anno incarnationis dominice Millesimo quingentesimo tertio kl. Aprilis pontificatus nostri anno undecimo.

Here follow the signatures of the Pope and of the Cardinals [13].

Another Pope, Paul II, 1464-1471, directed on many occasions the officials of his chancery not to place any trust in even authentic copies, that is, in official records of documents, but to require the original papers. Pastor accuses him [14] on this account, of being suspicious ; but this Pontiff had, undoubtedly, already before Alexander VI, discovered falsified or forged records entered by dishonest, irresponsible employees.

On folio 107 of the Vatican Register 1094, there is a record of a pretended bull of pope Leo X which attacks the morality of Alexander VI ; but cardinal Hergenröether has not found it worthy of admission into his " Leonis X Reges-

13. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Alex. VI, Officia, an. X, XI, lib. III, Regest. 878, f° 59 ; Bibl. Vatic. Latina, cod. 3993, f° 1.

14. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. II, s. 281.

ta ". Nor shall we discuss it, because the proofs of its falsity are so varied and numerous, that even a tyro of papal Archives could not fail to notice its evident forgery.

The warnings of the Roman Pontiffs have started the modern science of Diplomatics, whose principal object it is to distinguish between authentic and fictitious documents and their official registrations ; and whose learned votaries were the Benedictine monks, Mabillon, Toustain and Tassin, the authors of the " Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique ", and de Montfaucon, besides the Jesuit Papebroch. Harry Breslau had commenced an important study of the " Urkundlehre ", but discontinued its publication. The works of these great authors have considerably improved the science of History, since the last two hundred years, so that now the writing of historical works demands not only the authority of documents, but also the critical test of the documents themselves, if there be any reason to doubt their authority.

We have, so far, relied with all confidence on the Registers of the Vatican Archives and shall continue to do so, since we find them admitted by all historians and contested by none ; yet, mindful of the acts of the Pontiffs just mentioned, should we, by exception, discover, in the same archives, one or another record contradicted by historically established facts or by other records of the Vatican registers themselves, we shall subject the exceptional documents to a serious investigation. Such contradiction would, indeed, make us believe that a few false entries have been made into those books, which are justly considered as the purest of historical sources.

It was not an impossible but rather an easy task to interpolate the registers of the Vatican Archives of that time, and it could be done until this day, if there were a dishonest official, provided with an imitative hand and who had

corrosive ink that would penetrate to the reverse side of the paper ; for there are, all through the greater number of the codices, many successive folios, devoid of writing and left vacant and uncancelled, waiting, as it were, for the entry of a forger's additional records.

Nor was there any difficulty in finding a suitable place to intercalate a fraudulent bull or brief, since the papal documents were not registered in any chronological order, and a forger could avail himself of vacancies in any register containing authentic copies of a date within a couple of years of the one that he might choose for his interpolation.

Neither did he lack the privacy desirable for his unholy work, as he was able to take home with him volumes or quires of official recording paper, that, when filled, would be bound together with other similar quires into new registers. A practice so unsafe was proposed for repression by the cardinals of the Reform Commission, in the year 1497. They set forth a Constitution of Pope Sixtus IV, 1471-1484, who had tried in vain, although under pain of excommunication, to stop the abuse.

Sixtus... Cum sicut frequentibus querelis presertim clericorum pauperum ac etiam proborum virorum relatibus fidedignis cognoscimus, ita jam scriptorum in Registro Bullarum excrevit insolentia ut, licet contra vetitum, bullas ad registrandum eis per Magistros dicti Registri distributas, cum quinternis sibi assignatis, pro celeriori, ut extimari possit, expeditione, ad domos proprias publice deferunt registrandas, tunc illas per tres et plerumque quatuor interdum dies dolo et malitia (detinent) ; et quod deterius est, solicitant in ipso Registro bullas registrandas, et ut exactiones majores pecuniarias faciant, differunt registrare, illasque antequam sint registrate, publicant et dant ad processus super illis fulminandos. Nos igitur in premissis oportune providere volentes, Motu proprio et ex nostra mera scientia omnes et singulos scriptores predictos sub exois. pena, quam contra facientes incurrere volumus ipso facto, monemus.

quatenus de cetero literas apostolicas sive bullas prefatas in Registro dumtaxat, ioco publico ad hoc deputato registrent... [15]

And it seems that one public office was, in this respect, no better than another ; for pope Julius II likewise threatened, on the 28th of August, 1507, with major excommunication the employees of the pontifical treasury, who would take any volumes from that office and retain them longer than ten days [16].

Such were the facilities for the interpolation of the records of papal documents. Was there no use made of them ? Was there not one of the numerous scriptors of apostolic letters hateful enough, to revenge some personal disappointment, or avaricious enough to sell his services to some temporal prince chastized or dispossessed by pope Alexander VI ? Was there not one to slip into the official books some forged bull or brief, by which the children of William Raymund de Borgia, harmlessly called in Rome children of the Pope, should be falsely legitimated and turned into real, sacrilegious children of his, to the ruin of his fair name and his lasting ignominy ? Such universal integrity cannot be expected from a body of men, described as it is by the cardinals of pope Alexander's Reform Commission, composed not only of honorable clerics and laics, but also of covetous concubinaries and married clergymen ; as was, for instance, the notary Francesco de Attavantis, a native of the hostile city of Florence [17]. We shall, on the contrary, soon have occasion to notice that some one has been engaged in the nefarious work, and it is a wonder, indeed, that but a couple of interpolations, injurious to the character of pope Alexander VI, can be found in the Vatican Archives.

---

15. Bibl. Vatic. Latina, cod. 3883, f° 63.
16. Bullarium Roman., Julii II Constit. XIV.
17. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Alex. VI, Officia, Regest. 875, f° 38.

ARTICLE III. — PEDRO LUIS DE BORGIA FALSELY LEGITIMATED.

Others also, not employed in the Roman chancery, were members of an actual, though poorly concerted, band of conspirators, who tried to villify pope Alexander VI, by forging bulls of legitimation of his alleged children, and other papers to the same effect. This appears from the fact that such documents, unrecorded and unfit for record, were discovered in the archives of the duke of Osuna, in Spain.

An original parchment from this source is a bull by which pope Sixtus IV obtrudes upon the Lord Pedro Luis de Borgia a dispensation which ends into a legitimation, and which is, for his honored cardinal, Roderic de Borgia, a testimonial of ignominy. He, indeed, states, on the 5th of November, 1481, shortly after the death of Pedro Luis's father, that the Spanish heir, whom he misnames a Roman young man, was born from a cardinal deacon, at the time, and an unmarried woman ; and farther on calls him a blood relation of his genitor and of the family de Boria !—the name, as in Spanish !— . He dispenses him, with apostolic authority, from the odium of his birth, enabling him to inherit Duchies, Counties, Baronies, fields, towns, villages, residences and places, and all other possessions from his genitor and other relatives, as also from his father's parents. He, finally, legitimates him and orders that he should be held and regarded as lawfully born. Such is the substance of the document :

Bula del papa Sixto IV., legitimando y habilitando al Sr. D. Pedro Luis de Borja, primer duque de Gandia, para que pudiese obtener bienes seculares, dada en Roma á 5 de Noviembre de 148[18] :

18. Original en pergamino y | letra gotica, pero cortado el sello.

Sixtus Episcopus, servus servorum Dei, Dilecto filio Petro Ludovico de Boria, Adolescenti Romano, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Illegitime genitos, quos morum decorat honestas, nature vitium minime decolorat ; nam decus virtutum geniture maculam abstergit in filiis, et pudicitia morum pudor originis aboletur. Atendentes igitur quod sicut se habet fidedignorum assertio, tu qui defectum natalium pateris de tunc Diacono Cardinali genitus et soluta, defectum predictum honestate morum et vite aliisque probitatis meritis recompensas, redimens favore virtutum quod iste ortus odiosus ademit ; et propterea volentes te favore prosequi gratioso, motu proprio, non ab tua vel pro te nobis super hoc oblate petitionis instantia, sed ab nostra mera liberalitate et ex certa nostra scientia, tecum ut in quibuscumque Ducatibus, Comitatibus, Baroniis, censualibus, Castris, Terris, Villis et locis, aliisque bonis omnibus genitoris et aliorum parentum, agnatorum et cognatorum, consanguineorum et affinium tuorum, etiam eisdem genitoris parentibus... succedere... sine ulla differentia, perinde ac si precedente legitimo matrimonio, nullo inter genitorem et genitricem predictos subsistente canonico impedimento, legitime contracto ex matrimonio hujusmodi procreatus fores, auctoritate apostolica, tenore presentium, de specialis dono gratie dispensamus ; ac te et eosdem genitorem et genitricem, agnatos et cognatos, consanguineos et affines, vere et omni fictione cessante, quoad omnes plenissimos juris communis et municipalis concessionumque predictarum, ac alios quoscumque plenissimos effectus fore ; et te de agnatione genitoris et familia de Borgia esse censeri et nominari, ac Nobilitate, necnon insignibus et armis, ac privilegiis, concessionibus et indultis quibus legitime geniti de familia predicta utuntur potiuntur et gaudent, ac uti potiri et gaudere poterunt... motu et scientia ac auctoritate predictis, etiam de plenitudine potestatis decernimus; teque quoad premissa omnia et quecumque alia, eisdem motu scientia, auctoritate et potestate legitimamus, et pro legitime genito haberi, teneri et reputari volumus...[19]

---

19. Taken from the edition of the discoverer, Oliver, ap. Fita Estud. Histor., t. VI, p. 113. Thuasne, Diar. Burchard, t. III, Supplém., p. III, prints a somewhat different reading of the same document.

To let the reader judge intelligently whether this is a genuine, or a fabricated pontifical letter, we may make the following remarks :

1° Oliver states that it is an original on parchment, but observes that the seal is missing, " pero cortado el sello ", and probably it never did have a seal, for a mongrel writing like this could never have been honored by the affixture of a papal bulla.

2° There are in the Vatican Archives many instances of legitimations pure and simple, but we found no example of a dispensation in illegitimacy ending with a legitimation that, as it does here, renders the dispensation useless.

3° The writing violates the style of the Roman chancery, when, instead of the stereotyped expression used in authentic concessions of that period : " Non ad tuam vel alterius pro te nobis super hoc oblate petitionis instantiam, sed de nostra mera liberalitate et certa scientia... ", it has the novel reading : " Non ab tua vel pro te nobis super hoc oblate petitionis instantia, sed ab nostra mera liberalitate, et ex certa nostra scientia... ".

4° So also when the long complicated circumlocution : " perinde ac si precedente—procreatus fores " take the place of the simple and usual " perinde ac si de legitimo thoro natus esses ".

5° Neither would a phrase or a sentence like the one of this parchment : " ac te et eosdem genitorem—plenissimos effectus fore " ever be admitted into a genuine pontifical document, for it has neither head nor tail, nor could its learned publishers assign any meaning to it.

6° In fact, a student of the Vatican Archives would find this parchment so utterly different, in both form and substance, from all other papal documents, that he would, without hesitation, pronounce it a forgery.

7° What, indeed, was the object of pope Sixtus IV in issuing this pretended bull ? Did he wish to publish a great scandal in the Church, and to cause the moral ruin of a respected cardinal ? Did he, therefore, name a cardinal-deacon, and then indicate him as a de Borgia ? Should Pedro Luis have been actually the sacrilegious bastard of cardinal de Borgia, could not and should not pope Sixtus IV have legitimated him, as born simply from a prelate, or from a father, " whose identity he willed to be taken for expressed ", although kept absolutely secret ?

Is it at all credible that pope Sixtus IV would intentionally have brought shame upon a cardinal whom he esteemed, while he carefully hid the disgraced parents of canon Charles Martelli, whom he legitimated as born of unmarried persons, " super defectu natalium quem pateris de soluto genitus et soluta "; and nothing more [20] ?

In like manner did he save the honor of the parents of several persons, whom we find legitimated by him in Regest 660, or Tome I of his " Bullae Diversae ".

Already, in the year 1239, had pope Gregory IX, allowed a certain Roger to receive all holy Orders, in spite of his unlawful origin from a single man and a single woman, " non obstante defectu natalium quem pateris de soluto genitus et soluta ", without any indication of the name of his parents [21]. About this time, a Peter Puyol, was legitimated in this manner, being declared born from an unmarried man and a single woman [22]. The same method was followed in the case of Roderic de Mendoza, as born from a single man who belonged to an illustrious family and an unmarried

---

20. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Sixti IV, Bullar., lib. LIII, Regest. 603, f° 318.

21. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Greg. IX, Bullar., an. XII, XIII, t. IV, Regest. 19, f° 136.

22. Ibid., Alex. VI, Secret., an. I, II, III, lib. III, Regest. 869, f° 22.

woman [23]; and also in that of a priest of Benevento, who was born from a single nobleman and a single woman [24]. Pope Innocent VIII was certainly more considerate towards some one of cardinal de Borgia's first cousins than Sixtus IV is here represented to be in regard to that cardinal himself. When Francis and Alfons del Milá were legitimated in the year 1484, the Pontiff willed it as sufficiently expressed in his bull, " whichever the manner was in which they were born illegitimates, " without indicating their father or their mother [25]. Pope Alexander VI himself, who dispensed a certain Udalric Sunnder, so that he might be admitted to the ranks of the clergy, made no allusion to his parents' identity, simply stating that they were both unmarried [26].

8° The parchment declares its object to be the habilitation of Pedro Luis to inherit... in Spain, as all circumstances clearly denote. But did pope Sixtus IV, whose department it was to legitimate for ecclesiastical purposes, have the authority of dispensing the young man in illegitimacy and of enabling him to inherit, in spite of a country's laws, outside of his own temporal jurisdiction ? Should not the Catholic king, Ferdinand, have stepped in here, to grant the right, which, through a forger's mistake, he uselessly allowed to Cesar, Pedro's brother ? [27] Yet, Ferdinand did not bring upon his future cousin the disgrace of a legitimation, but honored him with a diploma of " Egregius " or Spanish grandee, in which he declared him to be born of distinguished and noble parents [28].

---

23. Ibid., an. II, lib. IV, Regest. 870, f° 263.

24. Ibid., An. I, ad X, lib. VII, Regest. 873, f° 467vo.

25. Ibid., Inn. VIII, Secret., an. I, t. II, Regest. 683, f° 377vo.

26. Vienna. K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staatsarchivs Oesterr., 1499, 17 Juni.. Similar instances can be found in Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Alex. VI, Secret., an. II, lib. IV, Regest. 870, fiis 71, 108vo.

27. Fidel Fita, Estud. Histor., t. VI, p. 108.

28. Ibid., p. 223. See Document 32.

9° Pope Sixtus IV enables the young man to inherit Duchies, Baronies, and all kinds of titles and real estate ; from whom ? The parchment says : " genitoris ", from his father. Now, Pedro Luis needed no dispensation to that effect, being the first-born of William Raymund de Borgia, who had just died ; but the parchment states his father to be the cardinal-deacon, Roderic de Borgia, who, neither at the time nor ever before or after, was in possession of any Duchy, Barony, or other earthly goods to leave to his heirs. The document adds : " from his father's parents ", " genitoribus parentibus " ; but the cardinal's father was now dead for thirty-five years and his mother forgotten long since. It, finally, allows Pedro Luis to inherit from all of his other relatives " parentum " ; but the cardinal-deacons's brother, Pedro Luis, died twenty-three years before this time, and all his other relatives left or were to leave their possessions to their own legal heirs. Not the illusory faculties granted by this pretended bull, but his birthright saved the young nobleman from destitution, and procured him the territory of Gandia and the Barony of Lombay.

The spelling of the name : " de Boria " and the Spanicism of the word : " parentum ", " pariente ", used in the sense of " cognatorum ", authorize the suspicion that this parchment originated, not from the Roman Curia, but from the brain of some Spanish knave. As it never could do good to Pedro Luis de Borgia, so can it never be of any benefit to the enemies of pope Alexander VI.

The next discovery by Manuel Oliver, in the archives of the duke of Osuna, in regard to Pedro Luis de Borgia, is another forged bull of pope Sixtus IV, dated February the 4th, 1483. It is an unusual document, made in double ; a papal confirmation of an alleged gift of seventy-five thousand gold

ducats, bestowed by cardinal de Borgia upon Pedro Luis and his brother Giovanni, whom the Pontiff delights in declaring four or five times to be the cardinal's children. We shall waste no time on it here, since, we have given all due attention to it before.

There is a document of which the enemies of pope Alexander VI have wisely disdained to avail themselves, although it is not worse than others, which they use so readily, since it declares or indicates six different times that Pedro Luis de Borgia was unlawfully born from that Pontiff when he was a cardinal-deacon. The original bull is to be found neither in the archives of the duke of Osuna nor anywhere else, but there is at the Vatican Archives a pretended record the general tenor of which is as foliows :

Pope Innocent VIII states it to be a Pontiff's duty to assist all who wish to lead the life of a regular friar, so that they may accomplish their pious resolve, and this for the praise of God's holy name. He had learned, he continues to say, that the young Roman lord, Pedro Luis de Borgia, bearing the honorable title of knight, desires to serve God in the Order of St. James de Spata, together with its Master and community, under the regular habit of that military Institution. But he had also been informed that the same Pedro Luis is subject to the defect of lawful origin, being born of a cardinal-deacon and an unmarried woman. After having absolved him of all excommunication, suspension (!) and interdict, simply to enable him to receive the coming favor, the Pope, of his own free will, commands the officials of Saragossa, Valencia and Segorve to receive Pedro Luis as a Brother into the said Order and to direct that its usual habit be given him ; and that he, when in it, be treated with real christian charity. Moreover, should

Pedro Luis be willing to make profession as the Brothers are accustomed to do, then, to admit and accept it from him, notwithstanding the said defect, even should it be expressly provided that none could be received but noblemen born of a lawful marriage. Farther on, the Pontiff decrees that Pedro Luis, after making profession and receiving the habit, shall be entitled to accept and to hold all Preceptories and Commanderies, held by Brothers of the Order, if in any manner offered to him, no matter how important or how numerous, and to exchange them for others of the same or of a different kind. He also decides that there is no need of expressing the defect of his origin, or its dispensation, in any letters that he may receive from the Holy See. All of this is granted, notwithstanding the said defect, the council of Poitiers etc. Given in Rome at St. Peter's in the year etc. eighty-five, the 1st of September.

Innocentius etc. Dilectis filiis Cesaraugustan. et Valentin. ac Segobricen. officialibus Salt. etc. Cupientibus vitam ducere regularem apostolicum debet adesse presidium ut eorum pium propositum possint ad laudem divini nominis adimplere. Cum itaque sicut accepimus dilectus filius Petrus Ludovicus De Borgia domicellus Romanus cupiat in Militia Sancti Jacobi de Spata unacum dilectis filiis Magistro et conventu ejusdem Militie sub regulari habitu, virtutum Domino famulari, Nos volentes ipsum Petrumludovicum, qui ut etiam accepimus, defectum natalium de Diacono Cardinali patitur genitus et soluta ac Militari dignitate decoratus existit, in hujusmodi suo laudabili proposito confovere ipsumque Pedrumludovicum quibuscumque excommunicationis suspensionis (!) et interdicti aliisque ecclesiasticis sententiis censuris et penis... ad effectum presentium dumtaxat consequendum harum serie absolutum fore censentes, Motu proprio... Discretioni vestre per apostolica scripta mandamus quatenus vos vel duo aut unus vestrum per vos vel alium seu alios eumdem Petrumludovicum si alias sit ydoneus et aliud canonicum non obsistat... (There fails a word here, which we suppose to be : « impedimentum ».) in prefata Militia in fratrem

auctoritate nostra recipiatis seu recipi faciatis ac sibi habitum juxta predicte Militie consuetudinem exhiberi eumque ibidem sincera in domino caritate tractari ; Et nichilominus professionem per ipsos fratres emitti solitam ab eodem Petroludovico, si illam in manibus vestris sponte emittere voluerit, eadem auctoritate recipiatis et admittatis. Contradictores etc. Non obstantibus defectu predicto ac Pictaven. concilii et aliis constitutionibus... etiam quibus forsan caveri diceretur expresse quod in dicta Militia non nisi de nobili genere ac de legitimo thoro procreati... recipi possint... Nos enim cum prefato petro ludovico ut postquam habitum susceperit et professionem emiserit ut prefertur quascumque et quotcumque Preceptorias seu Commendarias per fratres dicte Militie teneri solitas... si sibi alias canonice conferantur... recipere et retinere, illasque simul vel successive simpliciter vel ex causa permutationis quotiens sibi placuerit dimittere et loco dimisse vel dimissarum aliam vel alias, similem vel dissimilem aut similes vel dissimiles Preceptorias sive Commendarias... recipere et retinere... defectu ac Pictaven. concilii... nequaquam obstantibus... dispensamus sibique pariter indulgemus. Datum Rome apud Sanctum Petrum Anno etc. Octuagesimo quinto Kl. Septembris [29].

Before testing the genuineness of this record, we may compare its supposed original with that of the 5th of November, 1481 [30], and we will notice at once that, if both are not spurious, either one of them at least must be ; for, by the former, Pedro Luis is legitimated, not only for the purpose of buying Duchies and Baronies, but also for all other designs, while here, four years later, he is still found to be an illegitimate, in need of papal authorisation to be admitted as a Brother in a religious order, and of a dispensation in illegitimacy to become eligible for benefices. The former states : " Te quoad premissa omnia et quecumque alia legitimamus " ; the latter : " defectum natalium patitur, mandamus ut in fratrem auctoritate nostra recipiatis " and :

29. Archiv, Secret. Vatic., Inn. VIII, Secret., an. I, II, III, t. I, Regest. 682, f° 288.
30. Supra.

" Preceptorias et Commendarias recipere dispensamus sibique indulgemus ". We leave with the enemies of pope Alexander VI the choice of rejecting either one of those originals as the worse of the two, whilst we examine whether both should not be considered, that is, the latter also, as forged.

The particulars of its place among the legal records render it certainly suspicious. It is found in a Secretary volume, in Register 682. Although the like Registers 683, 684, 685, 686, etc., are in good shape, with records of attested authority, the volume 682 contains many vacant folios, even in the middle of its quires, leaving abundant space for some dishonest scribe, to insert false documents. The Register consists of quires of two secretaries : L. Grifus and Hie. Balbanus ; namely, its first leaves, to f° 136, are of L. Grifus, and all the rest of the volume, down to f° 592, is from Hie. Balbanus, with the sole remarkable exception of folios 288 to 292, probably left blank by the latter secretary, and now used by the forger to intercalate, under the name of L. Grifus, the foregoing document and another by which pope Innocent is said to reserve again, on the 3d of November, 1485, for Pedro Luis de Borgia a Preceptory of any yearly income and others aggregating a revenue of three thousand pound small Tournois.

It is noteworthy also that, whilst a number or records of this volume bear some indication of their genuineness, such as " Visa N. N. ", " Duplicata scripta per N. N. ", " Registrata N. N. ", the amount of taxation, or " Gratis, etc. ", these two records are without any such remark. That the bull here recorded is positively a fraud, whilst the next is but a supplement to it, appears from both its form and its contents.

1° The name of de Borgia is invariably written, in all

papers of the Roman Curia, with a minuscule d ; but here it occurs with a capital D, De Borgia.

All mistakes of a record, even an " et " used for " ac ", were carefully corrected by the " collationator " ; but here a whole word, " impedimentum ", is left out, and no remark is made.

2° Pedro Luis is given the title of Knight, " militari dignitate decoratus existit " ; but if he did not inherit that rank from his father, William Raymund, how did he ever attain it ? A cardinal-deacon could not have brought upon him but the disgrace of a bastard ; nor was cardinal de Borgia ever known as a Knight. The title that might more appropriately have been attached to his name was that of " Egregius ", Spanish Grandee [31], which he had received three months before.

3° The forger's intention has been to compose a full and complete pontifical document. He has inserted the cautionary absolution proper to some bulls, but unusual in papers of legitimation, as this one should have been ; but he was overzealous when including also suspension, " suspensionis ". He did not know that the absolution of suspension is applicable exclusively to a cleric or clergyman, and not to Pedro Luis who was desirous of becoming a religious brother from a layman as he was.

4° We may neglect other errors of form, but cannot help noticing the repetition of the final clause : Notwithstanding etc., " Nonobstantibus defectu predicto ac Pictaven... " ; the like of which, though used towards the conclusion of bulls of a different kind, is never inserted in the middle of a papal letter and added again at its end. We admit there was a reason for it here ; namely, to create an occasion of

31. Fita, Estud., t. VI, p. 229.

asserting, the sixth time, that Pedro Luis was deficient in lawful birth !

5° The record is a truly nondescript document, or rather a combination of two documents. It is no bull of legitimation, as it was required to be under the circumstances. According to its face, it is a papal order given to the officials of Saragossa, etc., to foist Pedro Luis upon the Fathers and Brothers of St. James de Spata, and to admit him to profession in their community, in spite of the general and of special laws of the Church. If the word " dispensamus ", we grant him dispensation, is added at the end, this word seems to apply only to the enjoyment of the Preceptories and Commanderies, which he reserves for him—strangely enough, by the same bull, by which he orders his religious profession to be admitted, should he be willing to make it !

6° The contents of this record are in direct opposition to historical data. It calls Pedro Luis a Roman young nobleman, " domicellus Romanus ". Whence, we would ask, came to him the idea of joining the religious order of the distant Compostella in Spain ? But he simply was no Roman at all, neither then nor at any time. King Ferdinand of Spain praised him, on the 28th of May, 1485, for the valuable services which he had continually rendered him, not only in war but also in time of peace, most likely at the " cortes " of Taragona and Valencia in the year 1484 [32]. In the beginning of 1485, he was at the head of his own band of soldiers during the siege of the Moorish fortress of Ronda [33]. On the 13th of October, he was a citizen, " habitor ", of Valencia [34], and, on the very date of the record, he was negotiating with king Ferdinand of Spain the purchase of the duchy of Gandia [35].

32. Fita, Estud. Histor., t. VI, p. 229.
33. Ibid. p. 225.
34. Document 36.
35. See Document 36. Fita, Ubi supra, p. 222.

7° The idea that he was wishing at this time to retire to a monastery, where he should be treated well, and could serve the Lord by singing the praises of His holy name, is preposterous. We know that, when duke of Gandia, he received from pope Innocent VIII, on the 20th of September, 1486, the rights of patronage of the church of that place ; but nowhere in all history is to be found a sign or a hint of his ever being a Brother regular, or of obtaining any ecclesiastical benefice. The record is a fraudulent interpolation.

The Osuna archives exhibit [36] still another document, that contains several indications of being a forgery. It is a last will of Pedro Luis de Borgia, drawn up in Rome, while he was an " habitator Civitatis Valencie " [37] in Spain, by a papal notary, to dispose of his Spanish possessions. Pedro's surname was " de Borja ", in Spanish ; " Borgia " or " de Borgia ", in Italian ; here it is " de Borxia ", and his brother, Giovanni, was here also a " de Borxia ". The scope of the paper is manifest from the impertinent statement that the Most Reverend cardinal Vicechancellor is the progenitor of them both. In case that Giovanni should die without legitimate male heirs—his daughters, if any, to inherit nothing—all his estate should " return " to the Vicechancellor, whom he names as tutor and administrator of his minor brother, Giovanni, until he become of age. The author of this last will was not aware that the Cardinal, if father, was his child's tutor by law and not by appointment, nor that he had been made, by another false paper, to give, three years before, a certain Otto de Borgia as tutor and curator of the same Giovanni, as we shall presently relate. Finally, we may notice that Pedro Luis left by last will, as

36. Fidel Fita, Estudios Histor., t. VI, p. 123.

37. Ibid., p. 215.

marriage dot, to his sister, Lucretia, the sum of eleven thousand florins, Valencian money [38], instead of the ten thousand mentioned in the paper.

We have not discovered any other pretended document, to tarnish the honorability of Pedro Luis de Borgia's origin, with the exception of one notarial act, that relates more directly to his brother, Giovanni, and to which we shall now devote our attention.

ARTICLE IV. — FALSE DOCUMENT ABOUT GIOVANNI DE BORGIA.

It is surprising that Giovanni de Borgia, who is said to have received money from his alleged father, cardinal de Borgia, to buy estates in Spain, as well as his older brother, Pedro Luis [39], was not favored, like him, by pope Sixtus IV or Innocent VIII, with some bull of legitimation, enabling him to make the purchases. Nay more, Giovanni succeeded his brother in the duchy of Gandia, was made a Spanish grandee and received in marriage the first cousin of Ferdinand of Spain ; and yet, the King gave him no papers of legitimation and of Spanish naturalization, but left him a bastard, and a Roman foreigner, as he was according to the enemies of pope Alexander VI. The absence of such papal and of royal disparaging documents is, under the circumstances, a negative but a sufficient proof that Giovanni de Borgia was lawfully born in Spain.

There was found, it is true, in the archives of the duke of Osuna [40] a duplex original document not recorded at the Vatican Archives, in which Giovanni is called, four or five

38. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. II, s. 34.
39. Oliver, ap. Fita, Estud. Hist. t. VI, pp. 117 and 119.
40. Ibid., p. 117 ; Thuasne, Burchard Diar., t. III, Supplém. p. IV.

times, the son of cardinal de Borgia ; but we have fully discussed those parchments already.

There is still another document, found in the Osuna archives [41], an original on parchment, illuminated with gold and colors, which demands our attention. It is a quasi-notarial act, drawn up in Rome on the 29th of January, 1483, in which Giovanni de Borgia is called the carnal, that is, the illegitimate, son of cardinal Roderic de Boria, who selects, from Giovanni's several relatives, Pedro Luis, his brother, and his cousin, Otto de Boria, as his tutors and curators.

In nomine Domini. Amen. Pateat omnibus qualiter Anno Nativitatis Dominice Millesimo quadringentesimo octuagesimo tertio, die vigesima nona Januarii, Indictione Prima, Pontificatus Sanctissimi domini nostri domini Sixti divina providentia Pape quarti Anno Duodecimo.

Constitutus personaliter Reverendissimus Presul et Dominus Rodericus de Boria, Episcopus Portuensis, Cardinalis Valentinus Sancte Romane Ecclesie Vicecancellarius coram Reverendo Presule domino Johanne Prioris decretorum doctore Basilice Beate Marie Maioris... Idem Reverendissimus Dominus Vicecancellarius asserens se ex ea caritate, quam creat naturalis ratio erga carnales filios, aliquam partem de bonis et facultatibus suis spectabili et magnifico ac egregie indolis infanti Domino Johanni de Borgia — Thuasne reads : de Borga —, eius carnali et propterea ad dictam donationem — ought to be : Dominationem — suam Reverendissimam spectare, curare et facere eidem infanti de idoneis tutoribus, qui curam et regimen ac tuitionem et custodiam tam persone quam etiam bonorum ipsius infantis suscipiant provideri, maxime cum dicti domini Johannis mater ad secunda vota transierit, et domina Menica quondam Jacobi Pinctoris relicta vidua, de regione pontis, avia materna, quam habet, senilis etatis existens, onus hujusmodi recusaverit et recuset ; Et Johannes Baptista, magistri Antonii de Brixia (filius ?), Canonicus Sancte Marie in via lata, ejusdem Johannis

41. Thuasne, Ibid., p. VI ; Oli- | ver, ap. Fita, Ibid., p. 116.

infantis ex parte matris consanguineus, tamquam ecclesiastica persona beneficiis suis servire intendat, et Paulus dicti Johannis Baptiste frater, hic presentes, alias propter brigam et inimicitiam quas presentes habent, ambo impediti existant... nec alii consanguinei seu parentes ex parte dicte matris existant aut reperiantur, qui tum propter defectum etatis, tum etiam quia predicta bona alibi quam in urbe ubi dicti consanguinei commorantur... Supradictus igitur Reverendissimus Dominus genitor... nominavit et presentavit eisdem pro idoneis tutoribus eligendis et deputandis videlicet spectabilem et Magnificum Dominum Petrum Ludovicum de Boria, dicti domini Johannis fratrem, et Magnificum Dominum Ottonem de Boria prefati Domini Johannis consobrinum seu patruelem... et informans a pluribus circumstantibus et specialiter ab avia et Johanne Baptista ac Paulo prefatis, ibi presentibus...

1° This document was professedly written in Rome, and yet, we suspect it to be fabricated in Spain, because the spelling of the name, de Boria, was unknown in Italy. The copy of Thuasne gives even the Spanish pronunciation of that name, when it reads de Borga, instead of Johanni de Borgia. Besides, here again we find " parentes " as equivalent of " consanguinei ". Even the expression : " erga carnales filios, carnali filio " is Spanish, " carnal ". The Italians used the words : " naturalis, nothus, spurius ".

2° The act recites that Giovanni dwelt in Rome at this time and was here present ; but this statement is in contradiction with the data of history, according to which he was living in the land of his birth, in Spain.

3° Thuasne [42] calls this document precious, but we find in it only a collection of strange names, altogether foreign to history. Thus is the mother of the alleged children of pope Alexander VI known universally as Vannoza de Cathaneis, and with this name she signs her letters to her

42. Burchardi Diar., t. III, Supplém., p. VII, n. 3.

daughter Lucretia ; yet, here she is indicated as a born " Pinctoris ". Indeed, Menica, Giovanni's maternal grandmother, his mother's mother, is called a widow of James Pinctoris.

4° Then follow the names of John Baptiste, a son of Master Anthony de Brixia ; and of his brother, Paul, said to be relatives of Giovanni de Borgia on his mother's side. Were they perhaps the sons of some sister of Vannoza Pinctoris, married to Master Anthony de Brixia ; whosoever this de Brixia may be ? Thuasne [43] translates the words : " ex parte matris consanguineus " by the expression " uterine brother " of Giovanni de Borgia [44]. If this should be correct, it would follow, First, that the forger of Pedro Luis de Borgia's legitimation bull has made another serious mistake, when stating that he was born from a cardinal-deacon and a single woman. His mother was a married woman, for John Baptist, the son of Anthony de Brixia and his brother, Paul, were older than the cardinal's eldest son, since their age was not, like that of other relatives here alluded to, an objection to their choice as tutors, whereas we see that Pedro Luis was barely old enough to assume that charge, and had still to renounce the privileges allowed him on account of minor age and of consequent irresponsibility, as it was provided for by another false document of a later date [45].

Another consequnce would be that Vannoza Pinctoris had been leading a dual life for many years, raising simultaneously a family of half a dozen children to a cardinal ; and to Master Anthony de Brixia ; besides the two older brothers of Giovanni de Borgia, still other brothers and sisters, " alii consanguinei ex parte matris ", too young to

43. Ibid.

44. Jean de Borgia avait pour frère, issu de la même mère, Jean Baptiste, chanoine de Sainte Marie in via lata.

45. Thuasne, Ibid., p. VIII.

act as tutors and curators. What should we admire the more, the fecundity of the mother or the complaisance of the two fathers ?

5° Last on the roll, to make his appearance, is the historically unknown Magnificent Lord Otto de Boria, who was Giovanni's maternal, or his paternal first cousin, " consobrinum seu patruelem ". Oliver [46] remarks that in a copy of the year 1487, the word " patruelem " is left out, and Thuasne [47] says that it is replaced therein by the Spanish term " primo hermano ", first cousin—as if the original had been written in the Spanish language. If Otto was Giovanni's " consobrinus ", maternal first cousin, then he must have been the son of Vannoza Pinctoris' sister, married to some de Boria, as imaginary as his son ; and, if he was his " patruelis ", his first cousin, on the father's side, he should be the son of some one of the cardinal's brothers ; which is contrary to all historical probabilities. So little was Otto known even at the time, that, although he was a principal person in the transaction, the very official witness doubted his identity.

6° With the intervention of all such dubious and unhistorical personages a document was prepared which was not only unnecessary, but cruel on the part of cardinal de Borgia who, in spite of his protestation of fatherly love, thereby abandoned his nine-years-old son to the hands of others, simply because he intended to give him a sum of money—for he had no other goods or riches, " de bonis et facultatibus ", to bestow. Until then he had, no doubt, attended to the protection of the little Giovanni, and was not now prevented by his duties from continuing in his natural charge. Nor was the mother's second marriage

46. Ap. Fita, Ibid., p. 117, n. 2. | 47. Ubi supra, p. VII, n. 2.

a reason for the innovation, since she had, before this, been the wife of a man who was not Giovanni's father.

The sole visible object of this awkward nd silly fabrication is simply to assert that Giovanni de Borgia and his brother, Pedro Luis, were the cardinal's illegitimate, " carnal ", sons.

On the occasion of Cesar de Borgia's elevation to the cardinalate, we hear once more the assertion of Giovanni's origin from cardinal Roderic de Borgia ; but we may defer the answer till we expose to public ridicule the document in which the old slander is rehearsed in a novel form.

ARTICLE V. — LEGITIMATIONS OF CESAR DE BORGIA.

Cesar was overburdened with legitimations more than any other of William Raymund de Borgia's children. Already on the 1st of October, 1480, some forger of the archives of the duke of Osuna represented pope Sixtus IV, as legitimating Cesar, yet an infant, hardly more than four years old. There is, indeed, a pretended bull of that date, eagerly admitted as genuine by all enemies of pope Alexander VI [48], which relates how Cesar de Boria, a Roman scholar, then in his sixth year of age, was born of a cardinal-bishop and a married woman. We suppose Cesar was legitimated, although the dots in the copies do not express it. He, then, receives the principal favor granted him by the bull, which is no favor whatever ; for it does not exceed the allowance of the general laws and customs ; namely that, as soon as he shall attain his seventh year of age, he can be admitted to the clerical rank and to the minor Orders, and, afterwards, can

48. De l'Epinois, ap. Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. XXIX, p. 373, n. 3: Thuasne, Burchardi Diar., t. III, Supplém. p. II ; Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 263 ; Oliver, ap. Fita, Estud. Hist., t. VI, p. 107.

be advanced to all sacred Orders, when he shall have become of lawful age. He is, finally, allowed not to make any mention of the defect of his origin or of the present dispensation, without impairing the value of future apostolic letters, which shall be as efficacious as if he were born of legitimate marriage.

We copy from Oliver : Bula del papa Sixto IV original en pergamino roto por abajo.

Sixtus Episcopus, Servus servorum Dei ; Dilecto filio Cesari de Boria [49],Scolari Romano [50], Salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Comendabilia tue infantilis etatis, que in te pululare videntur, virtutum inditia, ex quibus prout fidedignorum testimoniis accepimus verisimiliter spes concipitur quod tu in virum debeas procedere virtuosum. (de l'Epinois reads : « virtutum ».) merito nos inducunt ut te apostolici favoris presidio prosequamur... volentes te, qui ut accepimus in Sexto tue etatis Anno constitutus existis, et defectum natalium pateris, de Episcopo Cardinali genitus et coniugata, premissorum indiciorum intuitu favore prosequi... ut quam primum Septimum dicte etatis Annum attigeris clericali caractere insigniri, et ad minores, ac etate legitima tibi suffragante, ad omnes etiam sacros ordines promoveri... nullam de defectu natalium et de dispensatione hujusmodi mentionem facere tenearis... sed perinde valide et eficaces existant in omnibus et per omnia perinde ac si de legitimo thoro natus esses... tibique concedimus et indulgemus... Datum apud Sanctum Petrum, Anno Incarnationis Dominice 1480. Kalendis Octobris Pontificatus nostri Anno X.

The forgery of this paper is sufficiently evident from the following remarks :

1° The spelling of the name " de Boria " or " de Borja " allows us again to suspect that the author of this bull was a Spaniard ; and that he was not quite familiar with the

---

49. Thuasne and de l'Epinois read : de Borja.

50. De l'Epinois omits the word : Romano.

style of the Roman Curia, appears from the usual expression : " quod tu in virum debeas procedere virtutum " or " virtuosum ", instead of : " quod in virum te producere debeas virtuosum ".

2° Cesar de Borgia is here called a Roman scholar, but the copy followed by de l'Epinois wisely omits " Romano ", because Cesar, born in Valencia, in Spain, is nowhere in history mentioned as being in Italy before the year 1488.

3° The forger states Cesar to be in his sixth year of age in October, 1480. He does not know that he was born in April, 1476, and had, consequently, hardly commenced his fifth year ; or, else, he hurries a year ahead of the time, to bestow on him the questionable privilege of keeping silence about the disgrace of his birth.

4° The remarks that we made, under number seven of page 462, would find here also a fitting place.

5° One misfortune for this document is, to be found in the archives of the duke of Osuna ; a greater one is, to be without a necessary record in the Vatican Archives of Rome ; and the greatest of all is, to be exposed as a forgery by the authentic records of bulls of the same pope Sixtus IV. We did not, it is true, lay our eyes on the record of the bull that replaces directly the one of the Osuna archives, but on folios 61vo and 91vo of Register 621 [51], a register that has all the outward signs of genuineness, are to be found the copies of two bulls dated August the 17th, 1482, in which we read the following memorandum or abstract of a previous bull : " Sixtus etc. To our beloved son, Master Cesar de Borgia, canon of Valencia and our notary, Health, etc... Desiring to favor you, who, as we learned, are in your Seventh year of age, and to whom, when you were then, as

51. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 621. Sixti IV, Bull., lib. LXXI.

we learned, in the Sixth year of your said age, we have of late, " dudum ", granted dispensation, in order that you might, as soon as you would attain the said Seventh year of your age , receive one ecclesiastical dignity, even if it should be in a cathedral church, provided it would otherwise be offered to you in a canonical manner, in title—that is, in full possession,—if it be free of the care of souls ; or in commendam, if such care should be attached to it, until you attain the sixteenth year of your age and, after this, that you retain it in title. And now we have seen fit to provide you with a canonry and prebend... Given in Rome at St. Peter's in the year etc. 1482, the 17th of August, of our Pontificate the eleventh year ".

« Sixtus etc. Dilecto filio Magistro Cesari de Borgia Canonico Valentin. Notario nostro Salt. etc. Laudabilia tue puerilis etatis indicia, ex quibus... Cum autem prefatus Rodericus Epus... Nos volentes tibi qui ut accepimus in VII° tue etatis anno constitutus existis, et cum quo dudum tunc ut accepimus in sexto dicte etatis anno constituto, ut quamprimum dictum septimum etatis tue annum attingeres, unam dignitatem ecclesiasticam etiam si in cathedrali ecclesia foret, si tibi alias canonice conferretur, recipere, et si sine cura in titulum, si vero cum cura foret, in commendam usquequo sextum decimum dicte etatis annum attingeres, et deinde in titulum retinere valeres, inter alia (other benefices, such as the parish of Gandia), per alias nostras literas pari modo dispensavimus, cuique nuper... peramplius honorare... Datum Rome apud Sanctum Petrum Anno etc. 1482 Sextodecimo Kl. Septembris pont. nri anno undecimo [52] ».

The late bull, thus quoted and correctly mentioning Cesar's age, evidently displaces the forgery. It was nothing else than a simple dispensation from the defect in age, so that he

---

52. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Sixti IV, Bull., lib. LXXI, Regest 621, fo 91vo.

might obtain a canonry and a parish etc:, for the possession of which he was still too young. Of illegitimacy there is not a word, not an allusion to the paternity of the Cardinal Bishop, even though that Cardinal be named in both bulls.

If we can believe another alleged document, king Ferdinand of Spain singled out Cesar de Borgia from among his older brothers, to bestow on him letters of legitimation and of Spanish naturalization. What the motives of the King's preference, at Cesar's tender age of five years, may have been, no writer has attempted to reveal. There is, in the archives of the duke of Osuna, the copy of a portion of such a document [53], covering five large pages of small print.

1° At its conclusion it is stated to have been made in double, and this, we assume, was the cause of its many and important different readings, as found by Fidel Fita and Manuel Oliver, who publish them. Thus, if the copy of Madrid is announced as being devoid of date, Oliver found it to be the 9th of October, 1481. There is even room left for doubt, as to whom the diploma was directed, for we notice to be between brackets, as special " extractos " of Oliver, the very words : " Cum videamus vos Cesarem de Borgia ex eo patre genitum, qui etiam ex nobili Borgiarum progenie recta via originem ducit ". Since we notice that you, Cesar de Borgia, are born of a father who also traces his descent in a direct line from the noble Borgia race.

2° This document, unreliable on account of the place where it was discovered, becomes suspicious especially from the fact that it adopts the Italian softening of the name " de Borgia, Borgiarum ", although it is professedly made

53. Fita, Estud. Hist., t. VI, p. 108 : " Copia simple de parte del Privilegio de Legitimacion y naturaleza concedido por el Rey Catolico D. Fernando al Sr. D César de Borja, Sin fecha ".

in Barcelona, in a country where the Borgias were universally and exclusively known as de Boria, or de Borja, pronounced as de Borga. The Italian cognomen " de Borgia ", ought to have aroused at least the suspicion of the reader, who has noticed that king Ferdinand exclusively uses the Spanish " Boria " or " de Borja " in all his other official papers [54].

3° King Ferdinand here designates as a foreigner, a child born in Valencia, who, when older, shall testify that he is a Spaniard by birth, and shall, as such, seek the protection of the Spanish captain, Gonsalvo, in order to avoid the dangers with which he was threatened in the Pontifical States, the land of his adoption.

4° It may, finally, be observed that these letters of legitimation and naturalization were, under the circumstances simply useless. They allowed the child to inherit in Spain, from his father and others, marquisates, duchies, baronies and all other fiefs, honors and offices ; but Cesar was only a third-born son, destined for the ecclesiastical career. If, therefore, he was an illegitimate, a legitimation from the Pope was necessary and sufficient. He could not at this age, nor, in fact, at any time, being but a cadet, inherit from his father, any marquisates, duchies or any other such titled estates, especially not, if cardinal de Borgia was his parent. It was a mere joke to let him expect any such estates or Spanish possessions from cardinal Roderic de Borgia, who never owned but the house which he inhabited in Rome. In reality, all the possessions which Cesar de Borgia ever had in Spain, were a cell in the prison of Medina del Campo, given him by the same king Ferdinand, and a grave in his former diocese of Pamplona.

The sole object of the act of legitimation of Cesar de

54. Fita, Ibid., pp. 212, 215, | 224, 229.

Borgia by king Ferdinand of Spain, as it is reported by Fita [55], is evidently to disgrace his pretended father, cardinal Roderic de Borgia. In other acts of this kind the shameful defect is generally expressed but once ; here, however, the illegitimacy, is mentioned no less than nine times, with constantly increasing disgraceful particulars [56]. The forger has in part obtained the desired effect ; for several later writers set forth this paper as a condemnation of pope Alexander VI. They might, however, have been warned by the excessive praises lavished on Cesar's parent, who had deserved, both in time of peace and of war, the greatest rewards from the Spanish nation [57] and, therefore, seems to have been a personage quite different from the Pontiff, who repeatedly admits that he always was ignorant of warlike concerns.

Oliver seems to give this document in full, and not in part only, as announced. Thuasne [58] prints but a few lines of it, while de l'Epinois and others testify their appreciation of its value by neglecting it altogether. Neither do we consider it as of sufficient importance to grant it space for a reprint, and we refer our interested readers to Fidel Fita, Estudios Historicos, Tomo VI, página 108.

It was a law of the Roman court that, whenever a benefice or a dignity was bestowed upon a cleric who had been favored with a bull of legitimation, the fact of his unlawful birth should be briefly mentioned in subsequent bulls of concession ; even though the legitimated person had been

---

55. Estudios Historicos, t. VI, p. 108.

56. On the 28th of May, 1485, king Ferdinand of Spain, who is here exhibited as thus reviling the birth of Cesar de Borgia, solemnly declared him to be born of highly noble and most glorious parents, " nobilibus et clarissimis parentibus ". See Fita, Estudios Historicos, t. VI, p. 224.

57. Ibid., pp. 92, 109.

58. Burchardi Diar., t. III, Supplém. p. III.

excused from expressing the disgrace, in his request or application for new favors ; as we see from the case of a certain Pedro Puyol, a cleric of Barcelona [59]. The observance of this rule is of common occurrence all through the records of the Vatican Archives. As a few more instances, we may mention the papal letters granting benefices to Franciscus Boyl, a young cleric of Valencia [60], to the Viscount John Mary Sforza [61] and to Troilus Caraffa, a nephew of cardinal Oliver Caraffa [62].

The forger of the bull of Cesar de Borgia's legitimation has taken undue advantage of that rule, when intercalating his former vicious assertions, regarding Cesar's origin, into a genuine document, by which pope Sixtus IV granted to the young cleric the benefice, called the Archdeanery of Xativa, in the cathedral of Valencia. The new work of his imposture is palmed off by the archives of the duke of Osuna [63], as an original parchment, " Bula original en pergamino ".

After a few innocent lines, copied from the Pontiff's authentic bull, the falsifier repeats the whole of his former forgery ; namely, that Cesar was born of a Cardinal-Bishop and a married woman ; that, when he was in his sixth year of age, he was dispensed in order to be admitted among the clergy and to receive holy Orders when he would be of canonical age ; also, that he was excused from mentioning, in his applications for new favors to the Holy See, the stain of his birth or dispensation of it. He then, to designate the Cardinal-Bishop, Cesar's criminal father, introduces a matter quite irrelevant to the object of the bull ; to wit, that Roderic, Bishop of Porto and Vicechancellor of the Holy Roman Church, had, by other letters, been appointed admi-

59. Regest., 869, f° 22.
60. Regest. 774, f° 215.
61. Regest. 778, f° 245.
62. Regest. 870, f° 34.
63. Fita, Estud. Hist., t. VI, p. 114.

nistrator of each and all the monasteries, priories, canonries, etc., which Cesar de Borgia now holds and would hold in the future ; till he should have accomplished his fourteenth year of age. At last, the Pope hears that the child is now in his seventh year of age, and he grants him the Archdeanery of Xativa.

And herewith stops the falsification, as it is published by de l'Epinois [64], from whom we copy :

Sixtus episcopus, servus servorum Dei, dilecto filio magistro Cesari de Borgia, canonico Valentino, notario nostro, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Laudabilia tue puerilis etatis inditia ex quibus, sicut se habet fidedignorum assertio, verisimiliter apprehenditur quod in virum te producere debeas virtuosum, nos inducunt ut te specialibus favoribus et gratiis prosequamur. Dudum siquidem tecum tunc, sicut accepimus, in sexto tue etatis — « anno » is missing — constituto, super defectu natalium quem pateris, de episcopo cardinali genitus et conjugata, ut quamprimum septimum dicte etatis annum attingeres, clericali caractere insigniri etc... tibi concedendo nullam de defectu natalium et dispensationis hujusmodi mentionem facere tenearis... per quasdam litteras, primo gratiose dispensavimus, concessimus et etiam indulsimus, et deinde venerabilem fratrem nostrum Rodericum episcopum Portuensem S. R. E. Vice cancellarium, motu simili, per alias nostras litteras, omnium et singulorum monasteriorum prioratuum, canonicatuum et prebendarum... que in titulum vel commendam tunc obtinebas, et in posterum obtineres, usquequo tu quartum decimum etatis hujusmodi annum complevisses, administratorem in spiritualibus et temporalibus generalem fecimus et deputavimus... et qui ut etiam accepimus in dicto septimo tue etatis anno constitutus existis... (Largitur illi archidiaconatum de Xativa). Datum Rome XVII Kl. Septemb. 1482 [65].

To prove the falsity of this pretended document it may suffice to lay by its side the authentic bull of pope Sixtus IV

64. Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. XXIX, p. 373, n. 4.

65. Archives particulières du duc d'Osuna et Infantado.

granting to Cesar de Borgia the archdeanery of Xativa in the church of Valencia, which we find duly recorded in the Secret Vatican Archives, on folio 91vo of the unimpeachable Register 621 ; while we found in the pontifical records no trace of the villainous counterfeit. We give the whole authentic bull, as Document 41.

We here add a few secondary remarks :

1° It is interesting to notice how the falsifier has correctly copied the first lines of the authentic bull, and in particular, the name " de Borgia " and the phrase : " quod in virum te producere debeas virtuosum ", by the defective reading of which he betrayed his former forgery.

2° It is not necessary to observe again that the insertion of the dispensation in both age and illegitimacy stands condemned by the absolute silence of the true bull about any unlawful birth.

3° The genuine document illustrates the ridiculousness of the interpolation granting to the future cleric needless favors as to the age of receiving the tonsure and Orders, by giving him the valuable permission of accepting certain benefices, from the possession of which his minor age would debar him, even though there was no objection to his admission to the clergy.

4° The next interpolation, in regard to cardinal Roderic de Borgia's appointment as administrator of Cesar's monasteries, priories etc., which, in fact, he never possessed within the stipulated age, is a very clever trick to fasten upon this cardinal the paternity, which, it was feared, was not clearly enough attributed to him before ; but it is of a character so foreign to the concession of the archdeanery of Xativa, that, in the estimation of a student of the pontifical archives, it would be sufficient to consider the alleged document as unusual, suspicious and unreliable.

5° The falsifier has unwittingly, it seems, changed the date of the genuine bull, issued " sextodecimo kl. Septembris ", that is, August the XVIIth. He has carefully preserved the " XVII " kl. Sept. but this makes the date to be August the 16th.

Henri de l'Epinois has published the false document just mentioned, either as he discovered it in the Osuna Archives, or he has justly thought it to be already composit enough, when he concluded it with the concession of the archdeanery of Xativa to Cesar de Borgia. Manuel Oliver, however, introduces the same document [66], yet extended with the following description : The Pontiff Sixtus IV dispenses Cesar Borja in illegitimacy, he allows him to hold dignities in one church and he gives him the archdeanery of Xativa and the rectory of Gandia, on the 16th of August 1482. " Bula original en pergamino con el siguiento rotulo al dorso : Dispensa el Pontifice Sixto IV á Cesar Borja la naturaleza, y que pueda tener dignitades en una Iglesia, y le da el Archidianato de Xativa y Retoria de Gandia. En 16 Agosto 1482 ".

It was this announcement of the combination of practically four or five papal bulls into one and the same document, that aroused our suspicion and led us to briefly disprove its authenticity [67] ; but we consider it to be our duty to both the slanderer and to the slandered Cardinal-Bishop, to report also and to examine the latter part of the wanton fabrication.

Oliver [68] and Thuasne [69] relate its former portion as we copy it from de l'Epinois but, after stating that Cesar was now in his seventh year, they continue the document saying

66. Ap Fita, Estud. Hist., t. VI, p. 114.
67. Supra.
68. Ubi supra.
69. Burchardi Diar., t. III, Supplém., p. V.

that the Pope had also heard Cesar to be the nephew of Lewis John, cardinal-priest of the Four Crowned... then, something about " the said Roderic, Bishop and Vicechancellor, Cesar's father... " and they close the document with interrupted phrases devoid of meaning, in which are mentioned : " the said Bishop-Vicechancellor, his father ; the Archdeanery and the church of Gandia, and the aforesaid Provostry ", as also a " dispensation in age and illegitimacy ", but no date ; making altogether a jumble, such as even de l'Epinois had not the courage to take hold of :

...et qui, ut etiam accepimus, in dicto Septimo tue etatis Anno constitutus existis... ut similiter accepimus dilecti filii nostri Ludovici Johannis titulo Sanctorum Quatuor Coronatorum Presbiteri Cardinalis nepos existis... Sic tibi etiam per dictum Rodericum Episcopum et Vicecancellarium genitorem tuum... usque quo ad dictum Sextum decimum tue etatis Annum attigeris et deinde in titulum quoad vixeris, ut prefertur, retinere, dictoque Episcopo Vicecancellario, genitore tuo, in Archidiaconatu et Ecclesia de Gandia necnon Prepositura predicta... etiam incompatibilia beneficia hujusmodi immediate possedisset, necnon natalium et etatis hujusmodi defectibus... auctoritate apostolica tenore presentium... dispensamus.

And to think that two or three learned men present such trash against the character of a great Roman Pontiff !

To the first part of his " original bull " we have answered with our Document 41, the document by which pope Sixtus IV confers upon Cesar de Borgia the Archdeanery of Xativa. We could not imagine what was meant by the " Prepositura predicta ", of which there is not another word here nor elsewhere, unless there be question of the Provostry de Albar, said by another Osuna document [70] to have been given to him two years later ! For the concession of the

70. Fita, Estud. Hist., t. VI, p. | 120.

church of Gandia another special bull was needed, and we found this bull recorded in due shape on folio 61vo of the model Register 621 [71] of the Secret Vatican Archives, as follows :

Sixtus etc. dilecto filio Mgro. Cesari de Borgia canonico Valentin. Notario nostro Salt. etc. Laudabilia tue puerilis etatis indicia ex quibus sicut se habet fidedignorum assertio verisimiliter deprehenditur quod in virum te producere debeas virtuosum, nos inducunt ut tibi reddamur ad gratiam liberales... Et deinde parrochialis Ecclia. de Gandia Valentin. dioc. quam condam Johannes de Gallach, Venlis fratris nostri Roderici Epi Portuen. Sce. Ro. ecclie. Vicecancellarii familiaris continuus commensalis existens obtinebat, per obitum dicti Johannis... vacante, Nos illam sic vacantem prefato Roderico Epo et Vicecancellario qui etiam Ecclie. Valentin. ex concessione et dispensatione apostolica preerat prout preest, per eum quoad viveret tenendam regendam et gubernandam Motu proprio per alias nostras litteras commendavimus. Cum autem prefatus Rodericus ex certis causis animum suum moventibus hodie commende hujusmodi in manibus nostris sponte et libere cesserit... Nos volentes tibi qui ut accepimus in Septimo tue etatis anno constitutus existis, ac cum quo dudum tunc ut acceperamus in Sexto dicte etatis anno constituto, ut quamprimum dictum septimum etatis tue annum attingeres beneficium ecclesiasticum cum cura etiam si parrochialis foret, tibi alias canonice conferretur recipere et usquequo sextum decimum dicte etatis attingeres in commendam et deinde in titulum retinere valeres, per alias nostras litteras Motu simili inter alia dispensavimus ; ut decentius te sustentare valeas de alicujus subventionis auxilio provideri... motu simili... Eccam de Gandia predictam, cujus fructus redditus et proventus quadringentarum libr. tur. par... non excedunt... tibi qui ut etiam accepimus dilecti filii nostri Ludovici tt. sanctorum quatuor Coronatorum presbiteri cardinalis nepos existis, per te usquequo Sextum decimum dicte etatis annum predictum attigeris in commendam... et deinde in titulum regendam gubernandam et tenendam apostolica auctoritate conferi-

71. Sixti IV, Bullar., lib. LXXI.

mus et providemus... Datum Rome apud Sanctum petrum Anno etc. MCCCCLXXXII Sexto decimo Kal. Septembr. pontˢ nri Aº XIº.

We should not neglect to notice :

1° That here again is the abstract from the bull given shortly before, by which the Pontiff dispensed Cesar de Borgia from the impediment in age, so as to enable him to accept some special benefices as soon as he should attain the clerical age of seven years ; but there is not a hint at a bull of legitimation to qualify him for the rank of a cleric, not a hint at cardinal Roderic de Borgia's imputed paternity.

2° That the falsifier has retained from the genuine document the passage in which Cesar de Borgia is declared the nephew of cardinal Lewis John del Milá, and thus unwittingly established the falsity of his interpolation that, namely, the Bishop Vicechancellor Roderic was his genitor. It is well known, indeed, that cardinal del Milá was a son of Catherine de Borgia, who was a sister of Isabel de Borgia, mother of the Vicechancellor Roderic. Cardinal de Borgia and cardinal del Milá were, therefore, actually first cousins, and should Cesar have been the son of the former, he would have been the second cousin of the latter, but never his nephew. Cesar was, in fact, the nephew of the cardinal of the Four Crowned ; yet, not through filiation from cardinal de Borgia, but through filiation from William Raymund de Borgia's, his father's, wife, who was a first niece of cardinal Lewis John del Milá.

3° The rehearsed untruth of the cardinal vicechancellor's paternity, " genitorem tuum, genitore tuo ", are assertions altogether impertinent here, and so scandalous, that they could never have found admittance into any genuine papal document.

Thuasne [72] concludes his publication of the Osuna documents, which we have now examined one by one, with the triumphant advice to the last apologists of Alexander VI, to carefully search the Vatican library, promising them that they will most probably find there all those same papers, either as copies or originals, besides others, he adds. We have looked over a part of the Vatican library and searched the Vatican archives, and we have not discovered a single one of those pretended documents, either as originals or as copies. Thuasne will see, to his mortification, that we have, on the contrary, found a few papal bulls which directly prove the falsity of the principal papers published by him.

Persuaded, no doubt, by the forgeries which he had printed, Thuasne had a right to expect that an apologist of Alexander VI was to unearth in the Vatican library still more documents revealing the disgrace of Cesar de Borgia's birth; for he undoubtedly knew the rule of the Roman Curia, which was to briefly mention, in every subsequent bull bestowing dignities or benefices upon any illegitimate, the fact of his illegitimacy or of the favor of legitimation received before.

Cesar de Borgia was not an illegitimate, however ; and, as a consequence, there could not be and, in fact, there is not one of the numerous bulls, granted him by three successive Popes, which is defiled by even the remotest allusion to anything like unlawful origin.

We could not afford the space to lay all these documents before our readers ; but, as they will have found them or, at least, their signatures in the sketch of Cesar's history, we would call their special attention only to these few :

On the 27th of March, 1482, pope Sixtus IV bestowed upon Cesar de Borgia the title of a papal notary. It is

72. Burchardi Diar., t. III, Sup- | plém., p. XV.

noted in the bull that he was then in his seventh year of age ; but of illegitimacy, not a word [73].

Cesar de Borgia had been named bishop of Pamplona, when he was in his seventeenth year of age, by pope Innocent VIII, and allowed to be consecrated when he should have attained his twenty-seventh year. Of illegitimacy there is not a word [74].

Pope Alexander VI gave him a pension, on the 18th of March, 1493. To secure the effect of this donation, he absolved him of possible excommunication and all other impediments, but did not mention illegitimacy [75].

On the 9th of August, 1493, the same Pope named him administrator of the diocese of Nantes and granted him several other dignities. His age of nineteen years is expressed, but there is not a word of illegitimacy [76].

Cesar was appointed perpetual administrator of the diocese of Castres, on the 4th of November, 1493. Neither of age nor of illegitimacy is any mention made [77].

The important monastery of Altacuniba, in the diocese of Geneva, was reserved for him on the 1st day of June, 1494 ; but of illegitimacy there is not a word in the bull [78].

Pope Alexander VI had, already, on the 31st of August, 1492, named Cesar de Borgia archbishop of Valencia. In the bull of appointment he fully attended to the impediment of his age, stating that he was in his eighteenth year, making him administrator only of the archdiocese, till he should reach his twenty-seventh year, and allowing him to be then consecrated as its regular bishop [79]. To prevent all possible

73. Osuna Archives ! ap. Fita, Estud. Hist., t. VI, p. 114.
74. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI, Bullar., an. I, t. I, Regest. 772, fiis 27, 153.
75. Ibid., Alex. VI, Bullar., an. I, t. V, Regest. 776, f° 202.
76. Ibid., Alex. VI, Bullar., an. I, II, t. VII, Regest. 778, fiis 119 to 123.
77. Ibid., Alex. VI, Secret., an. I, II, III, lib. III, Regest. 869, f° 158.
78. Ibid., f° 216.
79. See Document 42b.

contestation of the efficiency of the former bull, he issued another of the same date, by which he absolved Cesar from any excommunication or censure, which he might in any way have incurred [80]. Yet, in neither bull is there a single word of Cesar's incompetency because of unlawful birth.

But the enemies of pope Alexander VI, who had held their peace at the numerous favors granted to Cesar de Borgia during the ten previous years, as well as at his nomination to the episcopal sees of Pamplona, Nantes, and Castres, profited by his elevation to the archdiocese of Valencia to try by forgery [81] once more, at what time we could not tell, to villify the character of the Pontiff. They disagreed, however, on the nature of the bull which they should fabricate to that effect ; and, in fact, one of them forged a bull of dispensation in illegitimacy for Cesar de Borgia, as born from the Pope, formerly cardinal Roderic de Borgia ; while another wrote a bull of adoption into the Borgia family, for the same Cesar de Borgia, as not born from the Pope, but from a man of a different surname ; yet, stating that the same Pope was the father of Cesar's brother, Giovanni. This reminds us of a text of H. Scripture : " For many bore false witness against him : and their evidences were not agreeing ".

Together, they proposed an insolvable puzzle for all future generations ; for the original parchment forged by the latter is still found among the archives of the castle of Sant' Angelo and the former succeeded in inserting his vile work into the record Register 772 of the Secret Vatican Archives.

We should commence our critical examination by noticing that the Register 772, the first of pope Alexander's reign [82],

80. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI, Bullar., an, I, t. I, Regest. 772, f° 155.

81. Confer with Document 42b.

82. Alex. VI, Bullar., an. I, t. I, Regest. 772.

is, by exception, so irregular and was so much tampered with, that, an otherwise contestable document therein recorded, can derive but little authority from being found in it. The Codex consists of quires of an irregular number of pages, and its pagination is so extraordinary that it manifests unusual, unlawful handling, before it was finally bound. The pagination is as follows :

" I, 2 etc. 9, X, XI etc., LXXXXVIIII, C†, CIXXI, CXII, CXIII etc. CXXXXVIIII, CXL etc. CXLIIII, CLV, CXLVI, CXLVII, CXLVIII etc. CLX, CLI etc. CLXVIIII, CLXX, CLXXI etc. CC, 21, CC2, CC3, 204, 25CLXXXVI, 26CLXXXVI, 27CLXXXVII, 28, 29CLXXXVIII, 2X, 2XI, 2XII CCII, 2XIII, CCX4, 2XV CCV, 2X6 CCVI, CX7, 2X8 CCVIII, 2X9, 2XXI CCX, XX, 2XXI, 2XXII CCXII, 2XXIII etc. 2XX8 CCVXVIII, 2XX9, 2XXX CCXX, CCXXI, 2XXXII CCXXII, 2XXXIII etc., 2XXX9, 223 2XL 229 etc. 2XLVIIII, 230 2L 239 240, 2LI 241 etc. 2LVIII, 248 2LVIIII, 2LX, 250 2LXI, 2LXII, 2LX4 etc. 253 2LXXII, 261 2LXXIII etc. 2LXXXXVIIII, 288 300, 301 etc. 303, 290 34, 292 3V 305, 3VII 307, 296 3VIII etc. 3X9, 307 3XX etc. 3XXVI 326

Such is the exceptional confusion of Register 772, caused,

in part, by the interpolated bull of Cesar de Borgia's forged dispensation in illegitimacy.

To conceal his fraud, the forger has torn away from the official quires the genuine records of the bull of Cesar's appointment to the archdiocese of Valencia and two other bulls ; and then replaced them, in a peculiar manner, with his own copies of them and the intercalation of his forgery. That such is the case appears from the handwriting of these records, and especially from the fact that, through all of them, some words are spelled in a way quite different from the only orthography known by the Roman Curia at the time of pope Alexander VI. Namely, the diphthongs " ae " and " oe " are not to be found, either in originals or in official copies of contemporary papal letters, where the single vowel " e " replaces them ; but, in this set of records, they show up the falsifier, who although anxious to copy correctly, could not help an occasional distraction, in which he followed his own, more classical, mode of writing ; for instance, " Cæsari, fœlicem, aetatis fœliciter ". This orthography, if better Latin, betrays, however, a later period of the Vatican archives. Moreover, should " Phy. de pontecorvo " have collated this series of records, as he is asserted to have, he not only would have re-corrected the marginal correction : " dicte ætatis ", but would also have paraphed, as he was used to do, the other corrections made in the margins.

A bull of nomination to a diocese was always followed by six or seven supplementary bulls of introduction of the newly appointed bishop to his cathedral chapter, to the clergy and to the King of the respective country, etc. By custom or rule of the Curia, all these bulls formed but one on the Registers of Record, the commendatory introductions following immediately the main bull, and the scriptor often signing only the last one of them. Of that rule we have

an example on folio 27 of this very Register 772 ; another, on the next following pages of this same Codex, on the occasion of a cardinal's nomination to the See of Majorca, and still another, regarding Cesar himself, as appointed administrator bishop of Nantes, on folio 121vo of Register 778.

The manner of recording such bulls is quite different here. On folio 153 is copied the bull of nomination, with the signature of the scriptor. Then on folio 154, duly follows Cesar's commendatory introduction " To the vassals of the Church of Valencia... Date as above " ; on the same folio reversed : In like manner, " Simili Modo ", To the Chapter of the Church of Valencia... Date as above ; then follows : " Simili Modo ", To the Suffragans of the Church of Valencia... Date as above " ; and, finally, one more " Simili Modo ", To the Clergy of the city and diocese of Valencia... Date as above ", without any scriptor's signature. And here the falsifier suddenly interrupts the recording of the set of recommendations, to finish it further on, in spite of all precedents of the kind. He then inserts, on folio 155, the copy of an entirely different document, of the bull of " Caesar's " absolution from all possible excommunication and censures ; after that he records, on the same folio, under the here absurd heading of " Simili Modo ", the special bull by which the Pontiff allows " Caesar " to choose his consecrator. At the end of this bull, on the reverse of the same folio, the forger thought to have found a secure place for his false bull of Cesar's dispensation in illegitimacy and slipped it in, even without commencing a new line ; yet, concluded it with its full date.

He had reserved two more letters of commendatory introduction, and, finally, copied them, on folio 156vo, as it were, to form a rear guard for his fabrication ; again without

changing line. He did so, however, in a way that proves him to have been " plus bête que méchant ", more stupid than wicked ; for he transcribed them with their heading : " Simili Modo ", In like manner ; which would be correct, if these documents were recorded in the place from which he removed them, immediately after the previous four similar letters ; but what likeness is there between a bull of recommendation and his next foregoing shameful forgery of dispensation ? Yet, we read here : " Simili Modo, To the people of the city and diocese of Valencia... Date as above ", and " Simili Modo, To king Ferdinand of Spain... Date as above ". And here he finished, at last, his copy of the genuine record of the main bull with its usual appendages, by writing its scriptor's name, " P. Tuba " and the remark : " Collat. Phy de pontecorvo ".

The intercalated slander is substantially as follows :

In like manner, To our Beloved son, Cæsar, bishop elect of Pamplona, Health etc. Through God's grace it happens that such as are deficient in age and in lawful birth, sometimes deserve to be raised to the highest honors. We intend, with the advice of our brethren, to absolve you, this day, from the charge of the Church of Pamplona, and to transfer you, who are now in your eighteenth year of age, to the administration of the Church of Valencia. Already in the past, dispensation has been given to you, who are suffering from the defect of legitimate origin, born as you are of Us, a Bishop and Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church, and of a married woman ; in order that notwithstanding this, you might be duly promoted to all the sacred Orders, receive and retain certain qualified benefices and preside at the said Church of Pamplona. And as you, afterwards, have been raised to the distinguished rank of a cleric, while we trust that, through your great virtues, you will in many ways be

useful to the Church of Valencia, we further dispense you in the defects of age and of lawful birth, under which, now in your twenty-seventh year (!), you are suffering. Notwithstanding the Constitutions of the Councils of Poitiers and of Lateran, etc. Given in Rome, the 31st of August, 1492.

« Simili Modo Dilecto filio Cæsari Electo Valentin. (Valentin is cancelled.) pampilonen. Salut. Divina supereminens largitas sic non nunquam in multis sue gratie dona diffundit quod etiam ætatis et natalium defectus patientes per suarum virtutum merita defectus supplentes eosdem merentur ad dignitatum culmina promoveri. Cum itaque nos hodie te in decimo octavo vel circa tue ætatis anno et apud sedem apostolicam constitutum a vinculo quo ecclesie pampilonen. Ordinis Sci. Augustini teneris de fratrum nostrorum consilio ex apostolice potestatis plenitudine absolvere ac administratorem ecclesie Valentin. cui tempore assumptionis nre. ad Apicem Summi apostolatus ex concessione et dispensatione apostolica preeramus per assumptionem hujusmodi vacantis in spiritualibus et temporalibus donec vicesimum septimum dicte ætatis annum attigeris de fratrum eorumdem consilio apostolica auctoritate facere constituere et deputare et quam primum dictum vicegimum Septimum annum attigeris ex hodie(!) prout ex tunc et e converso ad dictam ecclesiam Valentin. transferre ac illi preficere in archiepiscopum et pastorem, necnon Monasterium vallis digne Cistercien. Ordinis Valentin. diocs. quod etiam tempore dicte assumptionis ex similibus concessione et dispensatione in commendam tenebamus, tibi per te quoad vixeris tenendum regendum et gubernandum de simili consilio dicta auctoritate commendare intendamus (!), Nos sperantes quod tu cum quo dudum super defectu natálium quem pateris, de Nobis tunc episcope et Sancte Ro. ecclesie cardinali genitus et coniugata, ut eo non obstante ad omnes etiam sacros ordines als. rite promoveri ac beneficia ecclesiastica certo modo qualificata recipere et retinere dicteque ecclesie pampilonen. preesse prefata fuit auctoritate dispensatum, quique postmodum clericali caractere rite insignitus fuisti, per grandia virtutum dona quibus circumfulctus existis ac alia tibi affutura suffragia eisdem ecclesie Valentin. et Monasterio esse poteris multipliciter fructuosus, Motu proprio non ad tuam vel alterius

pro te nobis super hoc oblate petitionis instantiam sed de nra. mera liberalitate et ex certa scientia tecum ut eidem ecclesie Valentin. administrator dari et deputari et dein illi prefici et preese necnon curam regimen et administrationem illius ac dicti Monasterii recipere illaque in spiritualibus et temporalibus gerere et exercere necnon munus consecrationis suscipere et illo uti libere et licite valeas, Natalium et quem in vicesimo septimo anno predicto constitutus respective pateris ut prefertur ætatis premisse defectibus necnon Pictaven. et lateranen. Conciliorum ac aliis constitutionibus et ordinationibus apostolicis quodque nos eidem ecclesie Valentin. immediate prefuerimus dictumque monasterium similiter immediate in eandem commendam obtinuerimus ut prefertur, Statutis quoque et consuetudinibus ecclesie Valentin. et Monasterii ac ordinis predictorum juramento confirmatione apostolica vel quavis firmitate alia roboratis ceterisque contrariis nequaquam obstantibus, auctoritate prefata tenore presentium de specialis et uberioris dono gratie dispensamus. Nulli ergo etc. nostre dispensationis infringere etc. Si quis etc. Datum Rome apud Sanctum petrum Anno etc. MCCCCLXXXXII pridie Kl. Septembr. Pontificatus nri Anno Primo [83].

The following remarks directly show this record to be a false interpolation, not entered by a regular chancery official.

1° Not only is its heading, " Simili Modo, Dilecto filio Cæsari etc. ", a senseless imitation of the several Letters of Introduction ; but there is not, in all of the Vatican Archives, another document of legitimation or dispensation commencing with : " In like manner ".

2° The improved manner of writing, with the diphthong ae, the words " Caesari " and " aetatis " is also conspicuous here, although this form was unknown, at the time, to the " scriptores " of the Roman Curia.

3° The mistake of " Valentin. " (Which was, after all, the correct expression here to use) for " pampilonen. ", was

83. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI, Bullar., an. I, t. I, Regest. 772, f° 155vo.

hardly possible on the part of a Curial copyist, whose main attention was directed to the material correctness of the transcription of original documents ; and no original bull, so cancelled, would ever have been admitted.

4° The uncalled-for, most scandalous bluntness of the statement of Cæsar's illegitimate birth : from Us, the Pope, and an adulteress, is so excessive that it cannot originate from a sane, not to say a pious, Roman Pontiff, but only from a corrupt or venal scribbler.

5° The description : " de Nobis, tunc episcopo et sancte Ro. ecclesie cardinali ", does not agree with the style of the Roman chancery, which invariably designates the cardinal Roderic de Borgia of those days as " Episcopus Portuensis S. R. E. Vicecancellarius " ; the title Episcopus being always determined by the name of the diocese, which, in this case, implies the title of a cardinal-bishop ; nor was his honorable office of Vicechancellor ever omitted.

6° It is asserted in the record, that Cæsar had been dispensed before—in illegitimacy, of course—for various purposes, in which truth and falsity are mixed. First, he is said to have been dispensed in age and illegitimacy, that he might receive all sacred Orders, by a bull discovered in the archives of the duke of Osuna ; but we have, by two authentic documents, proved that bull to be fabricated. Second, he was dispensed in age only, for the purpose of receiving certain qualified benefices ; and this is true. Third, he is said to have been dispensed, in order to become bishop of Pamplona. It is true that his former dispensation in age was remembered in this nomination by the expression of his seventeen years of age ; but, if any dispensation in illegitimacy is meant here, as intimated, we must call it false again, because there is not even a forged document to vouch for the assertion.

7° It is said that Cæsar was admitted to the rank of a clergyman, " postmodum ", afterwards, or, as it reads, after he had been named for the diocese of Pamplona. If such be a fact, Cæsar must have received another most extraordinary dispensation, namely, to receive all kinds of benefices and ecclesiastical dignities without being a cleric ; but neither Pope nor forger ever thought of granting such an exceptional favor.

Another forger, convinced of the futility of an attempt at slandering pope Alexander VI, by foisting Cesar de Borgia, as a son, upon him; yet, full of hatred towards that Pontiff, or being well paid for his villainous work, chose an opposite way to attain the same end. He composed an " original bull ", spread it on parchment and, in some way, provided it with a leaden bulla. On the fold is written the name, " F. de Valentia " and on the back is the remark : " R^{ta} apud me L. Podocatharum ", which, however, is not signed by L. Podocatharus. Besides this irregularity, it lacks only one essential, namely, it did not pass along the royal road of the Roman chancery to be placed on record. Neither wat it remitted to its beneficiary ; but hidden away, for the deception of posterity, among the archives of the castle of Sant' Angelo.

We give here the substance :

Alexander etc. To our beloved son, Cesar, bishop elect of Valentia, Health etc. Considering your devotedness towards us, we deem it just, to grant you what may conduce to your personal honor and glory. It has been clearly established of late, before our venerable brethren, the cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, that you were born from the legitimate union and during the marriage of the late Dominic de Arignano and of Vanotia de Cathaneis, a Roman woman, his lawful wife ; with whom, after the death of the

said Dominic, when she was a widow, we have, then still a cardinal, procreated the noble Lord Giovanni de Borgia, duke of Gandia. Now therefore, in consideration of your merits and of the said duke, who is your brother on the mother's side and loves you dearly, in order that you and he, as long as life lasts, may love each other all the better, We herewith, of our own volition, receive and adopt you into the family of ourselves and of our noble relatives de Borgia, and we order that all others should hold you as a member of our house ; We grant you the name, the arms and escutcheon of the noble Borgia race, and give you the privilege of using them as your own in all public and private acts, forever. Notwithstanding etc. Given in Rome at St-Peter's in the year of Our Lord 1493, the 19th of September.

Alexander eps. Servus Servorum Dei. Dilecto filio Cesari Electo Valentin. Salt. et aplicam. ben. Exigentibus meritis tue devotionis quam ad nos etiam dum Cardinalatus fungebamur honore semper habuisti et in dies magis atque magis habere dinosceris, digne ducimus non immerito illa tibi favorabiliter concedere que ad persone tue gloriam et honorem cedere possint. Cum itaque nuper legitimo precendente processu ex nra. commissione pro veritatis testimonio facto, habita per nos in Consistorio coram Venerabilibus fratribus nris. Sancte Roman. ecclie. Cardinalibus per Commissarios ad id deputatos relatione fideli clare compertum fuerit te de legitimo thoro et constante matrimonio videlicet de quodam Dominico Janotii de Arignano Milite Legum Doctore tunc in humanis agente et dilecta in Xro. filia Vanotia Jacobi de Cathaneis muliere Roman. eius legitima uxore, ex qua postmodum ipo. Dominico vita functo et ea Vidua relicta etiam dum dicto Cardinalatus fungebamur honore dilectum filium Nobilem Virum Johannem de Borgia Ducem Gandie procreavimus, genitum fuisse et ita in eodem Consistorio de eordem. Cardinalium consilio te legitimum esse ex attestationibus testium qui plenam de rei veritate notitiam habebant rite et legitime receptis ac aliis in dicto processu deductis decretum

fuerit et comprobatum, Nos te tam premissor. meritor. necnon tue erga nos fidei et affectionis intuitu quam etiam prefati Ducis tui ex latere Matris fratris qui te singulari dilectione prosequitur consideratione in signum specialis dilectionis et benivolentie et ut tu ac prefatus Dux cum maiori benivolentia quamdiu vitam duxeritis in humanis vos invicem habeatis et mutuo diligatis, aliquo peculiari munere ac honore necnon quadam perpetuitatis memoria decorare Volentes Motu proprio non ad tuam vel alterius pro te nobis super hoc oblate petitionis instantiam sed de nra. mera liberalitate et ex certa scientia te quem dicto Dominico Patre tuo vita functo prefati Ducis causa unasecum in eadem Domo impensis propriis continue literarum studijs et bonis moribus etiam in diversis studior. Italie Universitatibus instrui fecimus cuique deinde successu temporis cognitis doctrina ingenii dexteritate et virtutibus tuis plura que honori et dignitati tuis cederent quadam paterna caritate procuravimus et nos met etiam postquam divina favente clementia ad apicem summi aplatus. assumpti fuimus contulimus ac maiori pro dignitatis tue incremento facere intendimus, In familiam et Cognationem nram. ac Nror. Nobilium de Borgia de qua per rectam et paternam lineam originem traximus auctoritate presentium recipimus et adoptamus ac de eadem familia seu Cognatione imposter. perpetuo esse censeri reputari et nominari etiam ab aliis quibuscumque volumus ac mandamus, Tibique ut Arma et Insignia nra. ac eordem. Nobilium progeniei de Borgia perpetuis futuris temporibus publice et private ubilibet in quibusvis actibus deferre ac illis pro tuis uti libere et licite possis et debeas, Motu auctoritate et scientia similibus de specialis dono gratie indulgemus teque Cognomine Armis et Insigniis huioi. ac Nobilitate dicte familie de qua etiam sancte memorie Calixtus pp. III. predecessor nr. et secundum carnem nobis Avunculus suam traxit originem perpetuo decoramus, Districtius inhibentes omnibus et singulis cuiuscumque ecclesiastice vel mundane dignitatis excellentie Status vel conditionis existant ne te super hijs directe vel indirecte quovis quesito colore impedire vel alias quomodolibet perturbare presumant ac Decernentes ex nunc irritum et inane si secus super hijs a quoquam quavis auctoritate scienter vel ignoranter contigerit attemptari. Nonobstantibus Constitutionibus et ordinationibus aplicis. ceterisque contrariis quibuscumque. Sic igitur bonitas

tua et fidelis animus in dies erga nos et dictam familiam adaugeantur ut non solum hac gratia sed maioribus etiam in dies nobis longe dignior videaris. Nos autem Nomen hoc familie nre. tibi ex intimo cordis affectu in domino benedicimus. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nre. receptionis adoptionis voluntatis mandati indulti decoris inhibitionis et benedictionis infringere vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attemptare presumpserit indignationem omnipotentis Dei ac beator. Petri et Pauli Aplor. eius se noverit incursurum. Dat. Rome apud Sanctumpetrum Anno Incarnationis Dominice Millesimo quadringentesimo nonagesimo tertio Tertiodecimo Kl. Octobr. Pontificatus nri. Anno Secundo.

L. Podocatharus [84].

This " original " is so diametrically opposed to the foregoing " record ", that no hostile historian, not even Pastor, who had an insight into the Registers of pope Alexander VI [85], ventures to make his choice of either, but they all ignore them both, as unwelcome material for their cause.

The ground of this fabrication is evidently the false report of Cesar de Borgia's elevation to the cardinalitial dignity, made by the notorious Infessura, who asserts that pope Alexander VI, to overcome the opposition of the Cardinals to Cesar's admission into their College, ordered a Commission to inquire into his origin ; and that the Cardinals charged with this task, foreswore themselves before the Sacred Consistory, when testifying that Cesar was of lawful birth, the son of Dominic de Arignano. We have already sufficiently refuted the ridiculous statements of the untruthful diarist, so that their re-appearance in the present forgery—the author of which was perhaps Infessura himself—need not occupy our attention, and it may suffice to call the

84. Archiv. Castri S. Angeli, Armar. IX, caps. 11ª, formerly caps. 1ª, n° 287.

85. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 819, Doc. 17, and s. 820, Doc. 19.

reader's mind on two or three incidental clauses that should invalidate the whole document.

1° It is, indeed, morally impossible, that a Pope would, without any need, by mere incident as it were, not only shamelessly admit, but boastingly describe his own heinous immorality, and also degrade the noble lord duke of Gandia, by declaring him to be the sacrilegious offspring of himself, a Cardinal, and of a widow who is still living. Pope Alexander VI was not so demented, to allow himself such a public bravado, especially at a time when some members of the Sacred College were opposed to him, as we will notice farther on. Nor was the flimsy reason of Cesar's adoption : the increase of his love for Giovanni, named his brother, an excuse for this act of idiocy.

2° Giovanni de Borgia is represented here as born after Cesar, although, according to historical data, he was born in the year 1474, and Cesar in 1476.

3° That Cesar was allowed to study, together with Giovanni, the duke of Gandia, at the Italian Universities is an assertion, not only without any historical proof, but contrary to all historically established facts. Giovanni appeared in Italy, the first time, in the year 1492.

But, why should we take more pains in correcting other mistakes of this bull of adoption ? It always was a harmless forgery, without any effect, good or bad. As Cesar was called de Borgia after it, so had he been universally and exclusively known as a de Borgia before it. No historian, whether friend or foe of pope Alexander VI, ever did or ever will make any use of this pretended bull.

ARTICLE VI. — JOFRÉ DE BORGIA LEGITIMATED.

It seems that Manuel Oliver[86] had discovered nothing in

86. Fita, Estud. Hist., t. VI.

the archives of the duke of Osuna to disgrace the origin of Jofre de Borgia, Cesar's youngest brother ; but the Roman falsifier has again been at work to calumniate pope Alexander VI, by inserting one or more false records into the Registers of the Vatican Archives.

In Codex XXXII 242 (not foliated) of the Roman Barberini library, we read the following abstract : " Joffridus de Borgia, a young gentleman and cleric of Rome, born of a widow and Alexander VI, then bishop of Porto and Vice-chancellor of the Holy Roman Church ; and a nephew of the cardinal-priest, John of the Four Crowned, was dispensed, when in his seventh year of age, for the reception of Orders and of benefices, by Innocent VIII, who bestowed on him the archdeanery of the church of Valencia, when he was in his eighth year, on the 16th of September, 1489. When in his twelfth year, he was made commendator of the parochial church of Incha in the diocese of Majorca, by Alexander VI, on the 1st of September, 1492 ; and, on the 6th of August, 1493, he was legitimated in the broadest terms ".

Such a report would be most injurious to the fair name of pope Alexander VI, if it were made by a contemporary witness ; but the Codex is written, at a relatively late period, by a compiler who, as we will presently notice, makes mistakes, even here, in the dates and statements of the originals which he pretends to copy. Neither can his assertions be considered as a confirmatory testimonial, since the Codex declares itself to be taken " Ex Registris Alexandri VI ", from the archives of Alexander VI.

We admit that in the last Register of pope Innocent VIII there is to be found a pretended record, in which statements similar to those of the Barberini Codex are made. But what kind of a record and in what kind of a Register ?

This Register, N° 771, is perhaps the most singular of all

the " Regesta Vaticana ". Its old parchment binding bears the unusual inscription : " Regestrum Bullarum diversorum annorum Pontificatus fe. re. D. Innocentii pp. VIII ", Register of Bulls of various years of the pontificate of the Lord pope Innocent VIII of happy memory ; and, from another hand, the extraordinary remark : " Emptus die quinta Octobris 1530 a Magistro Vincentio Januen. liber in Campo flore. Verisius not^{s} Cam^{e} ap^{ce} ", a Codex bought on Campo dei Fiori, the fifth day of October, 1530, from Master Vincent of Genoa. (Signed) Verisius, notary of the apostolic treasury. This fact of its purchase on a public place in Rome proves that the Codex was for a time not in the custody of the Authentic or Vatican Archives. Who knows what sort of persons got hold of it, and thus had an opportunity to suppress records and to add others, according to their passion or interest ?

Judging from the ordinary size of the Registers, we deem the greater first half of this one to be missing. The pagination, 1 to 127, is of a later hand, and f° 1 is taken up by the copy of the latter portion of some papal document. But, if the head of this volume has been torn away, compensation has been made by attaching a tail to it. It has, indeed, two very distinct parts : its main body consisting of quires of the ordinary official paper, the last of which has eleven pages still blank, unused and unnumbered. Instead of utilizing these vacant pages, someone has annexed a small quire of eight folios of a different kind of paper, having with the first part no connection, except the continuance of its pagination and the common binding. On this appendage are pretendedly recorded five bulls : the first and the last addressed to Cardinal de Borgia, and the three intermediate, to Jofre de Borgia !

While, in this volume, all but two documents are written,

as generally, between two wide margins, and all bear tokens of genuineness, such as the amount of taxes, the remark : " Collat. " and the signatures of the various collators ; these five added bulls are copied with but one, the left margin ; and none has any such mark of authenticity. On the contrary, the first of these records bears the suspicious annotation : " Registrata apud D. Secretarium S. D. N. ppe ", registered in the books of the lord Secretary of Our Holy Lord the Pope ; and on those for Jofre de Borgia is the unusual puzzling mark : " Sept. ", and the taxator, de Muciarellis, is replaced by someone who does not even know the name of his principal, writing in one place : " pro R^mo A. de Muciarellis ", and in another : " A. muciarellis ".

After all those indications of interpolation and forgery, we might well ask whether it is necessary to further examine the alleged records themselves, in order to satisfy even a declared enemy of pope Alexander VI ?

To screen his imposture, the falsifier commences his series of records by copying on folio 120, that is, on the first page of the annex to Register 771, the bull by which pope Innocent VIII gave to cardinal Roderic de Borgia the archdeanery of Truxillo in the cathedral of Placentia, the authentic record of which he had found on folio 159 of Register 746. He writes his decoy satisfactorily, although forgetting, at the date to add the year 1489. Another hand afterwards inserted the words : " Anno incarnationis dominice MCCCCLXXXVIIII ". Then, leaving vacant folio 121 verso, in spite of general chancery custom, he commences his forged record on folio 122.

The paper is as lengthy and complex as it is superfluous. In the first part, pope Innocent VIII tells Jofre de Borgia that he has dispensed him in lack of age and of lawful birth, when he was in his seventh year of age. This was, no

doubt, interesting information for Master Jofre, who had not heard the news before, as there was no bull to that effect in existence. He must, however, precocious as he was, like all the Borgias, although but in his eighth year of age, have been astonished and shocked to learn that he was taken for a sacrilegious son of a cardinal-bishop and of an unmarried woman. In fact, the Pope, who was considerate enough to pass in silence the names of the parents of other legitimated clerics, seems to glory in his crude and scandalous statement of the profligacy of one of his most esteemed cardinals ; for three more times in this same paper, he asserts cardinal de Borgia to be Jofre's genitor. Such statements would simply have been impudence on the part of pope Innocent VIII, a moral impossibility.

According to the rules and usages of the Roman chancery, a brief allusion was generally made in subsequent bulls of favors bestowed by the Holy See upon such as had formerly received any dispensation, especially in illegitimacy ; but in this fabrication, which is but a simple notification, and confers no favor at all, the pretended legitimation is rehearsed in its entirety, with its abominable cause and all its purposes fully detailed,—as it were, to take the place of a bull that had never been issued. .

A second part of the forgery is another intimation given to Jofre, namely, that the Pope had appointed cardinal de Borgia administrator of all the monasteries, priories, canonries, etc. which he possessed now or might obtain in the future, with the right of collecting their revenues and of disposing of these according to his will.

In a third part, pope Innocent VIII also informs Jofre, that cardinal de Borgia intends to resign certain benefices and that he himself similarly intends to give them to him ; upon whom, he further tells him, he has formerly conferred the

title of a papal and apostolic notary, and who is a nephew of Lewis John, cardinal-priest of the Four Crowned—a fact to disprove the assertions of the first part. He, finally, lets him know, should he perhaps actually give him those benefices, in what form, under what conditions and with what privileges he shall grant them.

The fourth and last part of the paper, in the shape of " Nonobstantibus ", Notwithstanding, gives the forger an occasion of repeating once more the alleged disgrace of Jofre de Borgia and of pope Alexander VI.

This paper is thus a formal narrative of what was always expressed in a few words, as a secondary matter, in bulls actually granting some benefice to ecclesiastics, who were in circumstances similar to those here ascribed to Jofre de Borgia. The bulls, however, afterwards issued in his favor and recorded in other Registers of the Vatican Archives, report only the one grain of truth contained in this fabrication, to wit, that Jofre had been dispensed in age, like his brother Cesar, in order to be able to accept certain benefices and church dignities.

We also find on f° 57v° of Register 772, the record of a bull by which he is made, in the year 1492, on the 31st of August, and not on the 27th, as is stated in the Roman Barberini Codex XXXII 242, rector of the parochial church of Incha, in the diocese of Majorca, wherein he is mentioned as being in his twelfth year of age ; but of illegitimacy there is not a word, although the Pope, anxious not to let the grant be contested on account of any impediment, absolves him for security's sake, from all possible ecclesiastical censures.

On f° 181 of the same Register, where we read that Jofre receives the parochial church of Gandia, the fact of his dispensation in age is recalled again by the statement that

he is in his twelfth year ; but of illegitimacy there is not a word.

He also receives the archpresbytery de Bilchir in the cathedral of Saragossa ; but, although the bull secures the grant by an absolution " ad cautelam ", it mentions no legitimation nor dispensation in illegitimacy [87].

We here subjoin the original text of the false record, and, to lose as little space as possible, we mark in parentheses, as we go along copying, some mistakes and deviations from the expressions and forms of the Scriptors of the Roman Chancery ; from which it will further become plain to any student of the Vatican archives, that the writer of this paper was no official of the papal court, and that his work on the appendage of Register 77! was simply an attempt at forgery :

In the margin : « Hie. Balbanus », from another's hand.

Innocentius (Not : « etc. », but) Epus. Servus Servorum Dei Dilecto filio Magro. Jaufrido de Borgia clico. Romano Notario nro. Salutem (not : « Salt. », as usual.) etc. Laudabilia tue puerilis etatis indicia ex quibus prout se habet fidedignorum assertio veresimiliter (verisimiliter) deprenditur (deprehenditur) quod in virum te perducere (producere) debeas virtuosum nos inducunt ut te specialibus favoribus et gratiis prosequamur. Dudum siquidem (siquidem is cancelled and has the mark « // ». while in the margin is « //. tecum ») ut accepimus tecum tunc (tunc in cancalled.) in septimo tue etatis anno constituto super defectu natalium quem pateris de Epo. Carl^{i} genitus et soluta motu proprio et ex certa scientia ut ex tunc clericali caractere insigniri et ad minores et etate legitima tibi suffragante ad omnes etiam sacros ordines promoveri nec non quecumque quotcunque et qualiacumque beneficia ecclesiastica cum cura etiam si canonicatus et preben. dignitates personatus administrationes et officia in cathedralibus etiam metropolitan. et col-

87. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Alex. VI, Bullar., an. I, t. I, Regest. 772, f° CLXXXV.

legiatis ecclesiis et dignitates ipse in cathedralibus etiam metropolitanis post pontificales majores seu in collegiatis ecclesiis hujusmodi principales et tria ex illis dissimilia tamen et alias invicem compaciencia in aliqua earumdem ecclesiarum sub eodem tecto ac curata et olectiva (for « electiva».) forent si tibi alias canonice conferrentur aut eligereris presentareris vel assumereris ad illa seu instituereris in eis, recipere, necnon canonicatus et prebendas preposituras et alias dignitates aliaque sine cura ex tunc in titulum, reliqua vero etiam cum cura ac dignitates et beneficia usquequo septimum decimum dicte etatis annum actigeres (for « attingeres ».) in commendam et de inde in titulum retinere, eaque omnia et singula simul vel successive simpliciter vel ex causa permutationis quotiens tibi placeret dimittere et comende hujusmodi cedere ac loco dimissi vel dimissorum aliud vel alia simile vel dissimile aut similia vel dissimilia beneficium seu beneficia ecclesiasticum vel ecclesiastica quecumque quotcumque et qualiacumque etiam si ex illis tria dissimilia et alias invicem compaciencia in una ecclesia et subeodem tecto ut prefertur forent similiter recipere necnon canonicatus et prebendas ac preposituras dignitates et alia sine cura in titulum reliqua vero beneficia hujusmodi in commendam et de inde in titulum modo premisso retinere, ac in hujusmodi beneficiis genitori tuo inm^{te} (unusual abbreviation of immediate) succedere, illaque in ecclesiis quibus genitor ipse preerat vel pro tempore preesset ac similia beneficia obtinebat et obtineret consequi et habere valeres, et ex tunc deinceps in quibuscumque literis ac concessionibus tam gratiam quam justiciam concernentibus a sede apostolica vel ejus legatis seu alias quomodolibet pro te seu per te impetrandis aut alias quomodo libet (« libet is cancelled, and « cumque » written instead, above the cancellation and not in the margin) tibi concedendis nulla (for nullam) de deffectu natalium et dispensatione hujusmodi mentionem facere tenereris, ipseque litere et concessiones propterea de successione (for « surreptione ».) aut intentionis deffectu notari aut invalide reputari non possent sed perinde valide et efficaces existerent in omnibus et per omnia ac si de legitimo thoro natus esses, per quasdam (was « nostras literas » forgotten ?) dispensavimus tibique concessimus et indulsimus.

Et de inde Ven^{lem} fratrem nostrum Rodericum Ep^{um} Portuen.

Sancte Romane ecclesie Vicecancellarium motu simili per alias nostras litteras omnium et singulorum monasteriorum prioratuum prepositurarum canonicatuum et preben. ac dignitatum administrationum et officiorum aliorumque beneficiorum ecclesiasticorum secularium et quorumvis ordinum regularium cum cura et sine cura que in titulum vel commendam tunc obtinebas (?) et imposterum obtineres usquequo sextumdecimum etatis hujusmodi annum complevisses administratorem in spiritualibus et temporalibus generalem fecimus et deputavimus, sibique monasteria prioratus et alia beneficia hujusmodi in eisdem spiritualibus et temporalibus per se vel alium seu alios quem seu quos ad id duceret deputandum seu deputandos regendi et gubernandi omniaque et singula circa hec necessaria et opportuna faciendi et exercendi nec non fructus redditus et proventus Monasteriorum prioratuum et aliorum beneficiorum eorumdem interim percipiendi et levandi ac de illis pro sue libito voluntatis disponendi et ordinandi plenam et liberam concessimus facultatem, prout in eisdem litteris plenius continetur.

Cum autem sicut accepimus dictus Epus. qui ecclesie Valentin. preest et archi^{tum} (An unusual abbreviation for « archidiaconatum ») majorem qui inibi dignitas major post pontificalem existit nec non pbrales. (An unusual abbreviation for « presbyterales.) Canonicatum et prebendam ecclesie Valentin. et preposituram mensis Martii in eadem nuper per obitum quondam Mathie Mercador extra Romanam curiam defuncti vacantes et dicto Epo. ad certum tunc expressum tempus et vitam respective apostolica auctoritate commendatos in commendam obtinet archidiaconatus et preben. pbralium necnon prepositure commendis hujusmodi in manibus nostris sponte et libere cedere proponat nosque cessionem ipsam ad mittere (Sic, in two words.) et eosdem Archidiaconatum ac preposituram tibi per te usque ad dictum sextum decimum (An essential word : « completum » is left out.) etatis tue annum tenendos regendos et gubernandos commendare et de inde (« in titulum » was forgotten.) de illis ac ex nunc de dictis canonicatu et preben. providere intendamus, Nos te quem alias clericali caractere insignitum in nrum. et apostolice Sedis Notarium recepimus et qui ut accepimus dilecti filii nostri ludovici Joannis tt. Sanctorum quatuor coronatorum presbiteri Car^{lis} Nepos ac in VIII° dicte etatis anno constitutus existis premissorum inditiorum tuorum

intuitu uberioris gratie favore prosequi volentes, Motu simili non ad tuam vel alterius pro te nobis super hoc oblate petitionis instantiam, sed de nostra mera liberalitate et ex certa scientia tecum ut archidiaconatum et que in dicta ecclesia Valen. (Instead of « Valentin.») simplex administratio vel officum existit prepositurам ac canonicatum et preben. presbiterales predictos quorum omnium insimul fructus redditus et proventus mille tucentarum (ducentarum) quinquaginta librarum Turonen. parvorum se. co. ex. val. an. (An exceptional abbreviation for « secundum communem existimationis valorem annuum) ut similiter accepimus non excedunt, etiam si ad dictum archidiaconatum consueverit quis per electionem assumi eique cura immineat animarum si tibi per nos ut prefertur vel alias commendentur et de illis provideatur commende et provisionis hujusmodi vigore ex nunc recipere, ac canonicatum et preben. in titulum ex nunc, nec non archidiaconatum ac prepositurам predictos quousque dictum sextum decimum etatis annum actigeris (« sextum decimum » is correct with « complevisses », as above ; but here, with « actigeris », it should be « septimum decimum ».) in commendam et de inde etiam in titulum insimul retinere, dictoque Epo. genitori tuo in Archi^{tu} (Unusual abbreviation) prepositura ac canonicatu et preben. predictis inmdiate (immediate) succedere ac de illorum fructibus redditibus et proventibus dicta commenda durante sicut illi qui archidiaconatum canonicatum et preben. ac prepositurам ipsam in titulum pro tempore obtinuerunt de illis disponere et ordinare potuerunt seu etiam debuerunt Alienationem (Instead of « alienatione ») tamen quorumcumque bonorum immobilium et preciosorum mobilium archidiaconatus prepositure ac canonicatus et preben. predictorum tibi penitus interdictam (Instead of « interdicta ».) disponere et ordinare libere et licite valeas, Natalium et etatis premisse defectibus hujusmodi ac lateran. et pictaven. conciliorum aliisque constitutionibus et ordinationibus apostolicis ac dicte Ecclesie Valen. (for « Valentin. ») jura^{to} (Unusual abbreviation of « juramento ».) confirmatione apostolica vel quavis fir^{te} (Unusual abbreviation of « firmitate ».) alia roboratis statutis et constitutionibus aliisque premissis ac omnibus que in dictis literis voluimus non obstare ceterisque contrariis nequaquam obstan. (Unusual abbreviation of « obstantibus ».) auctoritate apostolica tenore presentium de uberioris dono gratie...

(An extraordinary blank is left here.) dispensamus provisio quod Archi^{tus} (Unusual abbreviation of « Archidiaconatus ».) et prepositura nec non canonicatus et preben. predicti debitis etiam dicta durante commenda non fraudentur obsequiis et animarum cura in dicto Archi^{tu} (Unusual abbreviation.) si qua illi immineat nullatenus negligatur sed illorum omnium congrue soportentur (« supportentur ».) onera ante dicta. Nulli ergo omnio. (Unusual abbreviation.) hominum liceat hanc paginam nostre absuntatis (?) et dispensationis infringere vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attemptare presumpserit indignationem omnipotentis dei et beatorum petri et pauli aplorum. ejus se noverit incursurum. Datum Rome apud sanctum petrum Anno incarnationis dominice Millesimo quadringentisimo nono decimo (« decimo » is cancelled.) sexto (and above the line is added by another hand « decimo ».) Kl. Octobris pontificatus nri anno sexto.

M. Rubini.

(From another hand :)
Gratis pro nepote Car^{lis}
pro R^{mo} A. de Muciarellis
(In the margin) : Sept. ^{88} (?).

Such is the shape of a pretended record that evidently never had an original, with which it might be compared by an official collator.

On folio 123, is to be found a copy of another bull by which pope Innocent VIII grants to Jofre de Borgia, in " Ano in Carnationis dominice "(Sic !) 1489, on the 18th of the month of September, the great archdeanery, a priestly canonry and the provostry of the month of March in the cathedral of Valencia. This is probably a transcript of some genuine record of a bull by which the named benefices had really been bestowed upon the favored cleric. Here is reported that part of the bull, in which his dispensation in age is remembered : " Nos volentes tibi qui... in VIII tue

88. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Re- | gest. 771, f° 122.

etatis anno constitutis... existis ", but it makes no allusion to his pretended illegitimacy ; and the interpolated clause : " qui per nos apostolica sufficienter dispensatus existis ", is so foreign to any papal document, that it could not have originated from the Roman court.

A third bull in favor of Jofre de Borgia, of the same date, is to free him from paying a pension of eighty pounds upon the provostry of March ; and, strangely enough, no mention of any dispensation is made in it.

Finally, the last of the bunch of five bulls, written on the annex to Register 771, is a favor granted to cardinal de Borgia, a " regressus " or right of re-entering in possession of the benefices which he resigned for Jofre, in case of their possibly becoming vacant in the future. Thus are a forgery and a falsification protected by three copies of possibly authentic records, on an interjected irregular quire of paper.

Jofre, being the youngest son of William Raymund de Borgia, had been destined for the ecclesiastical state of life, but king Ferdinand of Naples, to save his own crown, negotiated with the Pope a marriage between the young man and his son Alfonso's illegitimate daughter, Sancia of Aragon ; offering to the bridegroom the appanage of the county of Cariati and the principality of Squillace. Some forger profited by this occasion to fill a couple of the numerous vacant pages of Register 869 of the Vatican archives with a combined dispensation, legitimation and adoption of Jofre de Borgia, similar to the bull which a Spanish falsifier had fabricated, pretendedly in favor of Pedro Luis.

Here again is a pretended bull ; this time, of pope Alexander VI himself, to enable Jofre to inherit duchies, principalities, counties and baronies, etc. from his parents, brothers, relatives and from all others, even though they or their ancestors or anyone else should have provided that the

property could never come in possession of, or owned by, one of illegitimate birth. The adoption part resembles the bull of Cesar de Borgia's adoption into the Borgian family.

Following is the full text :

In margin : L. podocatharus.

Alex. etc. Dilecto filio Jaufrido de Borgia Domicello Romano Salt. etc. Illegitime genitos quos morum decorat honestas nature vitium minime decolorat quia decus virtutum geniture maculam abstergit in filiis et pudicitia morum pudor orginis aboletur. Attendentes igitur quod sicut habet fidedignorum assertio nosque etiam novimus tu qui defectum natalium pateris de nobis tunc Epº Portuen. Sancte Roman. ecclie. Vicecanrio genitus et muliere vidua defectum hmoi. honestate morum et vite aliisque probitatis et virtutum meritis multipliciter recompensas, et propterea volentes te premissorum intuitu favore prosequi gratie specialis ac a quibusvis excommunicationis suspensionis et interdicti aliisque ecclesiasticis sententiis censuris et penis a jure vel ab homine quavis occasione vel causa latis si quibus quomodolibet innodatus existis, ad effectum presentium dumtaxat consequendum, harum serie absolventes et absolutum fore censentes, motu proprio non ad tuam vel alterius pro te nobis super hoc oblate petitionis instantiam sed de nra.mera liberalitate et ex certa scientia, tecum ut in quibuscumque Ducatibus Principatibus, Comitatibus Baroniis terris castris et locis aliisve bonis omnibus parentum agnatorum cognatorum fratrum consanguineorum et affinium tuorum ac aliorum quorumcumque etiamsi eis et aliis vel eorum progenitoribus pro se ac descendentibus suis legitimis et naturalibus imperpetuum vel ad tempus aut in certam generationem ab eadem Roman. vel aliis ecclesiis Monasteriis et locis ac personis ecclesiasticis aut secularibus in Vicariatum feudum censuale seu nobile antiquum paternum et avitum vel in emphiteosim aut livellum locationem seu censum aut alias quomodolibet concessa forent et imposterum concederentur, aut a progenitoribus prefatis eisdem parentibus agnatis cognatis fratribus consanguineis et affinibus donata relicta vel legata, aut alias concessa seu hereditate fidei commissa vel alio titulo in eos et cum prohibitione quod ad illegitimos devenire non possent translata existerent, tam ex testamento quam ab inte-

stato succedere et ad illa fidei commissa legati donationis inter vivos causa mortis aut quovis alio titulo devenire illaque consequi et habere, ac in eisdem ducatibus principatibus Comitatibus Baroniis terris castris atque locis Vicarii feudatarii et superioris nomine jurisdictione imperii preeminentia et auctoritate fungi et potiri, ac de eisdem ducatibus Principatibus Comitatibus Baroniis Terris locis et bonis disponere, ac in illis successores et heredes habere, ac ad honores dignitates Magistratus et officia quecumque secularia publica et privata recipi et assumi, illaque et quoscumque actus legitimos exercere et gerere, necnon de Agnatione ac familia et domo de Borgia esse censeri et nominari ac insignibus Armis privilegiis concessionibus Indultis libertatibus prerogativis et preeminentiis quibus legitime geniti de familia et domo hujusmodi utuntur potiuntur et gaudent ac uti potiri et gaudere poterunt quomodolibet in futurum uti potiri et gaudere libere et licite et efficaciter possis et debeas in omnibus et per omnia prorsus et sine ulla differentia perinde ac si de legitimo thoro procreatus fores auctoritate apostolica ac de apostolice potestatis plenitudine tenore presentium de specialis dono gratie dispensamus tibique pariter indulgemus, teque quoad premissa et quecumque alia legitimamus ac vere ingenuitati et justis natalibus plenarie et efficaciter eisdem motu scientia auctoritate et potestatis plenitudine restituimus et reintegramus, ac tibi quod in omnibus et singulis per te de cetero a nobis et sede apostolica aut legatis ejusdem seu alias quomodolibet obtinendis impetrationibus et indultis gratiis concessionibus dispensationibus et literis etiam alias concedendis gratiam vel justiciam aut illas mixtim concernentibus, nullam de defectu et dispensatione hujusmodi mentionem facere tenearis nec gratie et litere desuper conficiende propterea de surreptionis vitio aut intentionis defectu notari possint sed perinde valeant ac si de defectu et dispensatione predictis in eis plena et expressa mentio facta fuisset eisdem motu scientia et auctoritate concedimus, decernentes quas fieri contigerit tibi donationes hujusmodi que de jure aut ex forma quorumcumque Statutorum Urbis aut aliorum locorum insinuatione seu solemnitate per statuta ipsa ultra juris communis formam adinventam exigerent absque insinuatione et solemnitate hujusmodi validas et efficaces fore et observari debere in omnibus et per omnia perinde ac si donationes ipse insinua-

tione et solemnitatibus debitis et requisitis intervenientibus fierent, sicque per quoscumque judices et commissarios etiam causarum palatii apostolici Auditores in quacumque instantia tam in Romana curia quam extra eam sublata eis et cuilibet eorum quavis alia interpretandi facultate sententiari diffiniri et judicari debere, irritum quoque et inane si secus super hiis a quoquam quavis auctoritate scienter vel ignoranter contigerit attemptari. Non obstantibus defectu et aliis premissis necnon constitutionibus et ordinationibus apostolicis legibus quoque imperialibus ac dicte Urbis necnon civitatum et locorum aliorum municipalibus statutis et consuetudinibus etiam juramento confirmatione apostolica vel quavis firmitate alia roboratis etiam insinuationem donationum hujusmodi exigentibus et quibus caveretur expresse quod succedere non possent, necnon testatorum et donantium ac aliorum quorumlibet prohibitionibus quodque Vicariatuum seu feudorum in emphiteosim censum locationem et livellum concessiones hujusmodi pro vere et non ficte legitime descentibus et genitis dumtaxat emanaverint atque processerint, quibus omnibus etiam si de illis eorumque totis tenoribus pro illorum sufficienti derogatione specialis specifica expressa individua ac de verbo ad verbum, non autem per generales id importantes clausulas mentio seu quevis alia expressio habenda foret, tenores hujusmodi pro sufficienter expressis et insertis habentes quoad premissa speciàliter et expresse, eisdem motu scientia auctoritate et potestatis plenitudine omnino derogamus ac derogatum esse volumus, ceterisque contrariis quibuscumque. Nulli ergo, etc. nostre voluntatis absolutionis dispensationis indulti legitimationis restitutionis reintegrationis concessionis decreti et derogationis infringere etc. Si quis etc. Datum Rome apud Sanctumpetrum. Anno etc. MCCCCLXXXX tertio Octavo Id. Augusti Pont. nri. Anno Primo.

Collationata: L. podocathar [89].

It ought to be remarked :

1° That the outward appearance of this record does not vouch for its authenticity. It is found, indeed, in a Register

89. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Alex. VI, secret., an. I, II, III, lib. III, Regest. 869, f° 85vo.

that contains a great number of vacant pages, on which several false insertions could be made. It is, itself, a strange combination of dispensation, legitimation and adoption into the Borgia family, with a " Notwithstanding " that is an unusual rehearsal of all the provisos already expressed in the body of the document. The record is marked twice with the name of the secretary, L. Podochatarus, whose signature slightly varies so often in this Register, that it is hard to say whether it is authentic or not ; but here, at the collation, it is so extraordinary that it could not be admitted as genuine, for the " C " of Collationata is of an unwonted form and the final " us " of " podochatarus " is missing, while the lower portion of the ordinary paraph is replaced with a " , " comma.

2° This bull was perfectly useless, because Jofre's pretended father had no duchies or principalities or any titled estates or fiefs to leave or to give him, and he even refused the request of the king of Naples to confer upon him the Vicariate of Benevento, Ponte Corvo and Terracina[90]. Neither had Jofre's nearest relatives any duchies, etc., to bequeath to him, with the exception of his brother-german, Giovanni, whose son was to be his heir. Moreover, this same Giovanni had not been favored with a pontifical bull or a royal diploma of legitimation, and yet had succeeded his brother, Pedro Luis, in the duchy of Gandia, without anybody's objection.

3° Should Jofre have needed a legitimation or adoption to receive by last will or donation any lesser properties or rights from his more distant relatives, who all lived in Spain, it seems that such a document should have proceeded, not from the Pope, but from Ferdinand, the Spanish king ; and if he was to be legitimated, so that he might validly become

90. Trinchera, Codice Aragon., | vol. II, P.2, p. 178.

the Prince of Squillace and the Duke of Cariati, the king of Naples, instead of the Roman Pontiff, should have had the right not only to grant, but also to secure those valuable titles to him.

4° Jofre's legitimation, especially if necessary or useful, was an important particular, under the circumstances, and would undoubtedly have called forth the notice of Ferdinand of Naples, who speaks of the smallest details of Jofre's marriage with his niece, Sancia of Aragon, even of the necessity of dissolving her nuptials with the count of Fundi [91]. But he never mentions it. His silence is significant, indeed.

5° Pastor [92] offers as a document, the most scandalous passages of this pretended bull, covering with dots its compromising object ; and thus admits the profligate bravado of pope Alexander VI, namely, of being the sacrilegious father of Jofre de Borgia. This proves how stubborn adhesion to a false theory or blind hatred may warp a man's mind, to make him believe as a fact, in a Sovereign Pontiff who would have nothing to gain and much to lose by an acknowledgment, what he would deny as possible, in the meanest criminal.

6° And how can the historian say that Jofre, whose birth took place in the year 1481 or 1482, was born of a widow, " de nobis et de muliere vidua ", after he had asserted [93] that this widow, Vannoza de Cathaneis, married Giorgio de Croce in the year 1480 ?

ARTICLE VII. — FALSE DOCUMENTS REGARDING LUCRETIA DE BORGIA.

Nò attempt has been made at forging a bull of legitimation of Lucretia de Borgia ; but [94] we have noticed a fabri-

91. Ibid., p. 177.
92. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 820.
93. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 261.
94. Supra.

cated notarial act, pretendedly written by the Roman Beneimbene, in the Valencian language, having for object an alleged marriage between Lucretia and a certain Don Cherubin Joan de Centelles, which, in reality, never took place. In this document, the noble young lady is repeatedly called " filla carnal ", the bastard daughter of her " pare carnal ", her sacrilegious father, Don Rodrigo de Borja, bishop of Porto and cardinal vicechancellor of the Holy Apostolic See. As we have sufficiently spoken of this paper, we shall not disprove it here over again. We also ask our readers to note our reply to the imputation of an interpolated act of the same notary, where Lucretia is called " naturalis filia ", the illegitimate daughter of the same cardinal.

The Codex XXXII 242 of the Roman Barberini library, a relatively late extract " from the Registers of Alexander VI ", asserts that " Lucretia Borgia married Alfonso, the first-born of Ercole, duke of Ferrara, in the second degree of affinity, caused by the fact that Alexander VI, when a cardinal, had held the lord Alfonso over the baptismal font. " Here is evidently a mistake. There is no question of spiritual relationship, but of affinity, in the second degree ; and this impediment proceeded from the former marriage of Lucretia with Alfonso, duke of Bisceglia, who was a grandson of king Ferdinand of Naples ; while her future husband, Alfonso of Este, was the son of Ferdinand's daughter.

In our search for the bull from which the above Barberini information might be derived, we found the Register 871 [95], and there on page 186, an interpolation answering the purpose ; namely, a pretended " extract from a Register of the Rev. Lord Hadrian, Secretary ", or a pretended copy of a pretended record, ascribed to Secretary Hadrian, and inserted

95. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 871, Alex. VI, Secret., an. I, ad XI, lib. V.

among authentic records of papal bulls ; as an original record itself, collated by " Bo. de Montefalc ".

It is evident that, as a copy from a Register of records, it had no right to be found here as a record itself, but is an unjust intruder ; and, as such, is not only devoid of all authority, but undeserving of what confidence we might place in a paper simply claiming to be a copy. Nay more, its fraudulent presence here intimates the falsity and deception of its contents.

The intrusion is betrayed by the very circumstance of the place where it is entered. Folio 180 verso of Register 871 is vacant and folios 181, 182, 183 and 184 are missing. Folio 185 is the first of a new quire, which is of a different kind of paper : darker and of coarser grain. This folio is an index of the following documents, while its verso is a blank. From all this it clearly appears that the quire did not originally belong to the Register, but was afterwards thrust into its binding, and paginated together with it. Moreover, it can be observed that the folios 185 and 186, containing the contested copy, are the same sheets of paper together with the folios 208 and 209, that are vacant, and, consequently, were easily inserted [96].

This copy-record did not pass along the royal road of the Roman Curia, it has not the marginal corrections of the collator, nor any other signs of genuineness ; but has, instead, in the text and in the right margin, certain altogether unusual marks, as " ⊓| ", to call forth the attention of the reader. By such means the forger was quite successful in enlisting the interest of the enemies of pope Alexander VI, as appears from the fact that the right margins of the pages are quite soiled by the thumbs of many readers, and the

96. The whole of this quire, f° 185 to 209, is an interpolation into the Register.

corners half worn ; although the interpolated bull is of no historical importance, and serves only to disgrace the Pope, who is said to have issued it, and those to whom it was directed ; indirectly asserting Lucretia to be a sacrilegious bastard, and Alfonso of Este to be forfeiting his honor by taking such a woman for his wife.

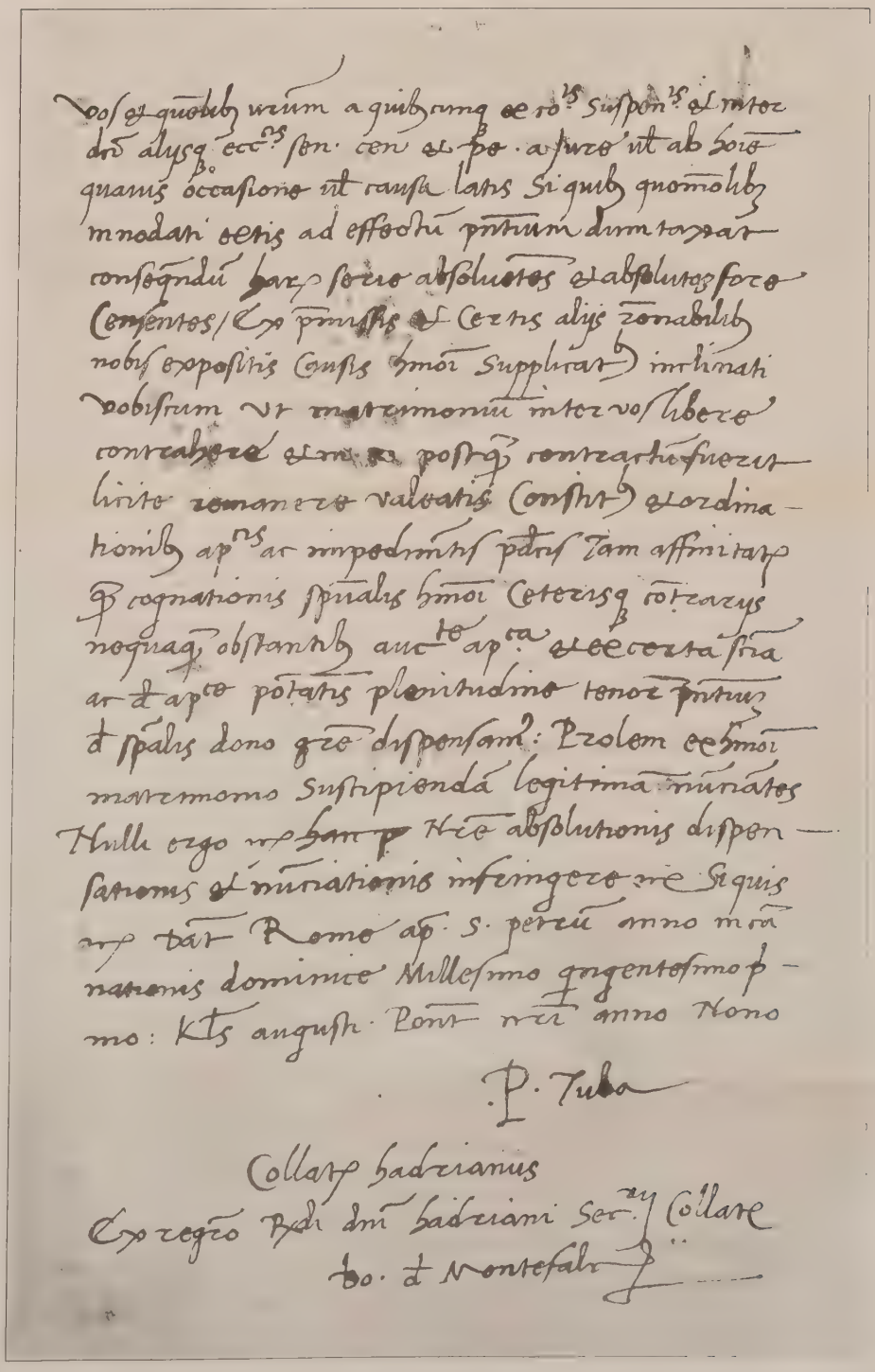
Were this record the copy of an authentic bull, it should have been kept, like all genuine records, in the locked vaults or chests of the Roman chancery, safe from the dirty fingers of scandal-mongers ; clean, as were all other writings of the same volume and of official codices generally.

In the supposition that the alleged impediment of spiritual cognation should actually have existed, would not a sensible Pontiff have dispensed in it by some general expression, rather than recall a great scandal, dishonor himself and bluntly insult an illustrious prince together with his future duchess ?

The object of the interpolated bull is the grant of a dispensation to Alfonso, the presumptive heir of Ercole, duke of Ferrara and to Lucretia de Borgia, enabling them to contract a valid marriage, notwithstanding the impediment of affinity, that existed between them. We do not doubt that some papal document was issued in due time to that effect. But the forger has extended the bull, so as to include also an impediment of spiritual relationship, resulting from an act of pope Alexander VI, who, when yet a cardinal, should have lifted Alfonso from the baptismal font.

In the left margin is the counterfeit name : « hadrianus ».

Alexander epus. Servus servorum dei. Dilecto filio Nobili viro Alphonso Esten. Dilecti filii Nobilis viri Herculis ferrarie ducis primogenito et Dilecte in Christo Nobili mulieri Lucretie de Borgia ducisse Biselli salut etc. Precellens Roman. pontificis in quo postestatis plenitudo consistit auctoritas Rigorem juris interdum mansuetudine temperans, ac fidelium quorumlibet, pre-



An interpolation of Register 871 fº 186.

The original commences at « vos et quemlibet ».

sertim preclari generis nobilitate pollentium, statui, quieti et tranquillitati, prout ex suscepto servitutis tenetur offitio, ex solita benignitate solertius intendens, ex collata sibi divinitus potestate, aliquando super his dispensat que fieri iuris severitas interdicit : prout rerum personarum ac temporum qualitate pensata id in deo prospicit salubriter expedire. Sane oblate nobis nuper pro parte vestra petitionis series continebat quod vos ex certis rationalibus causis ad hoc animos vestros moventibus Desideratis invicem matrimonialiter coppulari. Sed quia secundo affinitatis gradu invicem estis coniuncti (Over « coniuncti » is the attention mark : « ⊞ ».). Et dudum nos dum nos Cardinalatus fungeremur honore Te fili alphonse de sacro fonte levavimus, hujusmodi vestrum desiderium adimplere non potestis dispensatione apostolica desuper non obtenta, quare pro parte vestra nobis fuit humiliter supplicatum ut vobis super hoc de oportune dispensationis gratia providere de benignitate apostolica dignaremur : Nos igitur qui inter Cunctos Christi fideles, presertim preclari generis nobilitate pollentes Pacis amenitatem vigere et augeri nostris potissime temporibus suppremis desideramus affectibus, Vos et quemlibet vestrum a quibuscumque excommunicationis suspensionis et interdicti aliisque ecclesiasticis sententiis censuris et penis a jure vel ab homine quavis occasione vel causa latis si quibus quomodolibet innodati existis (for existitis) ad effectum presentium dumtaxat consequendum harum serie absolventes et absolutos fore censentes, Ex premissis et certis alijs rationabilibus nobis expositis causis, hujusmodi supplicationibus inclinati vobiscum ut matrimonium inter vos libere contrahere et in eo postquam contractum fuerit licite remanere valeatis Constitutionibus et ordinationibus apostolicis ac impedimentis predictis tam affinitatis quam cognationis spiritualis hujusmodi ceterisque contrariis nequaquem obstantibus auctoritate apostolica et ex certa scientia ac de apostolice potestatis plenitudine tenore presentium de specialis dono gratie dispensamus : Prolem ex hujusmodi matrimonio suscipiendam legitimam nunciantes. Nulli ergo etc. Nostre absolutionis dispensationis et nunciationis infringere etc. Si quis etc. Datum Rome apud S. petrum anno incarnationis dominice Millesimo quingentesimo primo : Kls. Augusti : Pont. nri. anno Nono.

P. Tuba (counterfeited)

Collat. hadrianus (counterfeited)
Ex registro Rev^di dni. hadriani Secr^ij Collat. Bo. de Montefalc. [97]

The final signature : " Bo d. Montefalc. " seems to be a forgery also, written by the same hand that wrote the whole copy, and with the " n " in the name, not replaced with a bar over and between the " o " and " t ", as it is found elsewhere.

Whosoever this de Montefalconibus may be, he states that this document is taken from a Register of Secretary Hadrian. But where is that Register ? and, if it does exist, is the original entry therein a genuine record of a pontifical bull ? There are, indeed, good reasons to deny it.

1° It is strikingly uncommon to repeat, as motivation of the " Nos igitur ", not only the same idea, but also the same words of the bull's introduction : " Qui inter cunctos Christi fideles, presertim preclari generis nobilitate pollentes Pacis amenitatem, etc. "
" Qui inter cunctos Christi fideles, presertim preclari generis nobilitate pollentes Pacis amenitatem, etc. ".

2° It must have surprised Alfonso to learn that he was the godchild of the Pope. There is, indeed, no evidence whatever in all history to sustain the Pontiff's pretended assertion. Compaternity of cardinal Roderic de Borgia with Ercole, duke of Ferrara, and his wife Leonora, daughter of Ferdinand of Naples, evidently presupposes not only an amicable acquaintance, but also an intimate friendship existing between them. Yet, the very contrary was the case. It is well known that Ferdinand of Naples, remembering pope Calixtus III, never was a friend of cardinal de Borgia. Leonora, his daughter and her husband, Ercole, shared the

97. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Alex. VI, Secret., an. I. ad II, lib. V, | Regest. 871, f° 186.

King's feelings, as clearly appears from the disparaging dispatches of the Ferrarese ambassador, at the time of the conclave of pope Innocent VIII. To gratify his masters, he wrote to them that the Vicechancellor, more than all others, was electioneering for himself; but allayed their fears of his success, by adding the Roman proverb : He that enters the conclave as Pope, returns from it as cardinal [98]. At the death of Innocent, the king of Naples, dreading the possible election of cardinal de Borgia, actively employed his ambassador Pontano and his captain Virginio Orsini to avert the danger; while Andrea Boccaccio, a Roman envoy from Ferrara, wrote to the duchess Eleonora of the Vicechancellor's chances of election, but attributed them, not to any good quality of his, but to the many rich offices and benefices, which, if elected, he would have to confer [99]. When cardinal de Borgia had ascended the papal throne, the duke of Ferrara, to make him solemn obeisance, sent, like all other Christian princes, special ambassadors, at whose head he placed his son, Alfonso. We naturally might expect some extraordinary expressions of joy to have been exchanged at this meeting of the godfather and the godchild; but Jerome Porcius [100], who was present, simply makes the cold remark : The Pontiff received him kindly and fittingly praised him—just as he did with the orators of other princes on such occasions.

The copy under consideration is, therefore, not only an interpolation of the Vatican archives, but the data of history sufficiently prove that its very substance is a falsification.

The forger's dishonesty becomes more evident from the fact that, on folio 187 of this same Regest 871, we find

98. B. Arlotti, Aug. 21, 1484; ap. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 172, n. 3.

99. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste Bd. III, s. 813.

100. Rome, Bibl. Barberini. cod. B. B. B., I, 13, Comment.

another of his falsifications, relating to the same general subject of Lucretia de Borgia's marriage with Alfonso of Este, and contrived in exactly the same manner. Here, indeed, was thrust into the authentic records of papal bulls another falsification, called, on folio 191, a copy " Ex regro. R^{di}. d. hadriani Sec^{rii} " and compared, " Collat. ", by Bo. de Mōtefalc. " The name of the Collator is, however, imitated here with a bar to replace the " n ". This time we found the original registry of the bull, on folio 47 of the same Regest 871. We compared it with its alleged copy, and we noticed no less than fifty-two differences of reading, consisting mainly of additions, some of which are quite lengthy and prove the impostor not to have been more intelligent than wicked. His peculiar way of dating : " M ° D ° j ° ", indicates, moreover, a stranger to the papal court. In spite of all this, the alleged secretary de Montefalconibus is given, as attesting that he has collated the falsification and found it to be a true copy from the registry of secretary Hadrian ! Another similitude of this interpolation with the interpolated bull of dispensation in spiritual relationship, is that the not unusual marginal corrections of authentic records are here also replaced with signs, " ⊞ ", and remarks, to call the reader's attention to certain passages, which might be interpreted to the disfavor of pope Alexander VI.

Herewith, we have, at last, come to the end of all the so-called bulls and documents, so triumphantly alleged against the legitimacy of the children of William Raymund de Borgia, and, more especially, against the character of pope Alexander VI.

Considering the quality and sublime office of the accused

Pontiff, we might, before the tribunal of history, demand such testimony against him, as should be above all objection ; bulls, official records and notarial acts, about whose authenticity and veracity no doubt could be raised ; such documents as naturally should be confirmed by other historical evidences. But the papers that are brought against him, are suspicious in their provenance and in their form ; they testify in defiance of the general history of cardinal de Borgia, as we shall see in the following volumes ; and we are confident of having proved their unreliability, their forgery and worthlessness, to the satisfaction of every unprejudiced lover of justice.

We conclude this critical examination with the remark that, if some rascals of the next following period found it necessary to resort to falsification and forgery, to prove a Supreme Pontiff to be guilty of crimes imputed to him, they have succeeded only in producing one more strong proof of his innocence and otherwise established virtue. There are, indeed, scores of genuine documents, whose signatures we gave as we proceeded with the history of the Borgia children, as well as other historical data, that support the honorable birth of those children ; while the charitable cares and favors of their uncle, Roderic de Borgia, both as Cardinal and as Pope, earned for him, from the Roman people, the name of a second father of them.

DOCUMENTS

AND

EXTRACTS

DOCUMENT 1.

Birth and Childhood of Pope Alexander VI. The city council of Valencia directed Juan Vera, in Rome, to request certain favors, and alleged as a motive of concession, that the Pontiff was a native of their city. Villanueva recommends on this occasion to take notice of a passage of a certain Master Diago, who says :

« Llego á la ciudad de Valencia el correo con las nuevas de la eleccion del papa Alexandro VI. en 20 de Agosto de mañana á las 9 horas de 1492, y hizose grande fiesta en la seo : y se hizo procession cantando el Te Deum, y toda la ciudad hizo grand fiesta á doña Beatriz de Borja, hermana del electo y muger de don Ximen Perez de Arenos, besándole las manos. Hallabase entonces in Valencia un sindico de Xátiva, llamado Guillen Tovia ; y hizo lo proprio como sindico de Xátiva, de donde era natural el electo, y desde luego escribió una carta á la ciudad de Xátiva, dándole razon de todo esto. Túvose consejo en Xátiva en 21 de dicho mes de Agosto ye leyóse la carta del sindico, y al punto convocada mucha gente principal y mucho pueblo, se fuéron los jurados á la iglesia colegial de santa Maria, y hiciéron repicar todas las campanas, y hiciéron procession cantando el Te Deum, y todo con grande regocijo per ser el pontífice natural de allí, y haber sido allí bautizado.

El dia siguiente á 22 de Agosto se tuvo consejo entrando los canónigos en él, y se determino que se guardasen tres dias con fiestas desde 23 hasta 25 de dicho mes, viérnes, sábado y domingo, y se hiciesa procesion cada dia per la ciudad, acompanándola las confradrias, y que los tres dias se hiciesen lumbres á la noche, y que el domingo se corriesen toros en la plaza de la Seo. Echóse el bando, y cumplióse todo ló contenido en él. En el bando se daba razon del dia de la eleccion, que habia sido á 11 de Agosto. Nombró la ciudad de Xátiva y el cabildo embaxadores á Ausias Rotla, canónigo y oficial de aquella iglesia, á Juan Ferriol jurado, á Nicolas Sepulchre, canónigo, y á Ausias Malferit, caballero, para que fuesen á dar la enhorabuena á doña Beatriz de Borja. Escribióse la carta en 27 de Agosto, y doña Beatriz holgó mucho, y respondió en 29 de

Agosto, ofreciendoles justamente su favor para todo lo que el cabildo y la ciudad hubiese menester de pontifice ».

Todo esto he visto en el libro de consejos de aquel año.

La ciudad para que constase siempre que habia nacido, y sido criado en ella, quiso que se hiciese informacion de este cabo, y que se averiguase per medio de testigos, mediante juramento, y que la informacion se hiciese por Francisco Luis Bou, caballero lugarteniente de gobernador de virey de Valencia, citra Xucarum, Jayme Estaña Doncel, justicia de Xátiva en lo civil y criminal, Calceran Escriva, caballero, Asensio Miralles, Francisco Dominquez, y Baltasar Morello, juradoas de Xátiva. Ricibieronse los testigos en 27 y 28 de Agosto de dicho año, y fueron ellos trece en numero. Los quales mediante juramento dixéron que el pontifice era natural de Xátiva, que era hijo de los nobles Jofre de Borja, y Isabel de Borja, que nació por julio á media noche, que nacló en dicha ciudad en casa de su padre Jofre de Borja, en la plaza de los Borjas cerca del mercado ; que nació entrando por dicha casa en un zaguan de ella, á mano izquierda de la puerta, que el proprio quando vino de Roma por legado y pasó por Xátiva, pasando por aquella plaza acompañado de la ciudad, dixo esto proprio señalando la casa y zaguan donde habia nacido ; che fue bautizado en la iglesia de S. Pedro ; y parce que fue misterio, para que se entendiese que habia de presidir en iglesia de S. Pedro de Roma, porque la costumbre en Xátiva era que el baptismo se diese en la iglesia colegial de Santa Maria ; que tuvo per maestro y ayo á Antonio Nogueroles ; que le dio el pecho una muger llamada la Villena ; que en el baptismo fue llamado Rodrigo, que era Narahinet, hoc est, Morenico y Morrudet ; que su padre tenia quatro caballos ; que siendo niño de ocho años iba caballero en una haquilla por las calles ; que muerto su padre, siendo el ya de edad de diez años se fue su madre doña Isabel de Borja con el y con toda su casa á la cuidad de Valencia.

Todo lo qual he visto auténtico en otro libro de Aquel archivo.

Hasta aqui el Mro. Diago.

Villanueva, Viage literario á las Iglesias de España, T. II. pp. 213, seq.

DOCUMENT 2.

Roderic de Borge, nephew of Cardinal Alfonso de Borgia, authorized to accept high offices and dignities.

Nicolaus etc. Dilecto filio Roderico de Borge, clerico Valentin... Salutem etc... Vite ac morum honestas aliaque laudabilia probitatis et virtutum merita super quibus apud nos fidedigno comendaris testimonio nos inducunt ut te spetialibus favoribus et gratiis prosequamur. Volentes igitur te qui, ut asseris, ad obtinendam dignitatem seu alias incompatibile beneficium defectum pateris tue etatis, in illius quartodecimo Anno vel circa constitutus, premissorum meritorum intuitu nec non consideratione dilecti filii nostri Alfonsi tituli sanctorum Quatuor Coronatorum presbiteri Cardinalis pro te, dilecto nepote suo, nobis super hoc humiliter supplicantis, favore prosequi gratioso, cardinalis hujusmodi ac tuis in hac parte supplicationibus inclinati, tecum, ut quamprimum vicesimum prefate etatis annum attigeris, quecumque quotcumque et qualiacumque ecclesiastica curata seu alias incompatibilia beneficia, etiam si parrochiales ecclesie vel earum perpetue vicarie, ac in Cathedralibus etiam Metropolitanis vel collegiatis ecclesiis dignitates, personatus vel prepositure, seu cum cura administrationes, vel officia et dignitates ipse in Cathedralibus etiam Metropolitan. post pontificales maiores, aut in collegiatis ecclesiis principales fuerint et ad illas consueverint qui per electionem assumi nec non etiam existunt inantea, ut quascumque ex dignitatibus seu personatibus, preposituris, administracionibus vel officiis etiam electivis in Cathedralibus etiam Metropolitanis vel collegiatis ecclesiis prefatis que sine cura non, ut prefertur, maiores seu principales existunt, si tibi alias canonice conferantur vel tu assumaris vel eligaris ad illa, recipere et successive dumtaxat retinere, dummodo duo eorum insimul non teneas, libere et licite possis ; defectu predicto ac Lateranensis Concilii et quibuscumque aliis apostolicis constitutionibus et ordinacionibus, necnon ecclesiarum, in quibus incompatibilia hujusmodi forsan fuerint, iuramento confirmacione apostolica vel quacumque firmitate alia roboratis, statutis et consuetudinibus ceterisque contrariis nequaquam obstantibus, autoritate apostolica tenore pre-

sencium, de specialis dono gratie dispensamus ; proviso quod incompatibilia prefata debitis propterea non fraudentur obsequiis et animarum cura in eis quibus imminet nullatenus negligatur. Nulli ergo etc. Nostre dispensacionis infringere vel ei ausu temerario contraire... Si quis etc. Datum Rome apud Sanctum petrum Anno Incarnacionis Dominice Millesimo Quadringentesimo quadragesimo Septimo, quinto Idus Julii, Pontificatus nostri Anno primo.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Nicolai V. de Curia, Lib. I. Regestum 406, f° 93v°.

DOCUMENT 3.

Luis John del Milá and Roderic de Borge, nephews of Cardinal Alfonso de Borgia, favored by Nicholas V.

Nicolaus etc... Dilectis filiis Ludovico Johanni de Milano canonico ecclesie Beate Marie Xativensis et Roderico de Borge clerico Valentinensi Salutem etc... Vite ac morum honestas aliaque laudabilia probitatis et virtutum merita super quibus apud nos fidedigno commendamini testimonio, nos inducunt ut vos specialibus favoribus et gratiis prosequamur. Volentes igitur te Ludovice Johannes qui in Quintodecimo ac te Roderice qui in Quartodecimo vel circa vestrarum etatum annis constituti, estis, premissorum meritorum vestrorum intuitu nec non consideracione dilecti filii nostri Alphonsi tituli Sanctorum Quatuor Coronatorum presbiteri cardinalis, pro vobis dilectis suis nepotibus, nobis super hoc etc... Datum Rome santumpetrum Anno etc... Millesimo quadringentesimo quadragesimo Septimo, Sexto Idus Augusti, pontificatus nostri anno primo.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Nicolai V. de Curia, Lib. I. Reg. 406. f° 111.

DOCUMENT 4.

Nicholas V. confirms Roderic de Borgia in his right to the quiet possession of a canonry and prebend of the church of Valencia.

Nicolaus etc... Dilecto filio Roderico de Borgia, canonico Valentin. Salutem etc. Vite ac morum honestas etc... Acce-

pimus sequidem nuper quod olim canonicatu et prebenda ecclesie Valentinensis... vacantibus et antea disposicioni apostolice specialiter reservatis, cum vigore aliarum literarum nostrarum tibi per antea gratiose concessarum, tibi eosdem canonicatum et prebendam sic vacantes conferri et de illis etiam provideri obtinuisti, necnon eos collacionis et provisionis predictarum obtentu assecutus fuisti. Cum itaque... ac sicut accepimus,tu collacionem et provisionem predictas dubites ex certis causis iuribus non subsistere, Nos... nec non tibi, qui, etiam accepimus, dilecti filii nostri Alfonsi tituli Sanctorum Quatuor Coronatorum presbiteri cardinalis et ex concessione apostolica Episcopi Valentinensis nepos existis, premissorum meritorum tuorum intuitu specialem graciam facere volentes, motu proprio non ad tuam vel alterius pro te nobis super hoc oblate peticionis instanciam sed de nostra mera liberalitate, canonicatum et prebendam predictos, quorum fructus redditus et proventus quinquaginta librarum Turonensium parvorum secundum communem extimationem valorem annuum, ut similiter accepimus, non excedunt... cum plenitudine iuris canonici ac omnibus iuribus et pertinensiis suis, apostolica tibi auctoritate conferimus et de illis etiam providemus, decernentes ex nunc irritum et inane si secus super hiis a quoquam quavis auctoritate, scienter vel ignoranter actemptatum forsan est hactenus vel imposterum contigerit actemptari. Non obstantibus etc... Et nihilominus Venerabili fratri nostro Episcopo Ausanensi et dilectis filiis Abbati Monasterii Sancti Bernardi extra muros Valentinenses ac Officiali Valentinensi per apostolica scripta mandamus quatenus ipsi aut duo vel unus eorum per se vel alium seu alios te vel procuratorem tuum tuo nomine in corporalem possessionem canonicatus et prebende iuriumque et pertinentiarum predictorum inducant auctoritate nostra et defendentes inductum amoto exinde quolibet detentore ac facientes te vel dictum pro te procuratorem in prefata ecclesia ad prebendam hujusmodi in Canonicum recipi et in fratrem stallo tibi in choro et loco in Capitulo ipsius ecclesie cum dicti iuris plenitudine assignatis, tibique de ipsorum canonicatus et prebende fructibus redditibus proventibus et obvencionibus universis integre responderi... Nulli ergo etc. nostre irritacionis, cassacionis, anullacionis, collacionis, provisionis, constitucionis et voluntatis infringere etc... Si quis autem, etc. Datum Rome apud sanctum-

petrum Anno etc. Millesimo quadringentesimo quadragesimo octavo, pridie Idus Januari, Pontificatus nostri Anno secundo.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Nicolai V. de Curia, Reg. 408. f° 68v°.

DOCUMENT 5.

Nicholas V. exempts Roderic de Borgia from the duty of residence, when he should live at the papal court, or study at a university.

Nicolaus etc... Dilecto filio Roderico de Borgia Canonico Valentinensi Salutem etc. Vite ac morum honestas aliaque laudabilia probitatis et virtutum merita super quibus apud nos fidedigno commendaris testimonio nos inducunt ut ea tibi favorabiliter concedamus que tuis commoditatibus fore conspicimus oportuna. Volentes igitur te premissorum meritorum tuorum intuitu nec non consideracione dilecti filii nostri Alfonsi tituli Sanctorum Quatuor Coronatorum presbiteri cardinalis et Episcopi Valentinensis pro te dilecto nepote suo nobis super hoc humiliter supplicantis favore prosequi gratie specialis, cardinalis huiusmodi ac tuis in hac parte supplicacionibus inclinati, tibi ut in aliquo ecclesiasticorum beneficiorum cum cura et sine cura que in quibusvis ecclesiis sive locis nunc obtines vel imposterum obtinebis, seu in Romana curia residendo, aut in Literarum Studio in loco ubi illud vigeat generale, vel dicti Cardinalis servitiis insistendo, fructus reditus et proventus omnium et singulorum beneficiorum predictorum... cum ea integritate, quotidianis distributionibus dumtaxat exceptis, percipere valeas cum qua illos perciperes si in eisdem ecclesiis sive locis personaliter resideres et ad residendum interim in eisdem minime tenearis nec ad id invitus a quoquam valeas cohartari ; Nec non etiam quod fructus redditus et proventus omnes et singulos supradictos quibusvis personis etiam laicis interim arrendare seu ad firmam vel annuam pensionem concedere possis, dicteque persone illos in arrendam seu pensionem hujusmodi recipere valeant, tibi et eisdem personis auctoritate apostolica tenore presentium indulgemus. Nonobstantibus... Datum Rome apud sanctum petrum Anno etc. Millesimo quadrin-

gentesimo quadragesimo octavo, Decimo Septimo Kalendas februarii, Pontificatus nostri Anno Secundo.

Arch. Vatic. Regest. 408. f° 67.

DOCUMENT 6.

Lewis John de Milano and Roderic de Borgia confirmed in the expectancy of dignities and prebends in Valencia, although Roderic had already a chaplaincy there.

Nicolaus etc. Venerabili fratri Episcopo Vulteranensi et dilectis filiis Abbati monasterii Sancti Bernardi extra muros Valentinenses ac Antonio Bou canonico Valentinensi Salutem et... Vite ac morum honestas aliaque laudabilia probitatis et virtutum merita super quibus dilecti filii... Ludovicus Johannes de Milano Valentinensis diocesis et Rodericus de Borgia Valentinenses clerici apud nos fidedigno commendantur testimonio nos inducunt ut eorum cuilibet reddamur ad gratiam liberales. Nuper siquidem, videlicet quinto Idus Aprilis Pontificatus nostri Anno primo unam dignitatem etiamsi illa maior post pontificalem et curata foret ac duos canonicatus et totidem prebendas nec non duas alias sine cura dignitates aut duas etiam sine cura preposituras ecclesie Valentinensis, et duo infra Civitatem Valentinensem ac dictam diocesim consistentia ad cuiuscumque seu communiter vel divisim quorumcumque pertinentia similiter sine cura beneficia... specialiter reservavimus... Volentes igitur cuilibet ex Ludovico et Roderico, qui nepotes... dilecti filii nostri Alfonsi tituli Sanctorum Quatuor Coronatorum presbiteri Cardinalis et etiam ex concessione apostolica Valentinensis Episcopi fore noscuntur, premissorum meritorum suorum intuitu gratiam facere specialem, motu proprio, non ad ipsorum vel alicuius eorum vel alterius pro ipsis nobis super hoc oblate petitionis instanciam, sed de nostra mera liberalitate, discretioni vestre per apostolica scripta mandamus quatenus vos vel duo aut unus vestrum per vos vel alium seu alios... Ludovico canonicatum et prebendam ac unam preposituram seu aliam dignitatem et unum beneficium, nec non Roderico prefatis alium canonicatum et aliam prebendam, ac aliam dignitatem vel preposituram necnon aliud beneficium ex tribus dignitatibus ac

duobus canonicatibus et totidem prebendis ac duabus prepositurís ecclesie valentinensis et duobus beneficiis per nos reservatis huiusmodi, cum vacaverint ut prefertur, cum plenitudine juris canonici ac omnibus iuribus et pertinensiis suis auctoritate nostra conferre et assignare curetis... Non obstantibus... Et insuper cum sicut accepimus prefatus Cardinalis vigore quarumdam literarum felicis recordationis Eugenii pape IIII. predecessoris nostri ac facultatis sibi concesse per easdem quas etiam per alias nostras literas adversus quandam reservationem nostram de illis per antea generaliter factam duximus revalidandas quemlibet... Ludovici et Roderici prefatorum ad unum beneficium ecclesiasticum cum cura vel sine cura etiam si canonicatus et prebenda, dignitas, personatus, administratio vel officium in Cathedrali vel collegiata ecclesia dispositioni apostolice reservatum foret, nominaverit et illud pro ipso reservaverit et de eo sibi provideri mandaverit ac etiam obtentu diversarum aliarum literarum nostrarum expectativarum Ludovicus in Valentinensis predicte necnon Rodericus prefati in Barchinonensis Ecclesiarum canonicos olim recepti prebendas ac dignitates, personatus administrationes vel officia in eisdem necnon duo beneficia ecclesiastica... expectare noscuntur, motu simili volumus et apostolica auctoritate predicta... Ludovico et Roderico prefatis concedimus quod quilibet eorum... literarum et processuum omnium et singulorum prefatorum totalem et plenarium effectum consequi libere et licite possint et valeant. Nonobstantibus quod prefatus Rodericus quandam perpetuam sine cura capellaniam in dicta Valentinensi ecclesia, cujus fructus, redditus et proventus vigintiduarum librarum Valentinensium secundum communem extimationem valorem annuum non excedunt tunc certo modo vacantem vigore nominationis de eo facte ac processuum desuper habitorum huiusmodi, olim acceptavit et de illa sibi provideri fecit, ac... assecutus fuit hucusque adhuc tenet et possidet... Datum Rome apud sanctum Petrum Anno Incarnationis dominice Millesimo quadringentesimo quadragesimo octavo, pridie Idus Aprilis Pontificatus nostri Anno secundo.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Nic V. De Curia Lib. V. Regest. 410. f° 354vo.

DOCUMENT 7.

Nicholas V. revokes pontifical letters, objected to the rights of Lewis John del Milá and Roderic de Borgia, nephews of Cardinal Alphonso de Borgia, to canonries, dignities and prebends of Valencia.

Nicolaus etc. Ad futuram rei memoriam. Sedis apostolice providentia circumspecta nonnunquam concessa per eam, presertim cum illa in aliorum preiudicium processisse comperit cassat revocat et annulat, ac desuper disponit et ordinat prout id conspicit in Domino salubriter expedire. Cupientes igitur quod dilecti filii Ludovicus Johannis de Milano Valentinensis diocesis, ac Rodericus de Borgia Valentinensis clerici, nepotes... dilecti filii nostri Alfonsi tituli Sanctorum Quatuor Coronatorum presbiteri Cardinalis in assecutione canonicatuum et prebendarum ac dignitatum et prepositanorum (sic) ecclesie Valentinensis nec non aliorum ecclesiasticorum beneficiorum cum cura et sine cura quorumlibet etiam dispositioni apostolice generaliter reservatorum que expectant seu de quibus eis provideri mandatum extitit, tam quarumdam felicis recordacionis Eugenii pape IIII, predecessoris nostri quam diversarum aliarum gratiarum et literarum nostrarum ac processuum desuper habitorum ac reservationum specialium de ipsis canonicatibus et prebendis ac dignitatibus preposituris et beneficiis per nos olim factarum plenarium sortiendum effectum nullatenus impediantur... gratias et liberas... super canonicatibus et prebendis... in favorem quarumvis personarum aliarum cuiuscumque dignitatis, gradus, status, ordinis vel conditionis fuerint,... tenore presentium revocamus cassamus irritamus et annullamus, ac pro nullis et infectis haberi decernimus..., volentes ac motu et auctoritate predictis harum serie statuentes et declarantes quod gracie et litere Ludovico et Roderico... concesse... valeant plenamque roboris firmitatem obtineant; quodque illis omnibus et singulis ac eorum totali effectu prefati Nepotes... libere et licite uti et gaudere possint et valeant... Non obstantibus... Datum Rome etc. Anno etc. Millesimo quadringentesimo quadragesimo oc-

tavo, Pridie Kalendas Septembris, pontificatus nostri Anno secundo.

Arch. Secret. Vatic. Reg. 407 : Nicolai V. De Curia, Lib. II. f° 215.

DOCUMENT 8.

The import of this Document is stated in the margin by the recorder as : Declaratio quod regule facte in Cancellaria non prejudicent reservationibus nepotum domini Valentini, quominus indultum alias concessum prefato cardinali per Eugenium et Nicolaum quoad ipsos effectum sortiatur.

Nicolaus etc. Dilectis filiis Ludovico Johanni de Milano et Roderico de Borgia Canonicis Valentinis Salutem etc. Vita ac morum honestas... Innotuit siquidem nobis nuper quod, licet quilibet vestrum vigore diversarum licterarum nostrarum dudum motu proprio emanatarum ac processuum super aliquibus earum desuper habitorum unam ex preposituris seu dignitatibus ecclesie Valentinen. necnon etiam unum ex beneficiis ecclesiasticis sine cura infra civitatem et diocesim Valentin. consistentibus... vacatura expectare noscatur... ; tamen pro eo quod nos nuper inter alia statuimus... vos predictarum in vestri favorem emanatarum literarum effectu carere posse dubitetis ; Nos super hoc statui vestro salubriter providere nec non vos qui ut accepimus delecti filii nostri Alfonsi tituli sanctorum quatuor coronatorum presbiteri Cardinalis ac ex concessione apostolica Episcopi Valentini nepotes existis, premissorum meritorum vestrorum intuitu, et quia etiam ex hoc Cardinali et Episcopo prefato rem gratam facere credimus, (volentes) favoribus prosequi gratiosis, motu proprio, non ad vestram vel alterius pro vobis super hoc oblate petitionis instantiam sed de nostra mera liberalitate volumus et apostolica vobis auctoritate ex certa scientia tenore presentium concedimus quod statutum decretum et ordinatio ac alie forsan derogatorie litere huiusmodi vobis vel alteri vestrum quod sortiendum per vos totalem reservationis et aliarum in vestri favoris emanatarum literarum predictarum effectum non noceant nec preiudicent nec nocere neque preiudicare possint neque debeant, quinimo..., vosque etiam reser-

vationis ac reliquarum omnium et singularum in vestri favorem confectarum literarum huiusmodi effectu plenarie uti et gaudere valeatis... Non obstantibus... Nulli ergo etc... Si quis etc... Datum Rome apud Sanctum Petrum Anno etc. Millesimo quadringentisimo quadragesimo nono, Duodecimo Kalendas ianuarii, pontificatus nostri Anno Tercio.

Arch. Secret. Vatic. Reg. 390 : Secret. Nicolai V. f° 142v°.

DOCUMENT 9.

Nicholas V. grants a canonry and prebend of the cathedral of Urgel and the weighage of Desmurro in the Urgel diocese to Roderic de Borgia, nephew of Cardinal Alphonso de Borgia.

Nicolaus etc. Dilecto filio Ludovico (for Roderico, as infra.) de Boria canonico Urgellen. Salut. etc. Nobilitas generis vite ac morum honestas aliaque laudabilia probitatis et virtutum merita super quibus apud nos fidedigno commendaris testimonio nos inducunt ut tibi reddamur ad gratiam liberales. Dudum siquidem... Cum itaque postmodum canonicatus et prebenda ecclesie Urgellen. as Stadoria desmurri Urgellen. nuncupata illis canonice perpetuo annexa... vacaverint et vacent ad presens... Nos volentes tibi qui, ut asseris, de nobili genere procreatus existis, premissorum tuorum meritorum intuitu necnon consideratione dicti cardinalis... pro te dilecto nepote suo nobis super hoc humiliter supplicantis specialem gratiam facere volentes... canonicatum et prebendam ac Stadoriam predictos quorum fructus redditus et proventus quadraginta libr. Barchinonen. secundum communem extimationem valorem annuum, ut asseris, non excedunt... cum plenitudine iuris canonici ac omnibus iuribus et pertinentiis suis apostolica tibi auctoritate conferimus et de illis etiam providemus... Datum Rome apud Sanctumpetrum Anno etc. Millesimo quadringentesimo quinquagesimo, quinto Non. Marcij, Ponts nostri Anno quarto.

Simili modo Venerabili fratri Episcopo Spoletan... et dilectis filiis Valentin.' et Urgellen. Officialibus. Hodie dilecto filio Roderico de Boria canonico ecclesie Urgellen. de quibusdam canonicatu et prebenda dicte ecclesie ac Stadoria... — The right

name is expressed again farther on — « Rodericum ». Data ut supra.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Reg. 415 : Nicolai V. De Curia Lib. X. f° 278vo.

DOCUMENT 10.

Nicholas V. confirms Roderic de Borgia in his provision as sacristan of the cathedral of Valencia.

Nicolaus etc. Dilecto filio Roderico de Boria Canonico et Sacriste ecclie. Valentin. Salut, etc. Vite ac morum honestas etc. Dudum siquidem dilecto filio nostro Alfonso Sanctorum Quatuor Coronatorum pbro. Cardinali et Epo. Valentin. motu proprio omnia et singula beneficia ecclesiastica... personis ydoneis... conferendi et de illis providendi... concessimus facultatem... Et deinde, sicut exhibita nobis nuper pro parte tua peticio continebat sacristia eccle. Valentin. que dignitas inibi non tamen post pontificalem major existit et quam quondam Bartholomeus Rovira ipsius ecclie sacrista dum viveret obtinebat per obitum ejusdem Bartholomei qui illam obtinens ac dicti cardinalis et Epi familiaris et continuus commensalis necnon in partibus illis generalis procurator existens extra dictam curiam de mense Augusti proxime preteriti... diem clausit extremum, vacante dilectus filius Antonius Bou canonicus Valentinus ejusdem cardinalis et Epi in spiritualibus vicarius generalis habens ad hoc specialem ab eodem cardinale per suas patentes literas potestatem, sacristiam predictam, sic ut premittitur vacantem tam ordinaria auctoritate quam etiam facultatis et potestatis earumdem (literarum nostrarum) vigore contulit et providit, earumdem (literarum nostrarum) vigore contulit et providit, tuque... dictam sacristiam extitisti pacifice assecutus. Cum autem, rum eidem sacristie imminere et propterea tu ac ex certis aliis rationibus causis ab aliquibus de collacionum et provisionum tibi factarum huiusmodi viribus hesitetur ; nos te, qui ut asseris in sextodecimo tue etatis anno constitutus existis, premissorum meritorum tuorum intuitu necnon consideracione dicti cardinalis asserentis te dilectum nepotem suum fore pro te nobis super hoc humiliter supplicantis gratioso favore prosequi volentes... collacionem et provisionem predictas illas ratas et gratas ha-

bentes... valere et viribus subsistere teque sacristiam ipsam... obtinere potuisse atque posse harum serie declarantes, tecumque quoad hoc oportune dispensantes, easdem collacionem et provisionem ac omnia inde secuta auctoritate apostolica confirmamus et approbamus, supplentes omnes defectus si qui forsan intervenerint in eisdem. Et nichilominus tutiori pro cautela sacristiam predictam, cujus fructus, redditus et proventus Trecentarum librarum monete illius partis secundum communem extimationem valorem annuum ut asseris, non excedunt... cum omnibus iuribus et pertinenciis suis apostolica tibi auctoritate, etiam si curata existat, conferimus et de illa etiam providemus... Nonobstantibus defectu etatis premisse ac... Nulli ergo etc. Si quis etc. Datum Rome apud sanctammariammaiorem Anno etc. Millesimo quadringentesimo quinquagesimo, Sexto Kl. Novembr. Pontificatus nostri anno Quarto.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Reg. 413. f° 39v°.

DOCUMENT 11.

Calixtus III., when yet a cardinal, wrote to the Chapter of the collegiate church of Xativa a « second » letter announcing the appointment of his nephew, « D. Rodrigo de Borja, en chantre de esta iglesia », and again : « Venerabilibus viris decano et capitulo nostrae collegiatae ecclesiae Xativae... A. cardinalis Valentinus... Mittimusque... et etiam bullas et processus apostolicos, ex quibus videbitis nepotem nostrum, Rodericum de Borgia, sacristam, provisum fore de canonicatu et praecentoria ipsius ecclesiae collegiatae, ut duo nepotes immo filios » — the other nephew was Lewis John del Milá ——« matrix ipsa ecclesia, ubi pabulum baptismatis suscepimus, etiam post obtum nostrum teneat, Christo dante ; et nos et ipsi, opportunitate captata, ecclesiam ipsam extollemus... In admissione dicti nepotis nostri et aliis operemini ut de vobis firmiter confidimus »... Romae vicesima Januarii — A. D. 1450.

Autograph in the archives of the collegiate church of Xativa, ap. Villanueva, Viage literario a las Iglesias de España, T. IV. pp. 106, 270.

DOCUMENT 12.

Nicholas V. confers upon Roderic de Borgia a canonry and the precentory of the collegiate church of Xativa.

Nicolaus etc. Dilecto filio Roderico de Boria canonico et precentori ecclie. Beate Marie de Xativa Valentin. dioceseos, Salut. etc. Vite ac morum honestas aliaque etc. Dudum siquidem canonicatu et prebenda et que dignitas non tamen principalis existit Beate Marie de Xativa Valentin. dioc. per assecutionem pacificam aliorum canonicatus et prebende ac decanatus dignitatis principalis eiusdem ecclie. per dilectum filium Ludovicum Johannem de Milano, vigore indulti per nos dilecto filio nostro Alfonso tit. Sanctorum quatuor Coronatorum pbro. cardinali qui Ecclie. Valentin. preesse dinoscitur et cujus idem Ludovicus Johannes familiaris tunc existebat prout existit, et etiam ex nostra provisione apostolica concessi facta vacantibus... Nos volentes tibi qui ut asseritur in decimo septimo vel circa tue etatis anno constitutus existis, premissorum meritorum tuorum intuitu specialem graciam facere, necnon consideratione prefati cardinalis et Epi. pro te dilecto nepote suo ex ejus sorore genito nuper super hoc humiliter supplicantis ac asserentis te multa pia opera in dicta ecclia. Beate Marie fecisse et quotidie erogare, horum intuiti specialem graciam facere, nec non omnia et singula canonicatus et prebendas, dignitates, personatus, administrationes et officia ceteraque ecclesiastica cum cura et sine cura beneficia que etiam ex quibusvis apostolicis dispensationibus obtines et expectas ac in quibus et ad que ius tibi quomodolibet competit, quecumque quotcumque et qualiacumque fuerint eorumque fructuum reddituum et proventuum veros valores annuos ac dispensationem hujusmodi tenores presentibus pro expressis habentes, canonicatum et prebendam, et cui cura non imminet animarum precentoriam ecclesie Beate Marie de Xativa hujusmodi, quorum videlicet canonicatus et prebende viginti duarum, et precentorie hujusmodi triginta quinque librarum Valentin. fructus redditus et proventus secundum communem existimationem valorem annuum ut etiam asseritur non excedunt, cum plenitudine juris canonici ac omnibus juribus et pertinen-

tiis suis apostolica tibi auctoritate conferimus et de illis etiam providemus... Non obstantibus... Nos enim tecum ut una cum Sacristia ecclesie Valentin... precentoriam predictam recipere et quoad vixeris insimul retinere libere et licite valeas defectu etatis premisse ac Lateran... nequaquam obstantibus auctoritate apostolica tenore presentium de speciali gratia dispensamus, proviso quod sacristia et precentoria hujusmodi debitis propterea non fraudentur obsequiis sed illarum congrue supportentur onera consueta. Nulli ergo etc. Si quis etc. Datum Rome apud Sanctum Petrum Anno etc. Millesimo quadringentesimo quinquagesimo, decimo Kl. Januarii, Pont. nri. anno quarto.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Nicolai V. de Curia, Lib. VIII. Reg. 413. f° 219v°.

DOCUMENT 13.

Jofre Lanzol successor to Roderic de Boria in the precentory of Xativa.

Nicolaus etc. Dilecto filio Jaufrido Lanzol precentori ecclesie collegiate Beate Marie de Xativa Valentin. dioc. Salt. etc. Nobilitas generis ac laudabilia tue adolescentie indicia etc... Cum itaque postmodum precentoria ecclie. b. Marie de Xat. Valent. dioc. per liberam resignationem dilecti filii Roderici de Boria nuper ipsius ecclie. precentoris per eum de illa quam etiam tunc, dilecti filii nri. Alfonsi tituli Sanctorum Quatuor Coronatorum nepos existens, obtinebat in manibus nostris sponte factam... apud Sedem ipsam vacaverit et vacet ad presens... Nos tibi qui, ut asseritur, ex utroque parente de militari genere procreatus ac etiam prefati cardinalis nepos et circa decimum tue etatis annum constitutus existis, premissorum intuitu specialem gratiam facere volentes. Datum Rome... 1453, 3 Kl. Febr. a°. 7°.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Nicolai V. De Curia, Lib. XXIII. Reg. 428. f° 177v°.

DOCUMENT 14.

The Pope confirms the appointment of Jofre Lançol as precentor and canon of the collegiate church of Xativa.

Nicolaus etc. Dilecto filio Jaufrido Lançol precentori ecclie. beate Marie de Xativa Valentin. dioc. Salutem etc... Dudum siquidem precentoria ecclesie beate Marie de Xativa Valentin. dioc. que sine cura et dignitas inibi non tamen principalis existit, cuique certi canonicatus et prebenda dicte ecclesie canonice sunt annexi, per liberam resignationem dilecti filii Roderici de Boria, illius tunc precentoris per eum de ea quam tunc obtinebat in manibus nostris sponte factam... Vacante... Nos tibi... de illa... providemus... Cum autem tu... ad presens... clericali charactere fueris insignitus et ultra Septimum annum existeres... Nos te qui, ut asseris, dilecti filii nri. Alfonsi tt. SS. 4. Coron. pbr. cardinalis nepos ac de militari genere ex utroque parente procreatus existis... — and the Pope confirms him in that dignity, canonry and prebend... Datum Rome, 1454, 4. Kl. Octobr.

Archiv. Vatic. Reg. 430. f° 97vo.

DOCUMENT 15.

Nicholas V. confers on Roderic de Borgia the deanery of Catalbano in the diocese of Randazzo and the archpriesthood of a monastery of Saragossa.

Nicolaus etc. Dilecto filio Roderico de Boria, decano ecclesie de Calatambio Tirasonen. dioceseos, Salut. etc. Nobilitas generis vite ac morum honestas... Dudum siquidem... Cum itaque postmodum decanatus ecclesie collegiate de Calatambio ac quoddam perpetuum beneficium Archipresbiteratum nuncupatum in ecclesia Cesaraugustan. ordinis Sancti Augustini clericis secularibus assignari solitum — per obitum — of a familiaris of Cardinal Alphonso de Borgia — vacaverint et vacent ad presens... Nos tibi qui, ut asseris, in vicesimo tue etatis anno vel circa constitutus ac de militari genere procreatus existis, necnon Bononie in jure canonico studes, et cum quo

dudum nos ut non obstante defectu etatis huiusmodi quodcumque beneficium ecclesiasticum curatum etiam si dignitas in Cathedrali post pontificalem major vel in collegiata principalis foret et ad illam consuevisset qui per electionem assumi ac ei cura immineret animarum, si tibi alias canonice conferretur, recipere et retinere libere et licite valeres per alias nostras literas gratiose dispensavimus... premissorum meritorum tuorum intuitu necnon consideratione prefati cardinalis, pro te dilecto nepote suo ex ejus sorore genito nobis super hoc humiliter supplicantis specialem gratiam facere volentes... decanatum qui in predicta ecclesia de Calatambio dignitas principalis existit et cujus ac annexorum suorum centum necnon beneficium hujusmodi quod sine cura est, cujusque et etiam annexorum suorum centumoctoginta libr. turon. parvarum fructus redditus et proventus secundum communem extimationem valorem annuum ut asseritur non excedunt... cum annexis ac omnibus juribus et pertinentiis suis apostolica tibi auctoritate conferimus et de illis etiam providemus... Non obstantibus... Nos enim qui dudum tibi de quibuscumque tribus beneficiis ecclesiasticis cum cura et sine cura in Valentin. et Segobricen. et beate Marie de Albarrazino ecclesiis et diocesibus primo vacaturis et per nos dispositioni nostre et sedis apostolice motu proprio specialiter reservatis... per alias nostras literas graciose mandavimus provideri... ceterisque contrariis nequaquam obstantibus auctoritate apostolica tenore presentium de speciali gracia indulgemus. Nulli ergo... Si quis... Datum Rome apud sanctum petrum Anno etc. Millesimo quadringentesimo quinquagesimo tercio, Undecimo Kl. Novembris, Pont. nri. Anno Septimo.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Reg. 428 : Nicolai V. De Curia, Lib. XXIII. f°75v°.

DOCUMENT 16.

Nicholas V. ratifies the appointment of Roderic de Borgia, nephew of Cardinal Alphonso de Borgia, as rector of Sucro in the diocese of Valencia.

Nicolaus etc. Dilecto filio Roderico de Boria, Rectori parochialis ecclesie de Cullera Valentin. dioc. Salut. etc. Vite ac morum honestas... Et deinde sicut exhibita nobis nuper pro

parte tua petitio continebat, parochiali ecclia. de Cullera Valentin. dioc. vacante, tu vigore quarumdam aliarum litterarum nostrarum, per quas dudum tibi de tribus beneficiis ecclesiasticis cum cura vel sine cura... si qua in civitatibus et diocesibus Valentin. et Segobricen. ac beate Marie de Albarrazino vacare contingeret, conferendis tibi cum omnibus juribus et pertinentiis suis nostre et sedis apostolice dispositioni motu proprio reservaveramus et de illis tibi provideri mandaveramus, illam sic vacantem tibi conferri et de illa provideri obtinuisti. Cum autem... tu dubites... collationem et provisionem... juribus non subsistere... Nos tibi qui, ut asseris, de militari genere procreatus ac Bononie in decretis studes, necnon dilecti filii nri. Alphonsi tt. SS. quatuor Coronatorum pbri. cardinalis ac Episcopi Valentin. nepos existis, premissorum meritorum tuorum intuitu specialem gratiam facere volentes... collationem et provisionem ac assecutionem predictas et quecumque inde secuta, ab eorum omnium datis ratas et gratas habentes, illas auctoritate apostolica confirmamus et approbamus. Et nichilominus tutiori pro cautela ecclesiam predictam, cujus fructus redditus et proventus quadringentorum quinquaginta libr. turon. parvorum secundum communem extimationem, valorem annuum, ut asseritur, non excedunt... apostolica auctoritate conferimus... Non obstantibus... Datum Rome apud sanctumpetrum Anno etc. Millesimo quadringentesimo quinquagesimo quarto, quinto Non. Octob., Pontif, nri. Anno Octavo. Simili modo... — : Names executors to place Roderic or his attorney in possession.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Reg. 430. f° 158v°.

DOCUMENT 17.

Pope Paul II. allows cardinal Roderic de Borgia to exhume and transfer the corpse of his father, Jofre de Borgia, and those of his brothers and sisters.

Dilecto filio nostro Roderico, Sancti Nicolai in Carcere Tulliano Diacono Cardinali S. R. E. Vicecancellario. dilecte fili noster Salut. etc. Pio desiderio tuo in hac parte paternum prebentes assensum, Circumspectioni tue, ut quondam Jauferdi de Borgia militis, genitoris tui, nec non fratrum et sororum tuarum

cadavera in ecclesia beati Francisci Ville Xative Valentinensis dioc. tumulata ex dicta ecclesia exhumari et ad ecclesiam collegiatam sub vocabulo beate Marie ejusdem Ville transferre illaque Christiano ritu in capella quam Sancte me. Calixtus III., predecessor noster tuusque secundum carnem avunculus, ibidem construi fecit, humari et sepeliri facere possis, auctoritate apostolica concedimus per presentes. Mandamus Guardiano et Fratribus dicti loci beati Francisci et reliquis ad quos spectat, ut quatenus sub pena excommunicationis cadavera hujusmodi per eos quibus id committendum duxeris exhumari et ad dictam ecclesiam collegiatam transferri sine ulla contradictione permictant, constitutionibus monasterii et ordinis eorumdem quibus pro hac vice quoad hoc dumtaxat derogamus, ceterisque contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus, Datum Rome apud Sanctum petrum etc. X. Octobris, 1470, Anno Septimo.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Armarium 39 : Pauli II. Brevia, f° 13.

DOCUMENT 18ª

Donations of pope Alexander VI. to some of his relations in Valencia.

Motu proprio dilecto filio nostro R(aphaeli) Sancti Georgii Diac. Carli Camerario et Venli fri. F. de Borgia Epo. Teanen. thesauro genli per presentes mandamus ut de pecuniis Camere apce per manus dilectorum filiorum heredum Ambrosii de Spanochiis et sociorum illarum Depositariorum retineri faciatis duc. Duo milia octingentos sedecim auri in auro de camera cum duobus tertiis alterius ducati, pro totidem quos ipsi de mandato nostro solverunt de propriis pecuniis infrascriptis personis, videlicet duomilia quadringentos in civitate Valentie dilecte in christo filie nobili mulieri Beatrici de Borgia sorori mille, et dilectis filiis Joffredo etiam de Borgia nepoti secundum carnem nostris sexcentos, Raimundo de Castiglar quingentos, ac Roderico Joffredi nato ducentos, et Calzerano Martinez centum, pro duabus paghis videlicet nativitatis dni. et festivitatis Sci. Johis. bapte proxime preteritis. Reliquos vero videlicet duc. quadringentos sexdecim cum 2/3 pro valore Vc duc. de carl. X. pro ducato hic in ro(mana) cu(ria) dilecte in christo filie Hadriane

Milane nostre secundum carnem nepti pro mensibus decem finitis per totum mensem Junii proxime preteriti, pro eorum et cujuslibet ipsorum provisione et subventione. Constituentes in totum dictam summam Duorum millium octingentorum ducatorum auri in auro predictorum cum 2/3 antedictis, eosque in computis ipsius camere admittatis, scripturas quoque et mandata desuper necessaria et confecta expediatis et admitti expediri procuretis, contrariis nonobstantibus quibuscumque. Dat. Rome apud sanctumpetrum die VIIII Julii 1498 anno sexto.

Placet et ita mandamus.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Alex. VI. Camer. 1497-1499. Lib. III. Armar. 29, No. 52. f° 93.

DOCUMENT 18b

Dicta die (August 29th, 1498.) solvit (Thesaurarius) de mandato facto die XX Julii fl. duo millia octingentos sexdecim bol. 60 auri de camera heredibus Ambrosii de Spannochiis et sociis de Curia. Et sunt duc. 2400 soluti Valentie pro festo nativitatis et sci Johnis. proxime preteriti per mandatum factum sive emanatum a s. d. n. conjunctis Sue Stis., videlicet dne. Beatrici de Borgia duc. 1000 et Dono Joffredo de Borgia duc. 200, Dno. Caserando Martini duc. 600, Ramundo Castella duc. 500, Dono Roderico de Borgia duc. 100, et duc. 416, bol 60. solut. Dne Hadriane Mila pro sua provisione finita prima Junii proxime preteriti.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Introitus et Exitus, Vol. 530. f° 191.

DOCUMENT 18c

Alexander etc. (To the clerics of the papal treasury)... Retineri faciatis penes heredes quondam ambrosii de Spanochiis... Summam Duc. Mille quadragentorum quinquaginta auri de camera in auro pro totidem quos ipsi de suis propriis, de mandato nostro solvi fecerunt in civitate Valentie infrascriptis nostris secundum carnem consanguineis, videlicet dilectis filiis Beatrici de Borgia sorori nostre quingentos, Gottifredo etiam de Borgia trecentos, Roderico similiter de borgia ducentos et Raymundo Castellia ducentosquinquaginta duc. similes, pro eorum et cujuslibet ipsorum subventione, videlicet in Dn. Nri. Jesu Xri. Nativi-

tatis festivitate proxime preterita, similiter duc. ducentos quinquaginta similes pro valore duc. CCC^{torum} de carlenis X pro duc. dilecte filie Hadriane Milane nepti nre. pro ejus subventione sex mensium inceptorum die prima Augusti et finiendorum per totum presentem mensem Jan. ad rationem L^{ta} duc. similium de carlenis pro quolibet mense, constituen. in totum dictam summam duc. Mcccl auri de camera in auro... Dat. Rome ap. s. petr. die X Jan. 1498, Pont nri. anno Septimo (i.e.1499) Placet et ita motu proprio mandamus.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Alex. VI. Div. Camer. 1497-1499. Lib. III. Armar. 29, No. 52. f° 169.

DOCUMENT 18^{d}

Pope Alexander VI. orders repaid to the banking firm « de Spanochi summam octingentorum quinquaginta duc. auri de camera in auro et Duc. CCC^{torum} de carlenis X pro ducato pro totidem quos ipsi de suis propriis de mandato nro. solvi fecerunt in civitate Valentie infrascriptis consanguineis nostris secundum carnem, videlicet dilecte in Xro. filie Beatrici de Borgia duc. quingentos, et dilectis filiis Roderigo de Borgia duc. centum, Raymundo Castellar duc. ducentos quinquaginta, pro eorum subventione in una partita in die S. Jo. ba. proxime preterita ; necnon dilecte in Xro. filie Hadriane Milane nre. secundum carnem nepti duc. trecentos de carlis X pro duc. pro ejus subventione etc... Dat. etc. »... Julii the 28th, 1499.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Alex. VI. Div. Camer. 1497-1499. Lib. III. Armar. 29, no 52. f° 248.

DOCUMENT 18^{e}

Alexander VI. gives orders to pay in two equal instalments to his relatives, « consanguineis » :

Solvi faciatis dilecte in Xro. filie Beatrici de Borgia duc. quingentos auri in auro de Camera, et dilectis filiis Roderico de Borgia et pro ejus uxore duc. centum similes et Raymundo Castellar duc. ducentos quinquaginta similes, pro eorum subventione, in una partita... Dat. Rome etc. die VI. Martii M D a° 8°.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Alex. VI. Div. Cam. An. 1497-1501. Lib. IIII. Armar. 29. no. 53. f° 86vo.

DOCUMENT 18f

Raphael (Riario, thesaurario) etc... Similiter solvi faciatis duc. milleseptingentos auri in auro de camera solvendos per eos (heredes Ambrosii de Spanochiis, depositarios) de mandato SS. Domini N. in civitate Valentie infrascriptis personis : Videlicet domine Beatrici de Borgia duc. mille similes : et Roderico de Borgia : et pro eo ejus uxori duc. ducentos similes : ac Raymondo Castellar prefati SS. Dni. Nri. secundum carnem consanguineis duc. similes quingentos, pro eorum subventione in duabus partitis videlicet unam in D. N. Jesu Christi et aliam medietates in S. Johannis Baptiste nativitatum festivitatibus proxime futuris. Constituentes in totum dictam summam mille septingentos duc. prout per mandatum SS. D. N. Registratum in Camera Apostolica libro iiiij diversarum f° 186. quos etc. Datum Rome... die XIII. Novembris 1501, Pontiff. SS. D. N., Dni. Alexandri pp. Sexti anno decimo.

Archivio di Stato in Roma, Camera Apostol. Mandati 1501-1502, f° 79vo.

In conformity with this mandate was made at once the following payment :

Dicta die (Nov. 13, 1501.) solvit similiter ducs. mille septingentos auri de Camera vigore mandati sub die presenti Dnis. depositariis pro totidem quos ipsi ad instantiam S. D. N. solverunt pro dono facto per suam Sanctitatem nonnullis affinibus sue Sanctitatis, videlicet Duc. Mille Dne. Beatrici de Borgia et ducs. ducentos dno. Roderico de Borgia, et quingent. Dno. Raymundo Castigliar et qt. annuum et pro pagha Nativitatis dni. et beat. Johannis fl. 2302. 6.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Introitus et Exitus, Vol. 532, at the date.

DOCUMENT 18g

Jan. 13, 1503 : Solvit (Camera Apostolica) ducatos mille septingentos auri de camera (olim per depositarios) solvendos in civitate Valencie quibusdam affinibus S. D. N., videlicet

ducs. mille d. beatrici de borgia, ducs. 200 Roderico de borgia et duc. 500 Raymundo Castigliar, videlicet medietatem in festo nativitatis et aliam medietatem in festo S. Johannis, fl. 2302. 6.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Introitus et Exitus, Vol. 533, at the date.

DOCUMENT 18h

Orders to pay the salary of Adriana del Milá.

Raphael etc... Similiter solvi faciatis S.D.N. nepti (in margin) Dne. Hadriane Milane Florenos auri de Camera centum de K. Decem pro flor, pro ejus subventione Duorum mensium videlicet Junii proxime preteriti et Julii presentis, ut patet manto S. D. N. registrato Lib. V. Diversarum fo 43, quos in computis vestris admittemus. Dat. Rome in Cama apca Die XXIIII Julii Mccccci Pont. S. D. N. Dni Alexandri pp. Sexti anno Nono... fl. C.

Roma, Archivio di Stato, Mandati or « Bullettarum », 1501 usque 1503. fo 50.

Similar mandates are recorded in the same codex on fos. 13vo. 21vo. 54vo. 106vo. and 116vo.

DOCUMENT 18i

Payment made to Adriana del Milá.

Die 24a Decembris 1501, Rdus in Chro. pater dns. Hadrianus Castellensis... Smi d. n. ppe Genlis thesaurarius solvit similiter dne Hadriane Milane nepti S. D. N., pro ejus pensione duarum mensium videlicet Decembris et Januarii. fl. 104. 12.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Introitus et Exitus, Vol 532. at the date.

DOCUMENT 19.

The four Sisters of Pope Calixtus III.

(Carte 114 tergo.) : Item deu mes lo dit Sor Cardenal que es stat dat e pagat per ell ala honor. Sa na Johana de Borja germana sua vint e cinch lls. E son li anticipades per la festa de

sent Joha de Juny del present mes per rata de aquelles L lls. que li dona tots anys lo dit Senyor en dues eguales pagues ço es en la dite festa de Juny e a nadal hany apocha per mi Joha. Cardona not. a XVIII del dit mes... XXV lls.

(Carte 114 tergo) Item deu mes lo dit Rmo Sor Cardenal que es stat dat e pagat per ell a XIIII de Juny en lanny LIj ala hon. Sa na Caterjna del Milla germana sua XXV lls. les quals XXV li son anticipades per la paga de sent Joha. de Juny hany apocha per mi Joha. Cardona notaro... XXV. lls.

(Carte 115) Item deu mes lo dit Sor Cardenal que es stat dat e pagat per ell a XIIII de Juny anny LIj a la senyora na Ysabel de Borja germana sua cinquanta lls anticipades per la paga de sent Joha del present mes e anny E sòn en paga porrata de aquelles cent lls quelo dit Sor li mana donar cascun Anny per son soccorrement en dues pagues ço es anadal e a sent Joha... apocha rebuda per mi Joha, Cadona not. dicta die... L lls.

(Carte 126 tergo) Item a XXV de Novembr anny lj es stat dat e pagat per lo dit Sor Cardenal ala honor. Sra na Francescha de Borja germana sua... lls. VIII.

Dante del Re in Archivio della Società Romana di Storia patria : an Extract from a MS. titled « Libre de Rebudes del An. MCCCCLII » and preserved in R. archivio di Stato in Roma.

DOCUMENT 20.

Alexander VI. legitimates two sons of one of his nephews.

Alexander etc. Dilecto filio Johanni de Borgia Scolari Valentin. Salt. etc... Hinc est quod nos te qui ut asseritur Militie clericali ascribi desideras et in sexto decimo vel circa tue etatis anno constitutus ac dilecti filii nostri Johannis tit. Sancte Susanne pbri. Cardinalis nepos existis et defectum natalium pateris de dilecto filio Nobili viro Galcerando de Borgia milite Valentin. nostro secundum carnem nepote soluto genitus et soluta et pro quo ipse Galcerandus nobis super hoc humiliter supplicavit... tecum ut ad omnes etiam sacros ordines alias rite promoveri... (and obtain benefices) valeas... quodque deinceps in quibuscumque gratiis et concessionibus apostolicis gratiam

et justiciam conjunctim vel divisim concernentibus necnon dispensationibus a sede apostolica vel ejus Legatis seu alias quomodolibet per te seu pro te impetrandis aut alias quomodolibet tibi concedendis nullam de defectu natalium et dispensatione hujusmodi mentionem facere tenearis, ipseque litere concessionis dispensationis et gratie propterea de surreptione aut intentionis defectu notari aut invalide reputari non possint. Dat. Rome etc. Anno etc. Mccccclxxxxiiijto quarto Id. Maii.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Alex. VI. Secreta, Ann. II Lib. IV. Regest. 870. fo 282vo.

Ibid. fo 283vo. On the same date Alexander VI grants to Galcerand de Borgia, John's brother, a bull of the same tenor, with the only difference that Calcerand is said... et in quartodecimo vel circa tue etatis anno constitutus.

DOCUMENT 21.

Passport of Galcerand de Borgia through the territories of the Church.

Pius etc. Universis etc. Salutem. Cum dilectus filius nobilis vir Galcerandus de Borgia, Miles Valentin. familiaris noster... : Litera passus et salviconductus per territoria Ecclesie. Datum Rome ap. S. petrum an. 1458, 3 Id. Dec.

Archiv. Secr. Vatic. Regest 469 : Pii II. De Curia An. I. T. II, fo 169vo.

and

Safe-Conduct of Galcerand de Borgia, papal envoy to Spain.

Pius etc. Universis et singulis etc. Salutem. etc. Cum dilectus filius Nobilis vir Galcerandus de borga, miles, familiaris noster, orator per nos impresentiarum ad Carissimum filium nostrum Enricum Castelle et Legionis Regem Illustrem destinatus pro nonnullis negotiis maxime servicium nostrum et fidei Catholice concernentibus ad ipsum Regem et alias orbis diversas partes de proximo accedere debeat, Nos volentes eumdem Galcerandum cum sociis et familiaribus usque ad numerum viginti etc... :

Litera passus in forma consueta, sub data : Rome, apud Sanctumpetrum anno Mcccclviij°, 17 Kl. febr. a°, l°.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Regest. 469 : Pii II. De Curia a. I. Tom. II. f° 385v°.

DOCUMENT 22.

Creation of Cardinal Giovanni de Borgia, Senior.

Alexander etc. Dilecto filio Johanni tt. Sancte Susanne pbro. Cardinali Salt. etc... Cum itaque nos qui... Omnipotenti Deo vovimus et cum juramento promisimus tam ante assumptionem predictam, si nos assumi contingeret, quam post illam nullum cardinalem creare donec illorum numerus ad certum tunc expressum minorem numerum reduceretur et cum reductus foret, loco pro tempore deficientium alios surrogare, nec etiam tunc aliquem assumere qui certis tunc expressis qualitatibus ad tante dignitatis decus idoneus non foret, Attendentes quod tu qui ecclesie Montisregalis ordinis Sancti Benedicti hactenus laudabiliter prefuisti prout preesse dinosceris ac per longa tempora in Romana curia etiam cum maxima laude versatus fuisti, ob eximiam integritatem singularem prudentiam in arduis magnanimitatem in consulendo gravitatem et in peragendo diligentiam ac in rebus omnibus summam circumspectionem quibus longo jam tempore te qui secundum carnem nepos nr. existis preditum fore cognovimus, ac propter alia tibi affutura suffragio esse poteris prefate Roman. ecclie. et reipublice christiane multipliciter fructuosus ac nobis et Roman. Pontifici pro tempore existenti solicitudine indefessa in negotiorum nobis et eidem pontifici pro tempore incumbentium votiva et utili expeditione ac sublevatione onerum que continue graviora nostris humeris incumbere cernimus valde proficuus, et propterea pro temporum necessitate ac ne a nimium curiosis dici possit voto et promissione stantibus hujusmodi nos ad tui juxta votum et promissionem predicta non qualificati in cardinalem assumptionem procedere non posse numero non reducto oportune providere intendamus, ac eorumdem cardinalium nostramque mentem et intentionem in vovendo promittendo et jurando eis et nobis notam etiam aliis plene innotescere volentes, habita super hiis

cum eisdem fratribus nostris deliberatione matura, de illorum unanimi consilio et assensu auctoritate apostolica presentium tenore attestamur et fidem facimus ac declaramus nos sic ut premittitur promittendo jurando et vovendo mente gessisse contenta in promissione juramento et voto premissis firmiter observare et adimplere nisi nobis et eorumdem seu majoris partis eorum consilio videretur, ad tui etiam ut prefertur non qualificati in Cardinalem assumptionem fore procedendum, nosque ad ejusdem voti promissionis et juramenti observationem sub dicta conditione et non alias obligasse et teneri voluisse, licereque nobis ad tui in cardinalem assumptionem procedere voto promissione et juramento predictis minime refragantibus, et pro potiori cautela ad obstruendum ora sic asserentium et qui de hujusmodi declarationis nostre in hiis viribus et sufficientia adhuc hesitarent, nosipsos, de simili consilio et assensu, et apostolice potestatis plenitudine, quoad tui assumptionem predictam dumtaxat, a voto, promissione et juramento predictis si et quatenus expediat, absolvimus, ac decernimus ad probandum plene hujusmodi nostram et eorumdem fratrum nostrorum in sic vovendo promittendo et jurando mentem et intentionem presentes literas sufficere. Teque ad Dei laudem et honorem ac prefate ecclesie sue sancte exaltationem, de similibus consilio et assensu in presbyterum cardinalem ejusdem Roman. ecclesie auctoritate apostolica tenore presentium assumimus et creamus... et tibi Sancte Susanne de Urbe ecclesiam sive titulum..., annulum. pileum rubeum et quevis alia cardinalatus insignia de eorumdem fratrum consilio prefata auctoritate damus et assignamus... Non obstantibus. — Dispenses him to retain the church of Monreale. — Datum Rome apud Sanctum petrum Anno etc. Mcccclxxxx secundo Prid. Kl. Septembr. Pont. nri. Anno Primo.

† Ego Alexander Cathoce ecce Eps. manu ppa ss.

† Ego Oliverius Eps. Sabinen. S. R. E. Carlis Neapol. manu ppa ss.

† Ego Jo. Eps. Portuen. Carlis S. Angeli manu ppa ss.

† Ego G. Eps. Alban. Carlis Ulixbonen. manu ppa ss.

† Ego Hie. Eps. Penestrin. Carlis Rechanaten. manu ppa ss.

† Ego Do. tt. S. Clementis pbr. Carlis manu ppa ss.

† Ego P. tt. S. Sixti pbr. Carlis manu ppa ss.

† Ego Jo. tt. S. Vitalis pbr Carlis manu ppa ss.

† Ego Jo. Ja. Carlis Parmensis manu ppa ss.

† Ego L. tt. S. Cecilie pbr. Carlis Beneventan. manu ppa ss.
† Ego X. tt. S. Praxedis pbr. Carlis Sce. Anastasie manu ppa ss.
† Ego F. Carlis Senen. manu ppa ss.
† Ego R. Carlis S. Georgii Camerarius manu ppa ss.
† Ego J. B. Carlis Sabellus manu ppa ss.
† Ego Jo. Carlis de Columna manu ppa ss.
† Ego B. Carlis de Ursinis manu ppa ss.
† Ego As. Mar. Vicecancellar, manu ppa ss.
† Ego F. Carlis Sanseverinus manu ppa ss.
Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Alex. VI. Secret. An I. II. III. Lib. III. Regest. 869. fo 51

DOCUMENT 23.

Dispensation of Lewis Jofre del Milá, to marry his cousin Elisabeth de Borgia.

Ludovico Joffre (Whose family name is, for obvious reasons, not mentioned.) Domicello Valentinen.

Dilecte Fili Salut. etc. Exponi Nobis nuper fecisti quod licet olim genitori Dilecte in Christo Filie Nobilis Mulieris Elisabeth de Borgia (Isabella and Elisabeth are but different forms of the same name ; and the children of Pier Gullielmo Lansol or Lenzuoli had, at this time, generally adopted the family title of their mother and of the cardinal Roderic, their uncle.). Domicelle Valentinen. Venlis Fratris nostri Roderici Epi Portuen. Sancte Romane Ecclesie Vicecancellarii neptis, de contrahendo matrimonio cum ea fidem dederis, ac ut ipsius Elisabeth futurus maritus, in domo dicti genitoris sui sepius conversatus fueris ; Tu tamen memor effectus quod alias quandam aliam mulierem dicte Elisabeth secundo consanguinitatis gradu conjunctam carnaliter cognoveras..... Innocent VIII. grants the dispensation in affinitate. Datum Rome apud S. Petrum etc. die X Julii, 1478.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Innocentii VIII. Brevia, an. 1485. T. II. Armar. 39. no. 15. fo 462vo.

DOCUMENT 24.

Calixtus III. praises and encourages his nephews serving in his fleet against the Turks.

Vitali de Villanova, nepoti nostro,
Simili d. Geraldo de Castellvert } nepotibus nostris.
Aliud simile..... Aranos }

Calistus etc. Dilecte fili Salt. etc. Pro singulari nostra caritate te et ceteros nepotes nostros qui apud orientales partes sub Classe nostra pro fidei orthodoxe defensione militatis nihil iocundius nobis est nihil majori consolationi quam cum te qui nobilis et strenuus singularique virtute preditus existimaris, audimus fortiter viriliter et strenue in suscepta cura te habere : Unde ultra optata facta, gloria nobis apud ceteros resultet, qui te nepotem meritum multa commendatione habeamus, quamquam de nostra gloria libentius tibi et ceteris communicare optamus. Quare, Nepos care, te majorem in modum hortamur ut velis considerare magnam de tua virtute strenuitate et prestantia apud plerosque esse expectationem, cui pro honore et gloria quibus tui majores semper claruerunt, omni studio conari debes satisfacere, ultra meritum quod ab ipso deo propterea a te et ab omnibus qui in hujusmodi sancto negotio laborant sperari debet. Nos vero si cognoverimus te sicut decet nepotem nostrum habere, honoribus et gratiis te prosequi non cessabimus. Caeterum. — He gives him information about the further equipment and increase of the fleet. — Datum, etc. ut supra : (XXVIII Marcii 1457, anno secundo).

Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Calixti III. Brevia, Armar, 39. Tom. 7.

DOCUMENT 25.

Calixtus III. praises the conduct of Michael de Borgia and assigns to him further duties.

Michaeli de borga. Calistus etc. Dilecte fili Salt. etc. Fuit hic apud nos dilectus filius Michael Tarba quem ad nos misisti, ex quo et ex literis tuis quas nobis diligenter reddidit intel-

leximus servitium tuum bonum et causam ob quam a Classe nostra recesseris et ad Scanderbechum veneris, ob quod te de devotione tua erga nos et sedem apostolicam ac obedientia plurimum in domino commendamus, teque hortamur ut perseverare et continuare velis quemadmodum in te confidimus et speramus. Adventus tuus ad Scanderbechum (qui) constitutus erat in necessitate maxima, placuit nobis multum quod oportuno tempore a nobis per te succursum habuerit, cum feceris id quod maxime ei opus fuit. Volumus revertaris ad eamdem classem nostram ad quam per viam Ancone misimus sex naves onustas grano et aliis victualibus per Jo. Navarr qui etiam pro eadem classe pecuniam mandatam in bona summa portat, sunt jam multi dies quibus recessit ex Ancona et ut arbitramur jam ad dictam classem debuit applicuisse, facimus fieri et aliam provisionem grani et rerum aliarum quam per totum mensem augusti indubie ad classem eandem mittemus. Michaeli vero tuo prefato dedimus hic cccc^{tos} ducatos de camera pro subventione tue galee. Itaque pro tua erga nos devotione grato et libenti animo studeas continuare in servicio classis nostre, quam illiusque Legatum confortabis et animabis ad perseverandum et ea faciendum que decent classem apostolicam, necnon nos pro illius sustentatione et fortificatione continue laboramus et in brevi per scribam rationis dicte classis mittemus quattuor galeas quas hic jam paratas et in ordine habemus, contractamusque cum oratoribus Christianorum Principum quorum multi apud nos jam sunt de prosecutione decenti hujusmodi amprisie. Itaque speramus quod mari terraque talis potencia fiet quod de perfidissimo Turcho et secta ejus nephanda victoriam reportabimus, deo cujus causa agitur auxiliante, gloriosam. Datum etc. iij Junii 1458.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Cal. III. Brev. T. 7. Armar. XXXIX, No 7. f° 174.

DOCUMENT 26.

Pedro Luis de Borgia named Prefect of Rome.

Calistus episcopus servus servorum dei. Dilecto Filio Nobili Viro Petro Ludovico de Borgia Alme nostre Urbis Prefecto Salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Exigit tue integerrime fide-

litatis, Nobilitas generis, strenuitatis atque constantie sinceritas quam erga statum et honorem nostrum et Romane ecclesie potentissime turbulentis proximeque preteritis temporibus intrepide magnifice ac etiam gloriose cunctis parvipensis superatis et contemptis periculis laudabiliter ostendisti, et in futurum te promptissimum exhibere paratus existis, ut personam tuam, sicut inter alios quadam virtutum excellentia et meritorum laude prefulget, ita specialis et precipui honoris titulo decoremus. Cum itaque dignitas prefecture Alme Urbis per obitum condam Johannis Antonii de Ursinis olim Comitis Tagliacotii ipsius Urbis Prefecti vacet ad presens, Nos cupientes prout ex debito tenemur offitii pastoralis ut honor dignitas et offitium hujusmodi Prefecture in virum conferatur virtutum meritis insignitum qui amet et defendat statum ecclesie ac ornamentum et gloriam afferat prefate Urbi, iustitiam colat, exaltet bonos et improbos compescat ; ac insuper confidentes quod Ejus auxilio qui est bonorum omnium auctor et protector per strenua et laudabilia tue prudentie opera hanc dignitatem in te collatam reddas merito digniorem, te qui etiam Romane ecclesie Capitaneus et Nepos noster secundum carnem existis et cujus virtutes ac precipuam fidelitatem magistra experientia comprobatas habemus, Prefectum Alme nostre Urbis cum offitio dignitate exercitio auctoritate arbitrio et potestate Prefectis Urbis hactenus attributis motu proprio non ad tuam vel alterius pro te nobis super hoc oblate peticionis instantiam sed de nostra mera liberalitate et certa scientia de plenitudine potestatis nostre ac de Venerabilium fratrum nostrorum Sancte Romane ecclesie Cardinalium consilio ad Laudem divini nominis ecclesie ac Urbis predicte statum et honorem facimus constituimus ordinamus et etiam deputamus, tibi nihilominus omnia et singula agendi disponendi ordinandi statuendi mandandi faciendi exercendi et exequendi que prefecti ipsius Urbis qui pro tempore fuerunt facere disponere mandare ordinare exequi et exercere quomodolibet potuerunt seu etiam debuerunt tam de consuetudine quam de iure arbitrium potestatem et iurisdictionem motu potestate et scientia similibus plenariam concedentes, ac volentes et statuentes ut omnibus et singulis honoribus privilegiis gratiis indultis prerogativis et oneribus Prefectis Urbis olim quomodolibet et quacumque auctoritate concessis libere et licite uti possis ac etiam gaudere. Volumus autem ut antequam ipsius

Prefecture possessionem aut insignia dignitatis recipias in manibus nostris prestes fidelitatis debite in forma solita iuramentum. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostrorum constitutionis ordinationis deputationis concessionis statuti et voluntatis infringere vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attemptare presumpserit indignationem omnipotentis dei et beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum eius se noverit incursurum.

Datum Rome apud Sanctum Petrum Anno Incarnationis dominice Millesimo quadringentesimo quinquagesimo septimo (s. d.) Pontificatus nostri Anno Tertio.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Calixt. III. Offic. Regest. 465, f° 288vo.

DOCUMENT 27.

Pius II. allows Jofre Lansol to rent his benefices for three years.

Pius etc. Dilecto filio Gaufrido Lansol canonico Valentin... Cum sicut accepimus tu desideras in aliquo literarum studio, in loco ubi illud vigeat generale, ut in facultatibus tam juris canonici quam civilis studere valeas... Nos volentes te qui dilecti filii nostri Roderici Sancti Nicolai in carcere Tulliano diaconi cardinalis Sce. Rom. Ecclie. Vicecancellarii nepos et de nobili genere procreatus existis, premissorum meritorum tuorum intuitu, necnon consideracione dilecti filii Nobilis viri Petri Guillelmi lansol dni. Baronie de Vilalongua Valentin. dioc. genitoris tui... He grants permission to 'arrendare ad triennium' his benefices... Datum Mantue... 1458, Id. Augusti, anno primo.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 472 : Pii II. De curia, ann. I., II. Tom. 5. f° 168.

DOCUMENT 28.

Cardinal Roderic de Borgia bequeaths money to Jofre Lanzol y de Borgia.

Dicta die sabbati, XI. Sepe dictorum mensis Septembris, et Domini (sic) MCCCCLXXIII. Com a cascu sia licit e permés ans

é aprés del testament fer codicils, per tal nos Don Rodrigo de Borja, Bisbe Cardenal, Bisbe de Valencia y Vicecanceller en Cort Romana é Legat en Spanya, sans per Gracia de Nostre Senyor Jesuchrist de cors é de pensa, volent passar ab les galeres Venecienes, les quals son huy en la playa de Valencia, á la Ciutat de Roma ; Considerant é sabent quant son grans les perills de la mar ; é persó volents provehir é subvenir de algun util al noble Don Jofre de Borja nebot nostre... ab lo present codicil, é donam é leixam al dit D. Jofre de Borja Cavaller, nebot nostre, Senyor de la Vall de Villalonga e del Loch de Anna... huyt millia Livres, moneda reals de Valencia...

(A copy made by Francis Maria Gilabert, royal and public clerk of the city of Valencia, on the 11th of April, 1753, of the codicil signed by cardinal Roderic in presence of Benito Salvador, notary public in said city, 'el sábado 11 de Setiembre de 1473').

Fita, Estud. Hist. Tom. VI, p. 106.

DOCUMENT 29.

Alexander VI. appoints Jofre de Borgia administrator of benefices granted to his son, the future cardinal Pedro Ludovico.

Alexander etc. Dilecto filio Nobili viro Jaufrido de Borgia Militi Valentin. etc. Cum nuper de Bavilia Sancte Eufemie et Pulcini alias Bucino ac sante Barbare domorum Hospitalis Sancti Johannis Hierosolimitani nullius, et Cusentini ac Sipontini dioc. Preceptoriis in Regno Sicilie citra farum consistentibus tunc certo modo vacantibus Dilecto filio Petroludovico de Borgia clerico Valentin. in Duodecimo vel circa sue etatis anno constituto, nato tuo et nostro secundum carnem nepoti sub certis modo et forma providerimus ; Nos cupientes indempnitates Bavilie et Preceptoriarum predictarum ne propter minorem etatem hujusmodi interea detrimenta patiantur oportune consulere, motu proprio et ex certa scientia te donec prefatus Petrusludovicus ad etatem legitimam pervenerit dicti Petriludovici procuratorem curatorem et etiam jurium et bonorum Bavilie et Preceptoriarum hujusmodi legitimum Administra-

torem cum plena libera et omnimoda potestate et facultate per te vel alium vel alios Baviliam et Preceptorias hujusmodi regendi... facimus constituimus et deputamus... Non obstantibus... Nulli ergo... Si quis... Datum Rome... an. Millesimo quadringentesimo nonagesimo secundo, septimo Id. Martii p. n. a. 1°.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 869 : Alex. VI. Secret. An I, II, III. Lib. III. T. 98. f° 20.

DOCUMENT 30.

Giovanni de Borgia the younger and others created cardinals.

Alexander etc. Ad futuram rei memoriam. Romana Ecclesia que dignitatum quamplurimarum presertim sublimium continuo splendore refulget, in illarum distributione personis excellenti virtute et probitate pollentibus, quas divina supereminens largitas multiplicium decoravit munere gratiarum vehementer letatur, ut illarum consilio et auctoritate munita in suo solido et felici statu valeat salubriter permanere ac a quibusvis adversis successu temporis preservari.

Sane postquam divina favente clementia ad apicem summi Apostolatus assumpti fuimus, Nos cupientes eamdem Romanam ecclesiam personis dignis et benemeritis que ad sustinendum illius firmamentum et in dirigenda christiana republica nobis et Romano Pontifici pro tempore existenti assistere possent munire et decorare ac attendentes et provida deliberatione considerantes Venerabilium fratrum nostrorum Bartholomei Segobricen., Johannis Agrigentin., Johannis Perusin. Ep^orum^, et qui secundum carnem (nepos) et in presentiarum in Regno Sicilie citra Pharum cum potestate Legati de latere Nuncius noster existit, et in ipso legationis munere se cum maxima laude gessit, dilecti filii Johannis Electi Melphien., ingenii claritatem ac morum elegantiam, vite bonitatem et modestiam, eximiam integritatem, singularem prudentiam, in arduis magnanimitatem, in consulendo gravitatem et in peragendo diligentiam ac rebus denique omnibus summam circumspectionem et longam experientiam quibus longo jam tempore eos, qui etiam per longa tempora in Romana curia omnium cum laude versati et de

nobis benemeriti fuerunt, predictos esse cognovimus, ac indubie sperantes quod propter hec et alia eis gratia assistente divina affutura suffragia esse poterunt eidem Romane ecclesie, et reipublice christiane multipliciter fructuosi ac nobis et Romano Pontifici pro tempore existenti prefato solicitudine indefessa in negociorum nobis et eidem Pontifici etiam pro tempore existenti incumbentium votiva et utili expeditione ac sublevatione onerum que continue graviora nostris humeris incumbere cernimus admodum proficui ; Et propterea volentes pro temporis necessitate oportune providere, habita super hiis cum Venerabilibus fratribus nostris ejusdem Sancte Rom. ecclie. Cardinalibus deliberatione matura de illo(rum) consilio pariter et assensu ad omnipotentis dei laudem gloriam et honorem ac prefate ecclesie sue sancte exaltationem Episcopos in Presbiteros et Electum prefatos in Diaconum ejusdem Romane ecclie. Cardinales auctoritate apostolica et ex certa scientia ac etiam de apostolice potestatis plenitudine tenore presentium assumimus et creamus... Mandantes ut si forsan nos, etiam antequam titulus, pileus rubeus et quevis alia cardinalatus insignia eisdem de novo creatis cardinalibus publice tradita et ad consulendum os eis apertum per nos extiterit, de medio summoveri contigerit, eosdem cardinales creatos in fratres et collegas recipiant et ad electionem futuri successoris nostri active et passive admittant... Non obstantibus... necnon capitulis et ordinationibus in conclavi in quo fuimus ad apicem summi apostolatus assumpti, ut prefertur, tam ante assumptionem nostram quam post, per nos et prefatos cardinales sub quibusvis modis promissionibus voto conditionibus et formis etiam forsan juramento vel alias quomodolibet roboratis et editis... (and the pope dispenses himself from duties invalidly assumed) seu quod forsan aliqui ex predictis cardinalibus assumptis ad obtinendum dignitatem cardinalatus hujusmodi qualitates forsan requisitas non habent et prefatus Johannes Electus Melphien. etatis quam pro expressa haberi volumus defectum patitur... Nulli ergo... Si quis... Dat. Rome apud Sanctum petrum Anno etc. Mccccl xxxx quinto, Unidecimo Kl. Martii Pont. nri. anno quarto.

Ego Alexander Catholice ecclie. Epˢ Ssr. (Subscripsi.)

† Ego O. (Oliverius Caraffa) Epus Sabinensis S. R. E. Carlis neapolitan. man. pa Ssr.

† Ego Jo. (Johannes Michaelius) Eps Portuen. Carlis S. Angeli manu ppa Ssr.

† Ego G. (Georgius Costa) Eps Albanen. Carlis Ulixbonen. manu. pa SSr .

† Ego Hie. (Hieronymus Bassus della Rovere) Eps Prenestin. Carlis Rachanat. man. pa Ssr.

† Ego Do. (Dominicus della Rovere) pbr. Carlis S. Clement. manu ppa Ssr.

† Ego jo. ja. (Johannes Jacobus Sclafenatus) pbr. Carlis parmen. manu ppa Ssr.

† Ego L. (Laurentius Cibò) tt. S. Cecilie pbr. Carlis Beneventan. ma. pa Ssr.

† Ego A. (Antoniottus Pallavacinus) S. R. E. pbr. Carlis tt. S. Praxedis ma. pa Ssr.

† Ego jo (Giovanni de Borgia, the elder) pbr. Carlis Montisregalis manu ppa Ssr.

† Ego. jo (Fr. Joannes de la Grolaye) tt. S. Sabine pbr. Carlis S. dionisij ma pa Ssr.

† Ego Jo. Ant. (Johannes Antonius Sangiorgio) Carlis Alex. manu pa Ssr.

† Ego B. (Bernardinus Carvajal) Carlis S. † in Jhrlem. ma. ppa Ssr.

† Ego f. (Franciscus Picolomini) Carlis Senen. Sci. Eustachii manu ppa Ssr.

† Ego R. (Raphael Riario) S. Georgii Diac. Carlis Camerarius Ssr.

† Ego As. Ma. (Ascanius Maria) Carlis Sfortia Vicecomes S. R. E. Vicecanrius Ssr.

† Ego f. (for l. — Ludovicus, still « in petto ») Carlis de Aragonia de Sancto Severino Ssr.

† Ego C. (Cesar de Borgia) Sce. Marienove Diaconus Carlis valen. manu ppa Ssr.

† Ego Jul. (Julianus Caesarini) scor. Sergii et Bachi diaconus Carlis Ssr.

† Ego D. (Dominicus Grimanus) Sci. Nicolai inter imagines diaconus Carlis Ssr.

† Ego A. (Alexander Farnese) Scor. Cosme et Damiani Diaconus Carlis Ssr.

† Ego B. (Bernardinus de Lunate) S. Ciriaci Diaconus Car^lis Ssr.

P. Tuba.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 873. f° 361.

DOCUMENT 31.

A donation inter vivos of Vannoza Canalis de Cathaneis.

In nomine Domini Amen. Anno domini millesimo quingentesimo decimo septimo, pontificatus sanctissimi in Christo patris et domini nostri domini Leonis divina providentia pape decimi, indictione quinta, mensis ianuarii die decimo quinto.

In presentia mei notarii et testium infrascriptorum ad hoc specialiter vocatorum, Magnifica et generosa domina domina Vannotia de Cathaneis, relicta quondam spectabilis viri domini Caroli Canalis, litterarum apostolicarum scriptoris, sponte et ex certa eius scientia et non per errorem, volens anime sue indemnitati providere, amore Dei ac pro remissione eius peccatorum et ob maximam devotionem et reverentiam quam gessit et gerit erga infrascripta loca pia, donavit et titulo donationis inter vivos et irrevocabiliter dedit, cessit et concessit venerabili hospitali et societati sacratissime ymaginis Salvatoris ad Sancta Sanctorum de Urbe illiusque dominis pro tempore existentibus, pro integra dimidia, necnon venerabili hospitali et societati sancte Marie de Porticu ac de gratiis seu de consolatione illiusque dominis guardianis pro tempore existentibus, venerabilibusque societatibus beate Marie Annunciate in ecclesia sancte Marie super Minervam et Conceptionis eiusdem beate Marie in ecclesia sanctorum Laurentii et Damasi illarumque dominis guardianis, respective pro tempore existentibus in dictis societatibus, pro reliqua dimidia ; reservato usufructu pactisque et conventionibus infrascriptis : Id est certas domos ipsius domine Vannotie, que dicuntur la Taverna de la vacca... sitas in regione Parionis... me tamen notario infrascripto ut publica persona recipiente et legittime stipulante vice et nomine dictorum hospitalium et societatum...

...cum hiis tamen pactis et conditionibus : quod secuta morte ipsius domine testatricis exigentur fructus quattuor annorum

dictarum domorum illique deponantur apud ydoneam fide et facultatibus dignam personam tenendi, usquequo fuerint exacti dicti fructus quattuor annorum domorum prefatarum ; quibus exactis, ex illis fiant et fieri mandavit, amotis ornamentis veteribus dicte Sacratissime Ymaginis Salvatoris, nova ornamenta tam gemmarum, perlarum, auri et argenti, cum armis et titulo ipsius donatricis...

Item quod semper et quandocumque dictum hospitale Salvatoris illiusque domini guardiani pro tempore existentes dederint seu tradere parati fuerint ipsis hospitalibus de gratiis et de porticu societatibusque Annunciate et Conceptionis aliquam recompensam congruam et honestam, afferentem fructus annuos dicte medietatis domorum supra specificatarum eis donatarum, dicta medietas domorum unacum reliqua sit et esse debeat et remaneat dicto hospitali Salvatoris.

...Item et quod dicte societates hospitalis Salvatoris, Sancte Marie de gratiis seu de porticu, Annunciate et Conceptionis, et quelibet earum, secuta morte ipsius domine donatricis, quolibet anno imperpetuum, super ipsius sepultura... teneantur... celebrare et celebrari facere anniversaria... pro anima quondam domini Georgii de Cruce, eiusdem domine donatricis primi viri, in dicta ecclesia sancte Marie de populo, in die qua obiit, que fuit tertia decima octobris, necnon et dicti quondam domini Caroli Canalis, eius secundi viri, in dicta ecclesia sante Marie de populo, in die qua obiit, que fuit dies vigesimaquarta mensis martii, et pro anima ipsius domine donatricis in eadem ecclesia, in die qua ipsa domina donatrix obierit, et pro anima eius parentum et aliorum eius defunctorum, et quelibet dictarum societatum diverse et separatim.

Item simili titulo donationis inter vivos et irrevocabiliter prefata domina donatrix donavit... omnia et singula nomina et actiones... que et quas habet... contra quemdam Leonardum Rabbia occasione certe quantitatis argenti, casu quo tamen... eadem jura, dum vixerit, non exegerit...

Item dixit se creditricem esse domini Francisci Clavarelli de Carindula in ducatis trecentis... et concessit dictos trecentos ducatos, casu quo illos ante ipsius domine donatricis obitum non exegerit...

Item simili titulo donationis inter vivos... concessit Ranerio de Trottis papiensis diocesis, eius servitori presenti et stipu-

lanti pro se suisque heredibus et successoribus omnia bona mobilia ipsius domine donatricis de quibus constat in quodam inventario apud dictum Ranerium existenti, subscripto manu mei notarii infrascripti.

Item prefata domina... concessit prefato hospitali Salvatoris... quamdam vineam... cum hiis tamen pactis et oneribus quod prefatum hospitale et societas Salvatoris illiusque domini guardiani teneantur et debeant solvere dicto Ranerio in promptu et numerata pecunia integrum salarium a tempore mortis dicti quondam domini Caroli seu secundi viri usque ad diem mortis ipsius domine donatricis, ad rationem duorum ducatorum auri de camera pro quolibet mense.

Item quod solvant magistro Cristoforo sartori ducatos decem.

Item quod solvant Margaritte filie mei notarii infrascripti, eiusdem donatricis filiave, ducatos centum auri in auro de camera pro parte sui maritagii.

Item quod solvant fratribus et conventui Sancte Marie de Araceli ducatos centum.

Item quod solvant sorori Ursule moniali monasterii sancti Sixti ducatos viginti quinque.

Item quod solvant domino Johanni mantuano ducatos decem auri in auro quod ab eo mutuo recepit.

Item quod solvant presbitero Francisco eiusdem domine donatricis servitori ducatos tringinta unum.

Et quia prefata domina promiserat monasterio, Priori et fratribus sancte Marie de populo ducatos decem quolibet anno pro oleo luminis retinendi ante tabernaculum domini nostri Jhesu Christi, volens se et eius bona ab omni onere, dicta ex causa liberare, prefati domini guardiani pro huiusmodi deliberatione eisdem monasterio fratribus solvant ducatos centum, et si tempore eiusdem domine donatricis mortis aliqua debita per eam contracta reperirentur prefata societas Salvatoris illiusque domini guardiani satisfaciant.

Item prefata societas Salvatoris illiusque domini guardiani tempore mortis ipsius domine testatricis requirantur et debeant eiusdem hospitalis sumptibus et expensis solemnia funeralia celebrare et celebrari facere...

Et demum eiusdem hospitalis Salvatoris sumptibus et expensis, vestibus lugubribus induantur — twelve persons.

...Hoc tamen etiam addito, si ullo umquam tempore in futu-

rum ipsa domina donatrix moveretur ad donandum aliquas vestes tradendas in dictis funeralibus . dictum hospitale et societas Salvatoris teneatur satisfacere et solvere; pro quorum quidem expensarum funeralium et aliarum summarum ac debitorum satisfactione liceat et possint vineam prefatam cum palacio vendere et alienare...

Et casu quo dicta vinea cum palacio non esset tanti precii et valoris prefatum hospitale et societas Salvatoris illiusque domini guardiani teneantur supplere de bonis et pecuniis ipsius hospitalis et societatis: ita et taliter quod omnia et singula in precedenti instrumento per eandem dominam facta et ordinata et quodlibet eorum observentur et adimpleantur per prefata hospitalia et societates et quodlibet eorum: et in quolibet eo in quo una societatum illarum deficeret, talis societas deficiens cadat ab omni iure in presenti instrumento donato, et in illis succederet prefata sacratissima ymago beate Marie de populo illiusque prior et fratres et conventus...

Quasquidem donationes ac omnia et singula supradicta ac quamlibet et quodlibet supradictorum promisit prefata domina donatrix michi notario infrascripto, ut publice persone presenti et stipulanti pro omnibus et singulis supra prenominatis. . nec illam illas et illa revocare et irritare seu quomodolibet annullare, occasione alicuius ingratitudinis, seu per supervenientiam liberorum aut per ingressum alicuius monasterii, nec quavis alia de causa vel occasione..

Et pro maiori premissorum firmitate, prefata domina donatrix constituens juravit ad sancta Dei Evangelia, corporaliter manibus tactis sacrosanctis Scripturis in manibus mei notarii infrascripti, predicta omnia et singula perpetuo attendere et observare..

Actum Rome in Regione Arenule et in aula domus prefate domine donatricis...

Io Vannoza sopradicta dono et accepto quanto de sopra se contene Manu propria.

...Et ego Andreas de Carusiis civis romanus... (The notary public.).

Our copyist was directed to find this document at Rome, Archivo del Capitolio, Cred. XIV. T. 72. p. 305; among the Acts of the notary Andr. Carosi (Gregorovius, Luer. Borgia, Bd. I. S. 359.).

DOCUMENT 31a

Extract from the engagement contract of Pietro Mattucci and Isabella Borgia.

1483 p° Aprile per Agostino De Martini not. Capitolino. Archo Capno 92.

Fidantiae inter virum nobilem et egregium D. Petrum Joannis Mattutii de' Quattro Scriptorem apostolicum regionis Parionis ex una, et nobilem et circumspectam mulierem D. Ysabellam Borgiam ex alia cum dote $\frac{m}{2}$ ducatorum auri papalium hoc modo : in unam domum terrenam et solariatam pro 800 sp. et aliam domum pro 700, et reliquis 500 contanti, et ultra predicta cum toto acconcio. Actum in camera Revmi D. Vicecancellarii presentibus RR. PP. DD. prothonotario Borgia Prothonotario Agnelli et D. Antonio de Porcariis romano de Regione Pineae et D. Jacobo Casanova.

Archivio Storio Capitolino, Cred. XIV. T. 72. f° 303.

DOCUMENT 31b

Espousal contract between John Andrew Cesarini and Girolama Borgia.

« 24 January 1482. »

In dei no. am. Anno pont. Indict. et mense quibus supra die vero Jovis XXIIII. In presentia mei publici notii etc. Rmus in Xro pr. et dnus dnus Rodericus Borgia. Eps. Portuensis S.R.E. Cardinalis ac Vicecancellarius paterna caritate et affectione ductus ac motus erga nobilem et honestam ac generosam puellam virginem Jeronimam Sororem excellentis et generosi adolescentis dni. petri ludovici de Borgia et Johannis de Borgia infantis germanor. fratrum volens et intendens ipsam Jeronimam puellam que de sua domo et familia existit veluti filiam recognoscere et tractare et pro honore dicte sue domus et familie ipsam condecenter maritare ac dotare dotemque sibi condignam constituere In pres. mei publici notarii et rogator.

ad infrascripta pacta et sponsalia in dei no. cum magco viro dno Gabrielle de Cesarinis domicello Romano Regionis Sti Eustachii patre ac legitimo administratore spectabilis adolescentuli Johannis Andree sui legitimi ac naturalis filii inter eos habita tractata et sollemniter conclusa et firmata devenit in hunc que sequitur modum et formam vid :

The sitipulations follow. Ihe dot is to be 4.000 ducats " auri in auro ".

Protocol of the notary Camillo Beneimbene in Archiv of the Notaries of the Capitol.

Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. II. Nr. 1.

DOCUMENT 32.

Pedro Luis de Borgia and his brothers are elevated to the rank of Grandees of Spain.

Nos Ferdinandus Dei gratia Rex Castelle Aragonum, etc. Decens, immo necessarium principibus esse conspicimus ad eorum regie dignitatis fastigium viros, precipue nobilibus ac clarissimis parentibus ortos et ob id undique tam honoratos, titulis magnificis extollere, decorare et insignire. Considerantes igitur Nobilitatem, strenuitatem, parcimoniam, prudenciam ceterasque virtutes quibus vos, Nobiles et dilecti nostri, dompni Petrus Ludovicus de Borja alumpnus et camarlengus noster, Cesar de Borja, Johannes de Borja ac... de Borja, germani, prediti estis ; necnon devocionem quam erga nos statusque nostri amplitudinem summopere gerere vos indubie novimus ; memoria presertim repetentes quam plura innumeraque, laude et comendacione digna servicia tam domi quam milicie Magestati nostre per vos, eundem Petrum Ludovicum de Borja, animo indefesso ac viriliter, sicut quoque decet strenuum militem, prestita ; et que indesinenter prestatis, ac prestiturum dante domino maiora siquidem speramus, in his potissime jam factis et gestis maximis, amplis apparatibus et exercitibus et bello, quosque adhuc facere te gerere desiderio desiderato nobis est non cessare, adversus infidelis beticos mauros, domini nostri redemptoris Jhesuchristi nominis ac sancte fidei catholice pravos inimicos, pro illius laudacione exaltacione ac augmento freti ac confisi ejus divino

adiutorio, firmaque et indubia spe victoriam consequendi fruiti, palam est multociens ac sepe et nunc ultimo in acquisicione huius nostre insignis civitatis de Ronda cum tota eius serrania, sive illius ac aliis pluribus circum vicinis locis, meritis insuficientibus, jam consequti fuimus, sue divine clemencie tanti beneficii innumeras inde faciendo gracias ; in eos perfidos mauros, inter ceteros, vos, dictus Nobilis Petrus Ludovicus de Borja, fortiter dimicare personamque vestram ingentibus assiduisque laboribus et periculis inde exponere, nullis eorum vitatis quia vidimus, multorumque eciam relacione fidedignorum nostri exercitus militum, nostre comendatum approbatum et confirmatum fuit Magestati, testamur minime formidastis ; presertim cum in suburbium dicte civitatis Ronde cum aliis nonnullis viriliter ac vi armorum prior intrastis ; quo factum fuit ut mauri perfidi ab eo eiecti et intus dictam civitatem fugati fuerunt, sicque illud ad manus nostras habuimus ; eaque occasione deinde civitatem predictam, metu ne illam pariter vi armorum ingrediremus uti facile erat creditu, per dedicionem acquisivimus ; — gracia, honore et titulo subscriptis vos, eundem Petrum Ludovicum de Borja, et vestri respectu atque meritis prenominatos germanos, ut infra, donare, extollere, decorare et insignire congruum ac meritissimum visum est ; adeo ut sit non indignum saltem aliquale inde senciatis premium ; sitque aliis exemplum, et illi ad similia faciendum et promerendum proni alliciantur.

Itaque tenore presentis carte nostre ac privilegii, per cuncta secula in suo pleno robore et firmitate permansuri ac valituri motu nostro proprio, expresse et de certa sciencia ac consulto, vos prefatos nobiles Petrum Ludovicum de Borja, Cesarem de Borja, Joannem de Borga ac... de Borja, et quemlibet vestrum simul cum tota uniuscuiusque vestrum progenie et posteritate per rectam lineam perpetuo descendentes, ad honorem, gradum, prerogativam et titulum *Egregii* gratanter extollimus, decoramus et insignimus ; vosque et quemlibet vestrum, totam vestram ac cuiuslibet vestrum sobolem et posteritatem per rectam lineam originem trahentem egregii ac egregiam imperpetuum exinde dicimus, nunciamus, nominamus, gradimus et intitulamus, dicique, nunciari, nominari et intitulari amodo concedimus, indulgemus, providemus, volumus, decernimus et jubemus in quibuscumque privilegiis, cartis, coronicis, instrumentis, processibus, actis, provisionibus, epitafiis, titulis ac aliis scripturis tam

nostris et seu Regiis, et tam publicis quam privatis et aliis quibuscumque, in quibus vos, et unumquemque vestrum, ac ipsam vestrum et alterius vestrum progeniem et posteritatem per rectam lineam, ut prefertur, descendentem, nominari, scribi atque mencionari fieri oporteat. Unde vos et quilibet vestrum preferatis, una cum tota dicta posteritate vestra et cuiuslibet vestrum aliis, omnibus et singulis, quibus alii huiusmodi *egregii* honore, gradu et titulo decorati et insigniti, tam de jure quam per foros, consuetudines, usaticos, observancias, privilegia, usus, consuetudines et rationem, et aliis preferuntur preferrique debent et possunt ; gaudeatisque propterea et utamini, ac gaudeant et utantur ipsi vestri et cuiuslibet vestrum posteri supradicti eis universis et singulis honoribus, honeribus, prerogativis, antelationibus, superioritatibus, preheminenciis, prioritatibus, privilegiis facultatibus, potestatibus, exemptionibus, inmunitatibus, et aliis quibus eisdem juribus ac via, modo et forma antedictis gaudent et utuntur alii simili *egregii* honore, gradu, prerogativa et titulo decorati et insigniti, gaudere et uti sunt soliti, possuntque debentque.

...Ferdinand orders all dignitaries and officials of his States quatenus nostram huiusmodi concessionem et privilegium, iuxta sui seriem, et tenorem pleniores, perenniter tenentes et observantes, tenerique et observari facientes firmiter et inviolabiliter per quos deceat, vos predictos Nobiles, Petrum Ludovicum dé Borja, Cesarem de Borja, Joannem de Borja et... de Borja, et quemlibet vestrum, omnesque posteros quoscumque vestros et cuiuslibet vestrum sicut dictum est descendentes *egregios* deinceps imperpetuum dicant, nuncient et intitulent et nominent, dicique, intitulari et nominari habeant et permittant, quemadmodum nos dicimus, nunciamus, intitulamus et nominamus ut premittitur, atque gaudere et uti sinant, aut honoribus, prelationibus, privilegiis, prerogativis et aliis cunctis supradictis ; nec secus agant agive permittant aliqua ratione vel eciam causa, cum ita omnino de mente nostra procedat.

In cuius rei testimonium presentem fieri iussimus nostro comuni sigillo inpendenti munitam.

Data in nostris felicibus castris acquisicionis Ronde die vicesimo octavo Mensis Maii, Anno a nativitate domini Millesimo Quadringentesimo octuogesimo Quinto, Regnorumque nostro-

rum, videlicet Sicilie Anno decimo octavo, Castelle et Legionis duodecimo, Aragonum vero et aliorum Septimo.

Signum Ferdinandi etc. Yo el Rey.

Fita, Estud. Histor. T. VI. p. 224 ; from Liber V. Diversorum Valentiae, fiis 53-55vo. ódice autentico y coetáneo á la fecha de la redació de este documento, que se guarda en el archivo general del reino de Valencia.

DOCUMENT 33.

Pedro Luis de Borgia is made Duke of Gandia.

Nos Ferdinandus etc. Vendidimus dudum vobis, Egregio Nobili et magnifico viro Petro Ludovico de Borja, et vestris ducatum et villam de Gandia et castrum de Bayren, modo et forma contentis in contractu ipsius venditionis. Et considerantes quibus moribus, indole, strenuitate et animi generositate estis preditus, et quod ex claris et nobilibus parentibus ducitis originem, et qua pericia et disciplina rei militaris, et quod fortiter et strenue servivistis nobis in bello quod gerimus adversus betice sive granate Regem, hostem fidei nostre, Egregii mores ipsi et virtus vestra, et ea obsequia que nobis in bello prestitistis, nos merito induxerunt, ut sicuti ducatui preestis et terram tenetis, a ducibus olim possessam, ita ducatus titulo et honore vos et vestros merito donemus et decoremus. Siquidem in bello ipso vestris sumptibus et cum satis magna militum comitiva militando, periculis vos obiiciendo, nullis laboribus percendo, hostem cominus feriendo, ducis et militis erga servicium nostrum munere fungendo, non mediocrem laudem et honorem vobis peperistis. Ergo his ex causis, cum cedat ad gloriam nostram latera regis viris illustribus circumcingi, cum presenti carta nostra perpetuo valitura vos, eumdem Petrum Ludovicum de Borja, et successores vestros de nostra certa scientia et de plenitudine potestatis nostre ad dignitatem, nomen et titulum ducis erigimus et promovemus. Itaque vos et successores vestri, in ducatu predicto de Gandia, ex nunc perpetuo ducis Gandie censeamini, nominamini, et utamini honore, nomine et titulo ducali ; gaudeatisque et utamini nunc et in

posterum omnibus titulis graciis insigniis, preheminenciis honoribus libertatibus et inmunitatibus, quibus duces ducali titulo insigniti, quo vos et vestros donamus et decoramus presenti privilegio, gaudere et uti soliti sunt et possunt in omnibus Regnis et terris nostris. Nos enim et easdes gratias honores titulos insignias preheminencias prerogativas libertates et inmunitates omnes et singulas, ducibus et ducali honore decoratis et sublimatis competentibus tributas et pertinentes de jure usu consuetudine aut alias quomodocumque, vobis, Petro Ludovico de Borja, et vestris in dicto ducatu successoribus, conferimus, contendimus, tribuimus et elargimur. Ut autem ex ereccione et promotione nichil honoris nostre regali diademati subtrahatur decernimus quod in dicto ducatu et in vobis illius dicte omnia jura nostra salva sint semper et illesa, remaneantque sicut ante, nichilque nobis et nostris desereat vel decrescat et vobis et vestris augeatur in aliquo in preiudicium jurium nostrorum.

Quocirca, universis et singulis officialibus et subditis nostris quacumque auctoritate potestate jurisdictione dignitate gradu et statu fungentibus, et distinctis in regnis nostris constitutis et constituendis, presentibus et futuris, et cuilibet eorum dicimus et mandamus sub nostre gratie et amoris obtentu penaque florenorum auri Aragonum decem milium, quod nostram huiusmodi vestri, dicti ducis, in ducem ereccionem et promocionem, libertates inmunitates et alia predicta presensque privilegium nostrum, et omnia et singula supradicta ad unguem teneant firmiter et observent, et faciant per quos deceat inviolabiliter observari. In cuius rei testimonium presentem fieri jussimus nostra aurea bulla inpendenti munitum.

Datum in villa de Alcala de Henares, die vigesimo mensis decembris, anno a nativitate domini Milesimo cuadrigentesimo octuagesimo quinto, Regnorum nostrorum, videlicet Sicilie anno decimo octavo, Castelle et Legionis duodecimo, Aragonum vero et aliorum Septimo.

Yo el Rey.

Dominus Rex mandavit michi Ludovico Conçales. Visa per generalem thesaurarium et proconsiliarium.

Fita, Estud. Histor. T. VI. p. 212 ; from Archivo real de Valencia, libro V. Diversorum Valencie, fº 26-32.

DOCUMENT 34.

Pope Innocent VIII grants to Pedro Luis de Borgia, Duke of Gandia, the right of patronage of, and of presentation to, the parochial church of that town.

Innocentius etc. Ad perpetuam rei memoriam. Sincere devotionis affectus et integra fides quibus dilectus filius, nobilis vir Petrus Ludovicus de Borgia dux Gandie Valentinensis diocesis nos et Romanam ecclesiam (prosequitur) non indigne merentur ut illa sibi posterisque suis favorabiliter concedamus per que eorum et ecclesiarum quarumlibet precipue parochialium commoditatibus consuli valeat, ac honori pariter et decori. Accepimus siquidem, quod parochialis ecclesia beate Marie opidi seu ville Gandie dicte diocesis in suis structuris et edificiis opere sumptuoso dudum fabricari cepta propter magnas expensas que ad structurarum et edifficiorum predictorum perfectionem requiruntur imperfecta aliquandiu permansit et permanet, et quod prefatus dux qui ad illam gerit specialem devocionis affectum in edifficiorum et structurarum huiusmodi perfectione et eorum que iam facta sunt et reparatione indigent reparatione ac ecclesiasticorum ornamentorum pro eadem emptione et acquisitione infra sex annos summam trium milium florenorum monete Valentinensis exponere proponit dummodo ei ac heribus et successoribus suis ducibus Gandie a domo de Borgia descendentibus pro tempore ius patronatus et presentandi personam ydoneam ad dictam parochialem ecclesiam quotiens illam de cetero perpetuis futuris temporibus vacare contingerit concedatur. Nos igitur... Granted.

Dat. Rome apud sanctum Petrum, anno Incarnationis dominice Millesimo quadringentesimo octuagesimo sexto, Duodecimo Kalendas Octobris, Pontificatus nostri anno tertio.

Gratis pro nepote R. dni. Cardinalis

Fr. de Suno L. de Marcellinis

J. Cotini

Duplicata sub eadem data et per eumdem scriptorem scripta.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 682. fº 392.

DOCUMENT 35.

Innocent VIII. absolves the kings of Spain, Ferdinand and Isabella, of excommunication incurred by injustice towards certain de Borgias.

Innocentius etc. Ad futuram rei memoriam. Apostolice Sedis gratiosa benignitas ad ea libenter intendit per que animarum saluti et conscientiarum quieti salubriter valeat provideri. Sane sicut nuper ex litteris dilecti filii nostri Petri tituli Sancte Crucis in Jerusalhem presbyteri cardinalis accepimus, carissimus in Christo filius noster Ferdinandus rex et carissima in Christo filia nostra Helisabeth Castelle et Legionis regina illustres volentes suam erga sedem apostolicam devotionem et reverentiam ostendere, omnia et singula mandata edita et arresta superioribus diebus contra res, pecunias et bona venerabilium fratrum nostrorum Roderici episcopi Portuensis, sancte Romane ecclesie vicecancellarii et Johannis archiepiscopi Montisregalis necnon consanguineorum affinium et aliorum ipsius episcopi et vicecancellarii servitorum, ratione ecclesiarum dignitatum et beneficiorum suorum et alias quomodolibet facta revocarunt, resque pecunias et bona per eos vel eorum mandato occupata et detenta restitui mandarunt ac pro parte iam restituerunt et pro parte penes ipsum cardinalem deponi fecerunt prefato Episcopo et Vicecancellario vel eius procuratoribus integre restituenda, necnon dilectum filium Petrum Ludovicum de Borgia quem antea detinuerant pristine libertati reddidere, que non possumus nisi plurimum commendare, cum prefati Rex et Regina fecerint prout semper de ipsorum devotione speravimus. Quocirca cupientes hiis attentis serenitati conscientiarum eorumdem regis et Regine ac aliorum qui eis in premissis agendis quomodolibet consilium, auxilium et favorem prestitissent paterna caritate consulere, prefatos Regem et Reginam ac omnes et singulos alios etiam quacumque ecclesiastica vel mundana dignitate fulgentes qui in premissis eisdem Regi et Regine quoquo modo directe vel indirecte publice vel occulte consilium auxilium vel favorem ut prefertur prestiterint ab excommunicationis aliisque ecclesiasticis sententiis, censuris et penis quas propterea quomodolibet incurrerunt auctoritate apostolica tenore presentium

absolvimus et totaliter liberamus eosque in suum pristinum statum restituimus et reponimus et plenarie reintegramus ac pro talibus ab omnibus volumus et mandamus publice cum opus fuerit nunciari. Non obstantibus premissis ac constitutionibus et ordinationibus apostolicis ceterisque contrariis quibuscumque. Nulli ergo etc. Nostre absolutionis, liberationis, restitutionis, repositionis reintegrationis voluntatis et mandati infringere etc. Si quis etc. Dat. Rome apud sanctum Petrum, Anno Incarnationis dominice Millesimo quadringentesimo octuagesimo quinto, quarto Nonas decembris, Pontificatus nostri anno secundo. Jo. Cotini.

Duplicata sub eadem data, et per eumdem scriptorem scripta. Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 682. fº 287.

DOCUMENT 36.

Pedro Luis de Borgia buys the duchy and villa of Gandia and the castle of Bayren.

In Christi nomine, amen. Pateat universis, etc. Nos Ferdinandus etc. Cum inter Magestatem nostram... ex una, et vos dilectum nostrum Jacobum Serra in sacra theologia magistrum, nomine et tanquam procuratorem Egregii et dilecti Camarlengi nostri Petri Ludovici de Borja, habitatoris Civitatis Valencie ; de qua procuratione constat instrumento publico acto et testifficato in loco de villa farta (Villaharta, in the province of Cordova), die tercio decimo mensis octobris proxime decursi, anni presentis, ...ex altera, partibus inita, concordata et conclusa fuerunt ex causa vendicionis transportacionis et empcionis faciendarum Ducatus et ville de Gandia et Castri de Bayren, sitorum in Regno Valencie, Capitula tenoris sequentis :

Capitols fets é fermats entre lo molt alt é poderós Senyor don Ferando Rey de Castella é de Aragó, en son nom... de una part, é lo reverendo mosén Jaume Serra en nom é com á procurador del Egregi don Pere Luis de Borja, de la part altra, sobre la venda é compra de la vila, ducat de Gandia é Castell de Bayrén, situats en lo Regne de Valencia. É vist ésser cosa útil é necessaria, axi al dit Senyor Rey... fer vendició dels dits Ducat, vila de Gandía, é castell de Bayrén al dit don Pere

Luis... É primerament, es pactat é concordat entre les dites parts que lo dit molt alt Senyor Rey..., havent certa sciencia los dits ducat vila é castell ésser seus propis é pertányer á su altesa pera dispondre de aquells á sa propria voluntat, vena é sia tengud é obligat vendre al dit don Pere Luis los dits ducat é vila de Gandía é castell de Bayrén... pera fer de aquelles á ses planes voluntats, per preu de Sexanta tres mil cent vint é hun timbres, tres solidos, VIIII. denarios, moneda reals de Valencia...

Item es concordat entre les dites parts que los dits sexanta tres mil cent XXI. timbres, III. solidos, VIIII. denarios, preu dels dits ducat vila é castell, sien pagats por lo dit don Pere Luis en aquesta forma, ço es, al dit Senyor Rey trenta dos mil sent vint é hun timbres, III. sous, VIIII (diners) comprenent hi emperó é contant dos milia dobles dor de la banda ; les quals los Egregis don Andrés de Cabrera é dona Beatriz de Bovadilla, Marqués é Marquesa de Moyá, tenen reebudes del dit don Pere Luis, segons constat per una cédula, soscrita de les mans dels dits Marqés é Marquesa en la ciutat de Córdova, á XIIII dies del mes de Abril del any present é infrascrit, en axí que, en paga é solució dels dits trenta dos mil cent XXI. timbres, III solidos, VIIII (diners), sia tenguda su alteza prendre en compte les dites dos milia dobles ; é dels restants trenta un milia timbres sia tengut lo dit Pere Luis dins setanta dias, de vuy avant continuament comptadors, luir é quitar de la ciutad de Valencia los dits duquat vila é Castell, jurisdicció alta é baixa, mer é mixt Imperi, drets é pertinencies de aquelles á la dita ciutat venuts mijançant carta de Gracia ; é si ans lo dit temps lo dit don Pere Luis no haurá luyt é quitat les dites vila é Castell, é altres coses dessús dites, de la dita Ciutat de Valencia, válidament é com se pertany, per defecte culpa ó neglicencia sua, que la pensió, que lo dit Senyor Rey fa por los dits trenta hun milia timbres, d'alli avant sia á cárrech del dit don Pere Luis, é no del dit Señor Rey, ni dels bens é rendes sues. E no resmenys, lo dit don Pere Luis sia tengut é obligat fer la dita luyció é quitació válidament, é de aquella restituyr al dit Señor Rey instrument públich en aucténtica forma ob los contractes fets per causa de la dita vendició é impignoració del dits vila é Castell á la dita ciutat fetes...

Item es convengut entre les dites parts quel dit Señor Rey

sia tengut fermar áppoca el dit don Pere Luis de tot lo dit preu, tota hora é quant á sa altesa seran pagats realment é de fet Dotze mylla timbres, e li sera liurada áppoca, atorgada é fermada per los dits Marqués é Marquesa, de vint mil cent XXI. timbres, tres solides, VIIII (diners). Los quals plau al dit Señor Rey sien donats é pagats als dits Marqués é Marquesa per lo dit Pere Luis de la suma del dit preu per rahó de altra tanta suma, que per rahó de la venda dels dits Marqués é Marquesa, feta al dit Señor Rey, dels drets á ells pertanyents en los dits Ducat vila é Castell sa alteza era tenguda pagar...

Item que lo dit Señor Rey cure é procure é sia tengut procurar traballar é curar, que la dita venda é transportació dels dits Ducat vila é Castell é altres coses, ha loada é aprovada, es loe é aprove en les corts del Regne de Valencia per tots los staments é braços de aquelles. É per aço attényer é cumplir dona sa fe é palaura Real axi com en los presents scrits dona é promet.

Item que lo dit Señor Rey sia tengut é obligat liurar la possessió libera vácua é desembargada dels dits Ducat vila é castell é de totes les coses damunt dites al dit don Pere Luis en axí que, ans que aquell sia mes en corporal real é actual possessió dels dit ducat vila é castell é coses venudes, é tinga lo sacrament de fidelitat é homenatges dels homens e vasalls dels dit ducat vila é castell, no sia tengut pagar al dit Señor Rey los dits dotze milia timbres, ne part de aquells : si ja no era que per lo dit don Pere Luis é per culpa sua stigués que la dita possession no fos aprehensa...

Actum est hoc, quoad nos prefatum castelle et Aragonum regem, in villa de Alcala de Enares, die tertio mensis Octuagesimo Decembris, anno a nativitate Domini, Millesimo Quadringentisimo Octuagesimo Quinto... Quoad me vero, prefatum Jacobum Serra, procuratorem dicti Petri Ludovici de Borja, eius nomine in eadem villa de Alcala, die vero XI° eorundem mensis et anni.

Signum † Ferdinandi... Yo el Rey.

Signum † Jacobi Serra, procuratoris predicti emptoris...

Testes sunt qui premissis interfuerunt... Illustris dompnus Enriqus Enrriquez maiordomus maior...

Fidel Fita, Estud. Hist. T. VI, pp. 214 seq. from Archivio real de Valencia, libro V. Diversorum Valencie, fol. 26-32.

DOCUMENT 37 [1]

The kings of Spain confirm Giovanni de Borgia in his Neapolitan possessions.
Borrador de cédula de los Reyes Cathólicos concediendo al duque de Gandia, D. Juan de Borja, el ducado de Sesa, principado de Theano, condado de Celano, etc.

Nos Ferdinandus et Elisabeth, Dei gratia Rex et Regina, etc. Universis, etc. : Consueverunt grati principes in benemeritos uti gratiarum munificentia, nedum confirmationis munera exhibere, in eos presertim quos claris parentibus ortos esse [2] dignoscitur. Sic enim fides augescit et amor in principes confirmari solet : sic denique in alios beneficentie diffundunt exempla : cum igitur fuerit Nobis expositum pro parte viri Ill. Joannis de Borgia, Gandie et Suesse Ducis, principisque Theani et comitis Celeni, quemadmodum ex nonnullis regiis concessionibus, vos tenuistis et possedistis in regno nostro Siciliae citra farum cun^tes [3] et terras Suesse cum titulo et honore ducatus : Theani cum titulo et honore principatus, Celini cum titulo et honore comitatus : necnon et terras, Rocer montis sani turris francolini, donare, Marzain, Marranelli, Cayanelli [4] Prete et pretemolare [5] in provintia terre laboris ; item et terras Montis fusculi cum casalibus de manialibus [6], Frumari cum Dohana bufantu, Porcarini, vallate, castelli carisij et junsuli ac civitatem vici de provintia principatus ultra cum suis fortalitiis, casalibus, villis, hominibus, vaxallis, vaxalorumque redantibus [7], mero et mixto imperio ac gladii potestate, et cum cognitione primarum et secundarum causarum civilium et criminalium atque mixtarum, et cum jure foculariorum et salis ac aliis juribus. juridictionibus, actionibus et pernitentiis, ac cum integro statu earumdem p [8] vobis vestrisque heredibus et succ. [9] ex uno [10]

---

1. In the footnotes to this document we give, besides the remarks of Yriarte, the corrections which we venture to suggest.
2. Ces mots sont presque effacés : Yriarte.
3. Civitates.
4. Cayavelo.
5. Pietramelara.
6. Demanialibus, that is, the farms of those domains.
7. Redditibus
8. Pro.
9. Successoribus.
10. Vro, vestro.

corpore legitime descendentibus in perpetuum prout in dictis concessionibus latius et plenius ponitur continen [11] : Fueritque deinde Nobis nomine vestro humiliter suplicatum ut dictas civitates et terras ac omnia alia supradicta confirmare et qts [12] opus est et (de) novo concedere dignaremur. Et hur [13] ob aliquas justas causas q. [14] nobis legitime constant, non omnia confirmanda veniret [15] et nobis placet [16] maiorem partem predictarum terrarum et jurium focu labor [17] et salis in nostro demanio retiner [18] : Nihilominus volente por [19] vobiscum bene habere et in recompensam emendam retributionem et satisfactionem et solucionem quorumcumque servitorum [20] permissionis [21], obligationis, donationis et cessionis [22] que III [23] quon. [24] ..... [25] de Borgia genitòri vestro vel vobis quovis modo forsitan fererim [26] promiserimus... [27] dictas civitates et terras aliaque omnia supradicta confirmare et concedere et (de) novo ac imperrime [28] condonare et elargiri decrevimus et statuimus, prout harum tenore de certa nostra scientia deliberate et consulto liberalitateque [29] de mera et gratia speciali vobis eidem Joanni de Borgia vestrisque heredibus et succ. [30] ex vestro corpore legitime descendentibus in perpetuum dictas cun[tes] [31] et terras cum illarum castris, fortalitis, hort[s] [32], vassallis, vassalorumque redditibus, pheudis, pheudatariis et cum cognitione primarum et secundarum causarum atque mixtarum, mero et mixto imperio ac gladii potestate et cum jure foculariorum et salis, ac cum omnibus et singulis introitibus, redditibus, juribus, jurisdictionibus, actionibus et proprietatibus ad illas illarumque utile dominium spectantibus et pertinentibus quovis modo tam de jure quam de consuetudine confirmamus et concedimus de novo ac nuperrime donamus et elargimus cum omnibus eo modo et forma prout huc usque tenuistis et possedistis et

---

11. Dicitur contineri ?
12. Quatenus.
13. Illisible : Yriarte : licet.
14. Quae.
15. Venirent.
16. Placeret.
17. Focularíorum.
18. retinere.
19. Volentes nos.
20. Servitiorum.
21. Promissionis.
22. Concessionis.
23. Illustri.
24. Quondam.
25. En blanc : Yriarte.
26. Illisible : Yriarte: fecerimus.
27. Un mot effacé : Yriarte
28. In perpetuum.
29. Liberalitaterque.
30. Successoribus.
31. Civitates.
32. Hortis.

iuxta dictarum concessionum et privilegiorum formam seriem et tenorem : quas et que licet hic non exprimantur : haberi tamen volumus pro expressis et specifice declaratis ac si de verbo ad verbum presentibus forent inserta, volentes et declarantes expresso tenore presentuum [33] de eadem scientia nostra quatenus presens confirmationis et none [34] concessionis gratia sit vobis predicto Joanni de Borgia vestrisque heredibus et successoribus in perpetuum ex vestro corpore legitime descendentibus semper stabilis, realis, valida et firma : Nullumque in inditio [35] vel extra sentiat impugnationis obiectum, defectus incommodum aut nosse [36] alterius detrimentum, sed in suo semper robore et firmitate persistat et semper iterpret [37] in favorem utile et commodum eorumdem, investientesque supra [38] vos eumdem Joannem de Borgia vestrosque heredes et successores in perpetuum de predictis omnibus et singulis pertinentes...[39] privilegii expeditionem ut moris est, quam investituram vim robur et efficatiam obtinere volumus vere realis et effectualis personis [40] predictarum civitatum et terrarum, ac jurium et pertinentiarum earumdem : Itaque vos idem Joannes de Borgia successoresque vós. [41] p. [42] teneatis et habeatis predicta omnia et singula a Nobis et nostra Curia immediate et in capite in pheudum et pheudi naturam ; ac sub contingenti debito pheudali sustro radoha [43] (Sic : Yriarte.) Nullumque alium preter Nos et successores nostros in dicto regno nostro Sicilie citra faru [44] in superiorem et dominum recognoscatis. Busitys [45] insuper Capellaniarum et invitus patronatus [46] regalibus signa [47] sunt in dictis terris et cumb [48] earumque distritu [49] et collationibus eorum [50] ac presentio : nibus [51] necnon et fidelitate et pheudalique servitio et adolia aliisque juribus nostris et cujuslibet alterius semper salvis et penitus reservatis : Illme (The remainder of the document we would read as follows : Man-

33. Presentium.
34. Nove.
35. Iudicio.
36. Noxe.
37. Interpretetur.
38. Insupra
39. Pertinentiis, facientes.
40. Possessionis.
41. Vestri.
42. Prefati.
43. Sic : Yriarte — Servitio et adolia, or oblation of wine.
44. Farum.
45. Usitatis, rights by custom.
46. Iuris patronatus.
47. Si qua.
48. Civitatibus.
49. Districtu.
50. Earum.
51. Presentationibus.

dantes propterea Joanni principi nostro filio, Gundisalvo et aliis quibusvis quatenus, presentis nostri privilegii forma per eos et unumquemque ipsorum diligenter actenta, illam vobis vestrisque heredibus et successoribus ex vestro corpore legitime descendentibus in perpetuum fideliter et inviolabiter observari faciant atque manuteneri per quos deceat juxta ipsius seriem, continentiam et tenorem. In contrarium... In quorum, etc. Datum etc.)[52] propterea Joanne principe us q° Gundisalvo et aliisque et quantos presentes nú privilegii forma per eos et unumquemque ipsvum diligenter actens illam vobis vestrisque heredibus et successoribus ex vestro corpore legitime descendentibus in perpetuum feret inviolabiliter robsuari facant atque mañ ut p. quos decet iuxta ipsius seriem continentiam et tenorem : et contrarium in quorum, etc. Datum, etc., etc.... [53].

Bibliothèque de l'Académie d'histoire de Madrid ; Collection Salazar, A. 9. f° 49. ap. Yriarte, Les Borgia, T. II. p. 315.

DOCUMENT 38.

Announcement of Giovanni de Borgia's early, return to Spain.

Carta original dirigida por D. Juan Lopiz, obispo electo de Perusa all Il^mo Sr. D. Enrique Enriquez, padre de la Sra. Doña María Enriquez, mujer que fue de D. Juan primero y madre de Juan segundo, duque de Gandía 28 Marzo 1493.

Muy magnífico e illustríssimo Señor :... Perdóneme Vuestra Merced, si asin libremente y clara se lo escribo, que la tenerez que tengo al servicio y estado de su Beatitud, y la affeccion que á vuestra Señoria tengo, me lo fazen fazer. Resta, Señor, que pues su Santidad ha determinado la ida del Ilustre Señor Duque de Gandia, vuestro fijo (yerno.) trabaje vuestra Señoria sea recibido, tratado y beneficiado por sus Altesas (Los Reys Catolicos, que estaban con D. Enrique Enriquez en Barcelona.) como es la esperanza de quien lo manda y él merece. É ordene

52. We have no suggestion to make for the rectification of what follows.

53. Cette partie illisible et tachée : Yriarte.

y mande vuestra Señororia de mi como de cosa suya, cuya vida y estado Dios acreciente, como por aquella es deseado. De Roma á XXVIII de Marzo de MccccLXXXXIII, Señor, e faro cuanto vuestra Senoria mandare. — Joan Electo de Perusa, Datario.

El Sobre dice : Muy magnifico é Ilustrísimo Señor D. Enrique Enriquez, hermano mayor de la Marquesa (? — Thuasne wrongly guesses « de Lombay ».) y mio Señor.

Manuel Oliver, ap. Fita, Estud. Hist. T. VI. p. 124 ; and ap. Burchard, Diar. T. III. p. XII. Thuasne, in spite of the signature which he copies, attributes the letter to César Borgia.

DOCUMENT 39a

Giovanni de Borgia and his wife Maria Enriquez receive a private chapel and other favors.

Alexander etc. Dilecto filio nobili viro Johanni de Borgia Duci et dilecte in Christo filie nobili mulieri Marie Henriquez eius uxori Ducisse Gandie Valentin. dioc. Salutem etc. Sincere devotionis affectus et inconcusse fidei constantia quibus erga nos et Romanam ecclesiam fulgere noscimini permerentur ut votis vestris in hiis presertim que ad vestrarum et aliorum Christifidelium animarum salutem cedere valeant quantum cum deo possumus favorabiliter annuamus. Hinc est quod nos vestris devotis supplicationibus inclinati, ut liceat vobis et cuilibet vestrum habere Altare portatile cum debita reverentia et honore super quo in locis ad hoc congruentibus et honestis sine juris alieni preiudicio et cum qualitas negociorum pro tempore ingruentium id exigerit ante diem circa tamen diurnam lucem, proviso quod hoc vobis vel sacredoti taliter celebranti ad culpam imputari nequeat, et parce isto utamini indulto, quia cum in Altaris officio immolatur dominus deus noster Jesus Christus qui candor est lucis eterne, congruit hoc non noctis tenebris fieri sed in luce. Si ad loca quoque ecclesiastico interdicto etiam apostolica auctoritate supposita vos et quemlibet vestrum declinare contigerit, in illis clausis januis non pulsatis campanis et submissa voce excommunicatis et interdictis prorsus exclusis in vestra et cujuslibet vestrum ac familiarum vestrarum et alia-

rum quarumcumque utriusque sexus personarum quas quilibet vestrum introducere voluerit presentia, dummodo vos vel illi causam non dederitis interdicti nec id vobis vel illis contigerit specialiter interdici, possitis per proprium vel alium sacerdotem idoneum Missam et alia divina officia facere celebrari ipseque sacerdos quotiens expedierit ministrare valeat vobis et cuilibet vestrum ecclesiastica sacramenta jure tamen parochialis ecclesie et cujuslibet alterius in omnibus semper salvo, devotioni vestre tenore presentium de speciali gratia indulgemus. Nonobstantibus constitutionibus Clementis pp. V. predecessoris nostri et aliis constitutionibus et ordinationibus apostolicis ceterisque contrariis quibuscumque. Nulli ergo etc. nostri indulti infringere etc. Si quis etc. Datum Rome apud Sanctum petrum Anno etc. Mccccixxxx secundo Pridie Non. Octobr. Pont. Nri. Anno Primo.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Reg. 869 : Alex. VI. Secret. Ann. I. II. III. Lib. III. f° 14.

DOCUMENT 39[b]

Giovanni de Borgia, Duke of Gandia, named Captain General of the pontifical Army.

Alexander etc. Dilecto filio Nobili viro Johanni de Borgia Duci Gandie et Suesse Capitaneo omnium gentium armigerarum nostrarum et S. R. E. generali Salut. etc. Singularis animi magnitudo fides et in rebus agendis industria, ac in re militari strenuitas, cetereque virtutes quibus te insignitum esse percepimus spem nobis indubiam pollicentur quod ea que tibi committenda duxerimus prudenter fideliter sollicite strenue et maxima cum diligentia exequeris. Itaque volentes statui tuo et indempnitati ejusdem romane ecclesie salubriter providere, habita super hiis cum venerabilibus fratribus nostris ejusdem Ro. E. cardinalibus deliberatione matura, Te omnium gentium armigerarum nostrarum et ejusdem Ro. E. Capitaneum generalem pro Nobis et Ro. E. predicta usque ad nostrum et Sedis apostolice beneplacitum, cum offitio potestate jurisdictione facultate arbitrio atque honoribus oneribus et omnibus aliis consuetis, de fratrum predictorum consilio auctoritate apostolica tenore pre-

sentium facimus constituimus et deputamus, Tibi nihilominus omnia et singula que in hujusmodi capitaneatu et circa ea quomodolibet necessaria fuerint et oportuna et ad hujusmodi capitaneatus offitium de jure vel consuetudine aut alias pertinere noscuntur, et que alii dicte ecclesie capitanei generales qui pro tempore fuerunt facere potuerunt seu etiam debuerunt auctoritate prefata faciendi mandandi disponendi ordinandi et exequendi facultatem potestatem jurisdictionem et auctoritatem plenarie concedentes, mandantes omnibus et singulis quorum interest seu interesse poterit quomodolibet in futurum et presertim aliis gentium armigerarum nostrarum capitaneis conductoribus et ceteris militibus tam equestribus quam pedestribus ubicunque ad nostra et dicte ecclesie stipendia militantibus quatenus te in gentium armigerarum nostrarum et ejusdem S. R. E. omnium Capitaneum generalem habeant, tibique pro nostra et Sedis predicte reverentia efficaciter in cunctis pareant, obediant et intendant. Nos enim penas quas statueris in rebelles faciemus auctore domino usque ad satisfactionem condignam inviolabiliter observari. Tu autem devotissimus et fidelissimus noster et ejusdem Ro. E. Capitaneus generalis existens, sic prudenter fideliter et diligenter in hujusmodi capitaneatus officio te studeas exhibere quo exinde succedant optati fructus quos speramus, tuque apud nos et Sedem eamdem valeas non immerito commendari. Volumus autem quod antequam officium ipsum incipias exercere, de eo fideliter exercendo et alias debite fidelitatis in manibus nostris prestare tenearis juramentum. Datum Rome etc. Millesimo quadringentesimo nonagesimo...

Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Alex. VI Secret. Ann. I ad X. Lib. VII. Regest. 873. f° 463.

DOCUMENT 39e.

Pope Alexander VI. donates forty thousand ducats to Giovanni de Borgia, duke of Gandia.

Alexander etc. Dilecto filio nobili viro Johanni de Borgia Duci Gandie et Suesse Capitaneo omnium gentium armigerarum nostrarum et S. R. E. generali salut. etc. Dum eximie fidelitatis et devotionis affectum ceterasque tibi a Dno traditas virtutes et grata et magna obsequia que nuper nobis et Romane

ecclesie in prosecutione belli adversus quondam Virginium dum in humanis agebat, et nonnullos alios de familia de Ursinis tunc nostros et ejusdem Ro. E. rebelles inchoati cum magnis personne tue laboribus et periculis imendisti et continue sollicitis studiis impendere non desistis, diligenter attendimus, merito obligamur et inducimur ad ea tibi concedenda que tuis commoditatibus fore conspicimus oportuna, et per que tue indemnitati consulatur, ut tu ad ejusdem ecclesie commoda indies promptior efficiaris et alii tuo exemplo ducti ad similia promptius excitentur ac nostra et apostolice Sedis erga benemeritos liberalitas omnibus plenius innotescat. Sane cum nobis nuper ad comprimendum inobedientiam et rebellionem Virginii et aliorum de familia de Ursinis hujusmodi pro servanda dignitate et auctoritate hujus sancte sedis adversus eos antea sepenumero paterna caritate premonitos necesse fuisset ad arma devenire nostrumque exercitum cui te capitaneum nostrum et ejusdem Ro. Ecclesie generalem prefecimus ad hoc destinare, tandem postquam magnam dominii ipsorum de Ursinis partem maximis cum laboribus et vite tue periculis pro nobis et eadem Ro. E. conquisiveras, more pii patris, cum illis vices gerimus in terris cujus proprium est misereri semper et parcere, ipsos de Ursinis prefato Virginio jam vita functo ad cor redeuntes in gratiam, plurimorum etiam magne auctoritatis precibus et supplicationibus intervenientibus, recepimus eisque veniam dedimus qui seu eorum nomine agentes pro aliqua restauratione seu recompensatione expensarum per nos in hujusmodi belli prosecutione factarum septuaginta milia ducatorum auri de camera in certis tunc expressis terminis realiter solvere promiserunt, prout in capitulis hodie desuper confectis, quorum tenores ac si de verbo ad verbum presentibus insererentur haberi volumus pro sufficienter expressis, plenius continetur. Nos igitur attendentes quot et quam gravia pericula die noctuque in hujusmodi bello ac expugnatione terrarum et locorum ipsorum de Ursinis perferre te oportuerit et quam fideliter ac strenue te gesseris, quotque etiam et quam graves impensas de propriis pecuniis tuis cum nos omnibus de propriis nostris et ejusdem Ro. Ecclesie facultatibus supplere nequiverimus subieris, Et propterea volentes etiam tuis magnis exigentibus meritis erga te nostre liberalitatis dexteram in aliqualem satisfactionis partem extendere et indemnitati tue consulere Motu proprio non ad tuam

vel alterius pro te nobis super hoc oblate petitionis instantiam, sed de nostra mera liberalitate et deliberatione matura ac ex certa scientia et de apostolice potestatis plenitudine, summam quadraginta millium ducatorum similium de tota summa predicta tibi ac dilecto filio Johanni nato tuo aliisque heredibus et successoribus tuis realiter et cum effectu juxta tenorem et formam capitulorum predictorum persolvendam et per te percipiendam auctoritate apostolica tenore presentium liberaliter et generose imperpetuum donamus et elargimur. Itaque liceat tibi ei Johanni aliisque heredibus et successoribus prefatis per vos vel alium seu alios dictam summam quadraginta millium ducatorum propria auctoritate libere percipere ac in judicio et extra petere exigere et vendicare illosque perpetuo retinere ac in tuos necnon Johannis aliorumque tuorum heredum et successorum predictorum usus et utilitatem convertere, deque illis prout de propriis disponere et ordinare, cujusvis licentia super hoc minime requisita. Decernentes te ac Johannem heredesque tuos et successores prefatos ad restitutionem dictarum pecuniarum ac ad reddendum ullam de illis rationem per Ro. pontifices successores nostros canonice intrantes ac Cameram apostolicam necnon dictos de Ursinis seu quosvis alios nullo unquam tempore nullave ratione quomodolibet sogi et compelli posse nec te ac heredes et successores prefatos ad premissa quovis modo teneri, et presentes literas ad plene probandum omnia et singula premissa ubique sufficere nec ad id probationis alterius adminiculum requiri, sicque per quoscumque judices et commissarios etiam ejusdem S. R. E. cardinales ac causarum palatii apostolici auditores in quacumque instantia, sublata eis et cuilibet eorum quavis alia interpretandi facultate sententiari definiri et judicare debere, Irritumque et inane si secus super his a quoquam quavis auctoritate scienter vel ignoranter contigerit attemptari. Non obstantibus... Nulli ergo etc. nostre donationis elargitionis et constitutionis infringere... Si quis autem etc. Datum Rome etc. Millesimo quadringentesimo nonagesimo sexto (97) Octavo Idus februarii Pont. nri. Anno quinto.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Alex. VI. Secretar. An. I ad X. Lib. VII. Regest. 873. f° 464.

DOCUMENT 40.

Alexander VI grants indulgences to promote piety towards the Blessed Virgin, at the request of Giovanni de Borgia, duke of Gandia and of his wife.

Alexander etc. Dudum siquidem cupientes ut capella beate Marie de la Salut in parrochiali ecclesia S^ti^ Laurentii Valentin. congruis frequentaretur honoribus, christique fideles eo libentius devotionis causa ad eandem Capellam confluerent quo ex hoc ibidem dono celestis gratie uberius conspicerent se refectos, devotis dilecti filii Nobilis viri Johannis de Borgia Ducis Gandie, cujus domus in Parrochia dicte ecclesie est constituta, nobis super hoc humiliter supplicantis in ea parte supplicationibus inclinati de Omnipotentis dei misericordia ac beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum ejus auctoritate confisi omnibus et singulis utriusque sexus Xri. fidelibus vere penitentibus et confessis, qui capellam predictam in Annuntiationis ac Conceptionis et Visitationis ejusdem beate Marie, a primis vesperis usque ad occasum solis singularum festivitatum diebus Viginti quinque annos et totidem quadragenas de injunctis eis penitentiis misericorditer in domino relaxamus prout in nostris inde confectis literis plenius continetur. Nos igitur cupientes eorumdem Christifidelium animas peramplius lucrifacere creatori ac capellam ipsam amplioribus gratiis et indulgentiis prosequi, prefati Ducis et dilecte in Xro. filie Nobilis mulieris Marie Ducisse Gandie ejus consortis Nobis super hoc humiliter supplicantium in hac parte supplicationibus inclinati literas et relaxationem predictas cum omnibus et singulis in eis contentis clausulis ad Dominicam primam infra octavam ejusdem assumptionis Beate Marie Virginis, in qua festum dicte capelle celebratur, ac ad ipsos Christifideles dictam capellam in dominica hujusmodi a primis vesperis usque ad occasum solis dicte dominice inclusive visitantes auctoritate apostolica tenore presentium extendimus pariter et ampliamus. Non obstantibus... Nulli ergo... Si quis... Datum Rome apud S^m^ Petrum Anno etc. Millesimo quadringentesimo nonagesimo septimo. Kls. Junii. Pont. Nri anno quinto.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic. : Alex. VI. Secret. An. I ad X. Lib. VII. Reg. 873. f° 472vo.

DOCUMENT 41.

Pope Sixtus IV grants to Master Cesar de Borgia the archdeanery of Xativa, a dignity in the cathedral of Valencia.

Sixtus etc. Dilecto filio Magistro Cesari de Borgia Canonico Valentin. Notario nostro Salt. etc. Laudabilia tue puerilis etatis indicia ex quibus sicut se habet fidedignorum assertio verisimiliter deprehenditur quod in virum te producere debeas virtuosum, nos inducunt ut tibi reddamur ad gratiam liberales. Dudum siquidem fe.re. Bonifacius pp. VIII. — had reserved certain benefices — Et deinde archidiaconatu de Xativa in ecclesia Valentin... apud sedem ipsam vacante, pie mre. Paulus PP. II. illum sic vacantem Ven^li^ fratri nostro Roderico Ep^o^ Portuen. tunc Scti. Nicolai in carcere tulliano diacono cardinali Sce. Ro. ecclie. Vicecancellario qui etiam prefate ecclie. ex concessione et dispensatione apostolica preerat prout preest, per eum quoad viveret tenendum regendum et gubernandum per quasdam suas literas Motu proprio commendavit. Cum autem prefatus Rodericus Ep^us^ certis causis animum suum moventibus commende hujusmodi hodie in manibus nostris sponte et libere cesserit, nosque cessionem ipsam duxerimus admittendam, et propterea cessante commenda hujusmodi, ipse archidiaconatus adhuc ut prefertur vacare noscatur nullusque de illo preter Romanum Pontificem hac vice disponere potuit sive possit, reservatione et decreto obsistentibus supradictis, Nos volentes tibi qui ut accepimus in Vij^o^ tue etatis anno constitutus existis, et cum quo dudum tunc ut accepimus in sexto dicte etatis anno constituto ut quamprimum dictum septimum etatis tue annum attingeres unam dignitatem ecclesiasticam etiam si in cathedrali ecclesia foret si tibi alias canonice conferretur, recipere, et si sine cura in titulum, si vero cum cura foret, in commendam, usque quo sextum decimum dicte etatis annum attingeres, et deinde in titulum retinere valeres inter alia per alias nostras literas pari modo dispensavimus, cuique nuper de canonicatu et prebende dicte ecclesie tunc certo modo vacantibus duximus providendum, in dicta ecclesia peramplius honorare, et ut te decentius sustentare valeas de alicujus subventionis auxilio

providere premissorumque indiciorum intuitu gratiam facere specialem, motu simili non ad tuam vel alterius pro te nobis super hoc oblate petitionis instantiam sed de nostra mera liberalitate Archidiaconatum predictum qui in dicta ecclesia dignitas non tamen major post pontificalem existit et ad quam non consuevit quis per electionem assumi cuique cura non imminet animarum et cujus fructus redditus et proventus Mille librarum turon. parvorum secundum communem existimationem valorem annuum, ut accepimus non excedunt... tibi qui ut etiam accepimus dilecti filii nostri Ludovici tt. Sanctorum Quatuor Coronatorum prbri. cardinalis nepos existis per te usquequo sextum decimum etatis tue annum attigeris in commendam... conferimus... Non obstantibus etc. Nulli ergo etc. Si quis etc. Datum Rome apud sanctum petrum anno etc. 1482, sextodecimo Kl. Septembris pont nri. anno undecimo.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Sixti IV. Bull. Lib. LXXI. Regest. 621. f° 91v°

DOCUMENT 42a.

Cesar de Borgia is transferred from the diocese of Pamplona to that of Valencia.

Die et consistorio predictis (Die Veneris ultima Augusti, 1492) idem S. D. nr. motu simili (proprio) absolvit Rm patrem Dnum. Cesarem de Borgia electum. Pampilonen. a vinculo et prefectione quibus eidem Pampilonen. eccᵉ tenebatur, eumque ad Valentin. eccᵃᵐ transtulit et promovit vacan. per electionem Stⁱˢ Sue ad apicem Summi Apostolatus assumpti. Et deinde prefatus D. Nr. commendavit Rᵐᵒ Dno Carˡⁱ Sancte Anastasie supradictam Pampilonen. eccᵃᵐ modo premisso vacan. etc.

Archiv. S. Consistorii (in Cancellaria) : Provisionum Innocentii VIII et Alexandri VI. ab 1489 (original). f° 25v°.

DOCUMENT 42b

Same object as in 42a.

Alexander etc. Dilecto filio Cesari Electo Valent. Sal.... Sane ecclesia Valentin. cui tempore assumptionis nostre ad apicem

summi apostolatus ex concessione et dispensatione apostolica preeramus, per assumptionem hujusmodi pastoris regimine destituta, Nos ad provisionem ipsius ecclesie celerem et felicem ne longe vacationis exponatur incommodis paternis et sollicitis studiis intendentes, post deliberationem quam de prefi-ciendo eidem ecclesie personam utilem et etiam fructuosam cum fratribus nostris habuimus diligentem Demum ad te tunc electum Pampilonem. quem tunc in decimo septimo vel circa tue etatis anno constitutum fe. re. Innocentius pp. VIII. prede-cessor nr. Ecclesie Pampilonen. ordinis S. Augustini tunc certo modo vacantis administratorem in spiritualibus et temporalibus usque ad certum tempus tunc expressum de fratrum suorum de quorum numero tunc eramus consilio fecit constituit et depu-tavit ac quamprimum dictum vicesimum septimum annum at-tigisses ex tunc eidem ecclesie Pampilonen. de persona tua providere teque illi preficere in Epum. et pastorem, quique curam et administrationem dicte ecclesie Pampilonen. hactenus laudabiliter exercuisti et ad presens in decimo octavo vel circa tue aetatis anno constitutus existis eandem ecclesiam Valentin. scies et poteris auctore domino salubriter regere et feliciter gu-bernare direximus oculos nostre mentis. Intendentes igitur tam eidem ecclesie Valentin. quam ejus gregi dominico salubriter providere, te apud sedem apostolicam constitutum a vinculo quo eidem ecclesie Pampilonensi ut prefertur tenebaris de fra-trum eorumdem consilio et apostolice potestatis plenitudine absolutum te de fratrum eorumdem consilio administratorem in eisdem spiritualibus et temporalibus dicte ecclesie Valentin. donec dictum vicesimum septimum annum attigeris facimus constituimus et deputamus. Itaque liceat tibi interim de fruc-tibus redditibus et proventibus mense archiepiscopalis Valen-tin., illius debitis et consuetis supportatis oneribus, disponere et ordinare sicut qui eccl. Valentin. predicte hactenus prefue-runt. Alienatione tamen quorumcumque bonorum immobilium et preciosorum mobilium dicte mense tibi penitus interdicta. ac ex nunc prout ex tunc et ex tunc prout ex nunc quam primum dictum vicesimum septimum annum attigeris ad dictam eccle-siam Valentin. auctoritate predicta de simili consilio transferi-mus teque illi preficimus in archiepiscopum et pastorem curam et administrationem ipsius ecclesie Valentin. tibi in eisdem spiritualibus et temporalibus plenarie committendo liberamque

tibi tribuendo licentiam ad dictam Valentin. ecclesiam transferendi, firma spe fiduciaque conceptis quod dextera domini tibi assistente propitia prefata Valentin ecclesia sub tui cura regiminis feliciter et prospere dirigetur ac grata in eisdem spiritualibus et temporalibus suscipiet incrementa. Quocirca discretioni... quatenus ad prefatam ecclesiam Valentin. cum gratia nostre benedictionis accedens curam et administrationem ecclesie Valentin. hujusmodi sic sollicite geras et fideliter prosequaris quod exinde sperati fructus adveniant dictaque ecclesia Valentin. gubernatori provido et fructuoso administratori gaudeat se commissam ac bone fame tue odor ex tuis laudabilibus actibus diffundatur, tuque preter eterne retributionis premium nostram et dicte sedis benedictionem et gratiam exinde consequi merearis. Datum Rome apud sanctum petrum anno etc. Mccccclxxxxij pridie Kl. Septembr. pont. nri. anno primo.

P. Tuba.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Cod. 772 : Alex. VI. Bull. an. I. Tom. I. f° 153.

DOCUMENT 43.

Pope Alexander VI grants to cardinal Cesar de Borgia the benefices resigned by Jofre, the latter's brother.

Alexander etc. Dilecto filio Cesari Sce. Marie nove Diacono Card^li^ Salut. etc... Cum itaque archidiaconatus Valentin. et Prepositura mensis Martii eadem ac sacristia et Prepositura Maioricen. Ecclesiarum necnon de Juca et que de jure Patronatus Dilecti Nobilis viri Johannis de Borgia Ducis Gandie existit de Gandia parochiales ecclesie Maioricen. et Valentin. Dioc. quos dilectus filius Magr. Jaufridus etiam de Borgia clicus. Romanus notarius nr. in Duodecimo sue etatis anno consitutis nuper in commendam obtinebat, comenda ipsa ex eo quod dictus Jaufridus illi hodie in manibus nostris sponte et libere cessit, nosque cessionem ipsam duximus admittendam cessante... Nos tibi... archidiaconatum... cujus sexcentum, et sacristiam (et prepositurarn) Maioricen. quarum insimul Tricentarum ; necnon cujus etiam Sexcentarum Valentin. Ecclesiarum Preposituras ; ac de Gandia cujus quadringentarum ; necnon de

juca cujus ducentarum librarum turon. par. fructus... non excedunt parochiales ecclesias,...tibi etiamsi vicesimum quintum tue etatis annum nondum attigeris, per te in quocumque dicte etatis anno, quem pro expresso haberi volumus constitutus suis quoad vixeris etiam una cum Sancte Marie Nove de Urbe que denominatio tui cardinalatus existit ac dicta Valentin. et Castren. quibus et administrator... preesse dignosceris aliisque... tenendos regendos et gubernandos... comendamus... Datum Rome etc. 1494, 5. Id. Apr. A° 2°.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Alex. VI. Bull. Ann. I. II. III. Tom. XIII. Regest. 784. f° 137v°

DOCUMENT 44a.

Cardinal Juan Lopiz recommends Cardinal Cesar de Borgia to the good will of Archbishop Berthold of Mainz.

Revern. in Dno. pr. uti fr. nr. precipue. Rmus dns. Carlis Valentinus, qui ubi residet a curis rerum spiritualium, interdum venationibus animum laxat, excitatus ad id etate sua, est enim juvenis, tum benignitate agri Romani, in quo latissimis campis fere passim errant ; cupit habere canes ex ista patria in qua intellexit esse optimos, ut dum in venationem venit, sagacitate illorum, preda onustis equis domum revertatur. Et propterea misit ad D. V. R. Henricum, hominem suum, harum exhibitorem, ut ab ea quam scit pari venationis studio delectari, dono aut opera consequatur. Rogamus R. D. V. velit applicare animum ad hujusmodi D. Sue Rme desiderium, ut hunc remittere sagacis canibus impeditum huc perducendis. Faciet R. D. V. rem gratam gratissimo dno. et nobis perjucundam qui D. Sue Rme optamus commoda et libentes ac studiose procuramus. Et sit felix D. V. R. Rome die XXVI. Maii MccccIxxxxVIIj. Rme P. V. uti fr. amanus Jo. Carlis Perusinus (On the reverse) Reveren. in Xro. pri. dno. B. archiepo. Maguntin. dignissmo uti fri. nro. precipuo. Jo. tti Sancte Marie in Transtyberim pbr. Carlis Perusin.

Original paper with wafer seal. Vienna, K. K. Archiv. Cod. K. K. f° 105.

DOCUMENT 44b.

Cardinal Cesar de Borgia requests some hunting dogs from the Archbishop of Mainz.

Revern. in Xr. pr. ac Dne. tanquam fr. cariss. Cum plurimum ac sepe germanicos canes in venatione laudari audierimus, magnum nos cepit desiderium aliquos eorum habendi. Quare ad eos conquirendos romamque ducendos, nulla alia de causa, henricum familiarem nostrum in germaniam mittimus. Et quum in provincia V. R. ptis copiam bonorum etiam intelleximus et prestantiores ad eam semper mitti que ut preclaris ceteris virtutibus sic honesto venandi studio delectetur, humanitate atque benignitate eiusdem freti, fiducia uti libera apud ipsam non dubitamus. Illam igitur etiam atque etiam oramus et obsecramus ut huic desiderio nostro gratificari velit et dare operam ut hic nuntius nr. aliquos venaticos canes, eius venationis quam ipse dixerit, consequi possit et ad nos ducere, in quibus non tantum numerus quantum prestantia attendatur. In magna hoc gratia magnoque beneficio reputabimus : quod quibuscumque rebus, quas ad dignitatem utilitatemque V. R. ptis spectare sciemus omni ope promoveri conabimur, que diu ac felix valeat. Rome die XXVIIj Maii McccclxxxxVIIj.

Manu propria R. P. V. taq. fr. c. Carlis Valent.

Original paper with wafer seal representing the bands and the ox with the cardinalitial insignia. Vienna, K. K. Archiv. Cod. K. K. fo 104 b.

DOCUMENT 44c

The archbishop of Mainz sends hunting dogs for Cardinal Cesar de Borgia.

Rme in Xro. Pater dne. et amice charissime. Salutem et ad obsequia studium et affectum. Literas Rme Ptis Ve vigesima octava die Maii ad nos datas iam primum sedecima die Septembris accepimus intelleximusque ex hijsdem eamdem Rmam P. Vam desiderio canum venaticorum teneri : quos in nra. provintia copiosiores esse intelligat. Cupivimus itaque tali desiderio vro. habunde gratificari : si nobis major temporis et loci commodi-

ras relicta fuisset. Jam enim ferme per annum ex provincia nra. abfuimus Imperialem dietam friburgi celebrantes. Preterea nuncii festinus recessus in nro. absolvendo proposito quo V^e R^me P^ti summis nixibus imprimis morem gerere cupivimus haud modico impedimento fuit. Laboravimus tamen pro virili nra. in illo breviusculi temporis spatio pro conquirendis canibus melioribus sagacibus : quos R^me P^ti V^e mittimus rogantes ut eo animo quo R^mam P. V^am et amamus et diligenter observamus acceptare sibique indubitato persuasum habere velit nos quidquid ad ipsius desiderium fovendum commodumque exaugendum conducturum iudicaverimus in eo nunquam defuturos. Eidem R^me P^ti V^e nos plurimum commendamus ipsam benevalere exoptantes per tempora longeva. Ex friburgo Decima Septima die Septembris anno Dni., etc. IxxxxVIIj.

Bertholdus dei gra. archiepus Moguntinen. etc. Princeps elector.

Vienna. K. K. Archiv. Cod. K. K. f° 104^a. Ibid : Ad Carlem Perusinum etc. : a letter of similar contents and almost the same words, mutatis mutandis, from the same and from the same city.

DOCUMENT 45.

Lucretia de Borgia is, by way of precaution, authorized to marry.

Alexander etc. Derivata in nos e Beato Petro Apostolo, celestis Regni clavigero et Domini Nostri Jesu Christi in terris Vicario, ligandi atque solvendi potestas nos inducit ut, juris temperato rigore, clavium potestate utamur prout ad scandala semovenda et pacem concordiamque servandam inter cunctos Christi fideles nostre cure commissos conspicimus in Domino salubriter expedire. Sane postquam dilecta in Christo filia nobilis mulier Lucretia de Borgia, Domicella Romana [1] olim per certos procuratores suos, ad id ab ea specialiter constitutos, cum dilecto Filio Nobili Viro Gaspare de Proscida Comite Almenare dilecti filii etiam Nobilis Viri Johannis Francisci Comitis Averse nato matrimonium legitime contraxerat ; ipsi-

1. Whence we see that she was again residing in Rome at the time.

que Gaspar et Lucretia qui nunquam illud carnali copula consumaverant, in dicto matrimonio ulterius progredi nollent, et quantum in eis fuit mutuo consensu se invicem a vinculo dicti matrimonii liberassent, prefata Lucretia nulla dicti matrimonii ad nova Sponsalia contrahendum novasque nuptias celebrandas... facta dissolutione nec aliqua dispensatione desuper obtenta sua quadam facilitate sive alias per errorem inducta cum dilecto Filio Nobili Viro Johanne... et pro romana Ecclesia in civitate nostra Pisauriensi in temporalibus Vicario matrimonium de facto contraxit et cum ad ejus... permansisset, nullumque adhuc nuptiale ministerium intervenisset prout etiam dictus Johannes per certum procuratorem suum ad id ab eo specialiter... re confessus fuit prefata Lucretia per definitivam sententiam per dilectos filios nostros Antoniotum Sancte Praxedis et Johannem Antonium Sanctorum Nerei et Achillei Cardinales, judices et Commissarios a nobis deputatos rite latam obtinuit pretensum matrimonium inter predictos Johannem et Lucretiam contractum cum omnibus inde secutis esse nullum, ac nullas penitus vires obtinere, dictosque Johannem et Lucretiam nulliter et de facto sub pretextu matrimonii conjunctos ab invicem separandos et separari ac a mutua cohabitatione servitiis et obsequiis matrimonialibus absolvendos esse et absolvi debere declarari, ipsosque separarunt ; que quidem sententia nulla provocatione suspensa in rem transivit iudicatam, ipsique Johannes et Lucretia veritatis conscii etiam illi acquieverunt. Nosque deinde de illis plenius informati sententiam predictam motu proprio et ex certa scientia approbavimus et confirmavimus, ac plenum firmitatis robur perpetuo obtinere decrevimus prout in nostris inde confectis litteris plenius continetur. Cum autem sicut exhibita nobis nuper pro parte dilecte Lucretie petitio continebat dictus Gaspar iam dudum etiam matrimonium cum alia muliere contraxerit illudque carnali copula consumaverit, ac exinde prolem procreaverit ipsaque Lucretia cupiat effici mater liberorum et ad scandala que exoriri possent evitanda matrimonium primum huiusmodi nunquam carnali copula inter eos consumatum dissolvi pro parte Lucretie, nobis fuit humiliter supplicatum ut primum matrimonium predictum dissolvere aliasque in premissis opportune providere de benignitate apostolica dignaremur. Nos igitur qui inter cunctos Christi fideles pacis amenitatem vigere et augeri nostris potissime temporibus sup-

premis desideramus affectibus ac scandalis et dissensionibus ne eveniant quantum cum Deo possumus libenter obviamus, prefatam Lucretiam a quibuscumque excommunicationis suspensionis et interdicti aliisque ecclesiasticis sententiis, censuris et penis a iure vel ab homine quavis occasione vel causa latis si quibus quomodolibet innodata existit ad effectum presentium dumtaxat consequendum, harum serie absolventes et absolutam fore censentes, nec non quodcumque juramentum per dictam Lucretiam seu ejus procuratores prefatos de huiusmodi primo matrimonio sicut prefertur contracto et non consumato observando seu consumando forsitan prestitum sibi relaxantes et quatenus propter secundum pretensum matrimonium sic contractum perjurii reatum incurrisset illam a reatu perjurii hujusmodi etiam absolventes, ac in pristinum et eum in quo antequam illud committeret quomodolibet existebat statum restituentes reponentes et plenarie reintegrantes omnemque inhabilitatis et infamie maculam sive notam per eam premissorum occasione contractam penitus absolventes ; ex premissis et certis aliis nobis expositis et etiam notis causis huiusmodi supplicationibus inclinati matrimonium predictum inter eosdem Gasparem et Lucretiam sic contractum et nondum consumatum auctoritate apostolica et ex nostra scientia ac de apostolice potestatis plenitudine tenore presentium omnino dissolvimus [2], eos ab omni vinculo matrimonii penitus absolventes ac dicte Lucretie cum quocumque alio viro matrimonium libere et licite contrahendi, et in eo postquam contractum fuerit remanendi licentiam concedentes. Non obstantibus premissis ac constitutionibus et ordinationibus apostolicis ceterisque contrariis quibuscumque. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostre absolutionis restitutionis repositionis reintegrationis abolitionis dissolutionis et concessionis infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attemptare presumpserit indignationem omnipotentis Dei ac Beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum ejus se noverit incursurum. Datum Rome apud Sanctum Petrum Anno Incarnationis Dominice Millesimo quadringentesimo nonagesimo octavo quarto Idus Junii [3], Pontificatus Nostri anno Sexto.

L. Podocatharus.

---

2. That is, we confirm the mutual agreement of dissolution of their espousal.

3. June the 10th.

Original in the Archives of State, Modena, ap. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. II. S. 52, seq.

DOCUMENT 46.

Negotiations of Pope Alexander VI with Louis XII, king of France.

La S^te^ de nre sainct pere desirant monstrer tousiours et en toutes choses leffection et cordialle benevolance que elle porte au Roy et pour venir a la conclusion des affaires qui apnt. sont demenez entre eulx mis apart toute dilacion et dissimulation touchant les troys articles desqueulx on a parle est sadite S^te^ resollue en ce qui sensuyt..

Touchant les seigneuries terres tiltres et offices que ses nepveuz et parens tiennent et possident depuiz les trois derreniers Roys enca au Royaulme de naples cestassavoir en la porcion dudit Royaulme qui demourra a sa mageste qui sensuyt.

P^o^ Don Jehan Bourgia duc de Candia tient et possede au Royaulme en terre de labour la duche de Sesse le principat de theane avec la conte de carniolla la baronnye de finmary et monte fosco et autres terres avecques le sol et fouages qui monte de revenu XIIII^m^ ducs. dor et tient encores l'office de conestable et pource que ledit office de grant conestable est dudit de candye lequel est de aage de sept ans et est absent et inhabille a exercer ledit office su S^te^ est contante sil plaist au Roy que ledit office soit baille au duc de Vallentinoys ou si cecy ne lui plaíst quil soit baille audit duc de Vallence ung des autres des sept grans offices dudit Royaulme.

Don geouffroy bourgia prince desquillasse tient et possede en la brusse et terres de labour la conte de ollivet qui vault par an II^m^ V^c^ ducs. de chambre et est locoteste cest adire prothonotaire du Royaulme et ya neuf ans quil a tousiours tenu et tient et exerce ledit office.

Dona lucresse bourgia duchesse de visellj et son filz don Rodorico possedent au Royaulme la principaulte de Salerne et Sainct Severin avecques Rente de II^m^ ducs. dor.

Le Roy si son plaisir est luy conservera et maintiendra esdits P^potes^ terres et offices et luy baillera privilleiges necessaires

en ample et suffisante forme et prendra lesdits avec serviteurs subgectz et vassaulx leurs personnes et biens en quelque lieu quilz soient en protection et soubz son ...et auctorite Royalle les preservera ainsi quil semble que meritent leur foy et affection et les œuvres de sa Sainctete.

Et est contant sadicte Sainctete que des dessusdicts IIm ducs. que la duchesse de biselle a de rente au principat de Salerne et de Sainct Severin que le Roy luy baille recompense en quelque autre chose quil pourra faire aysement sans son prendre des biens des rebelles.

Item touchant les XVIm ducs. dor de rente que demande sa Ste pour le duc de Vallentynois dit que combien que moyennant la promesse des Im ducs. de la premiere capitulacion au principat de Tarente et que les services dudict duc et les oeuvres de sa Ste mesritent ayant de pnt. envoye ledict duc a ceste entreprinse avecques le prince de Squillasse son frere avecques VIc hommes darmes au Royaulme il deust esperer plus grant chose que ceste cy du Roy. Neantemoins attendu quil scait que le Roy est resolu a XVIm ducs. de rente sa Ste demeure contant a tout ce quil plaist au Roy. Touteffois pour conclurre et mettre a fin ceste matiere prie ledict Sgr que son plaisir soit en la porcion dudict Royaulme qui vient a luy consigner et bailler reallement audict duc ladicte rente de XVIm ducs. avecques tiltre et estat convenant et confermer les seigneuries de sesdicts nepveuz.

Et affin que le Roy mieulx congnoisse que Sa Ste va sincerement et liberallement envers ledict Sgr ce faisant des maintenant est contante Sa Sainctete donner et remectre liberallement et absolument tout le cens que ledict Sgr est tenu payer pour so porcion dudict Royaulme qui est XXIIIIm ducs. lannee. Et aussi toute la somme de deniers que ledict Sgr est oblige payer pour sa porcion de linvestiture dudict Royaulme qui est LXXVm ducs. et de ce que Sa Sainctete en fera bulle autentique du conseil et consentemt de Messgrs les cardinaulx et oultre ce veult Sa Ste donner et remectre tout ce que le Roy frederic est oblige payer a Sa Sainctete pour une obligacion quil luy fist de linvestiture du Royaulme que est de environ Cm ducs. au payement desquieulx ledict don frederic se obligea luy ses biens et ses successeurs au Royaulme.

Et sil plaist au Roy ce faire et conclure en ceste facon pourra accepter et conclurre de soy mesmes et faire les privilleiges en forme oportune ou envoyer procuracion et faculte a ses ambassadeurs estant pardeca de pouvoir conclurre. Item en ce faisant Sa Sainctete baillera les bulles de investiture et remission dudict cens liberallement a ses ambassadeurs sans les mectre es mains du cardinal de Sainct Severin oinsi que cy avant conclus premierement.

Et ne faict point de doubte sa Sainctete que les Catholicques Roy et Royne de hespaine ne facent le semble, pour le bien dudict duc de Vallentinoys et pour les seigneuries terres et lieux que sesdicts nepveux et parens ont en la porcion desdicts Roy et Royne despaigne au Royaulme.

Ilz feront aussi le semble. Et sur ce avecques eulx sa sainctete sera bien daccord. Les noms desquelles terres et sries. sensuyvent.

Don Geoffroy de bourgia prince desquillasse tient et possede en calabre la principaulte desquillace la conte de cariati et la terre de castro villain et ses seigneuries avecques le sel et les servages vall. XII^{m} ducs. dor de chambre par an soubz laquelle seigneurie sa feme. madame Sanctia darragon est assignee de son doaire et mariage.

Ma dame lucresse de bourgia duchesse de bisselli et son filz don Rodoric tiennent audict Royaulme a la part dudict Roy despaigne ladicte duche de bisselii la terre de courate en poulle et terre de bar qui vault V^{m} ducs. dor par an et tout ensemble avecques le sel et les servages vault XVII^{m} ducs. dor dedans laquelle duche et terre de courate ladicte duchesse tient pour son douaire XIIII^{m} ducs. dor de rente.

Touchant les Colonnoys et Sabelles dit Sa Sainctete que a ceste heure ne fault autrement en parler ny disputer pource que lesdicts sont vassaulx et subgects de leglise et desja les Seigneuries et lieux quilz tenoyent sont reduitz es mains de Sa Sainctete moyennant le travail argent et gendarmes quil a employez en cest affaire devant que larmee du Roy vint Affin quilz ne baillassent point dempeschement a larmee du Roy en passant pour aller a l'entreprinse de naples combien que Sa Sainctete est esmarveillee de monte fortin et de ce que Monsgr daubigny a fait. Ce neantemoins espere Sa Sainctete que le Roy aura escript et ordonne quil luy soit restitue et rendu et

que ledict Sgr daubigny ne aura point lesdicts colonnoys ni sabelles ayns les persecutera come. rebelles dudict Sgr et ne les recoinira ne permectra habiter en nulz de ses lieux ainsi quil est contenu es articles de ligue et confederacion et aussi ledict sgr. ny vueille ouyr ny se entremectre des affaires des Ursains et contesques ou autres vicaires feodataires et subgects de leglise... audict Sgr a uns les renvoyra trestons a Sa Sainctete pour leur donner a entendre et faire cognoistre que sa voulente ferme est quilz soyent subgects et que ne leur donne point de port ne faveur ny receptacle en nul lieu desdicts Royaulme et Sgries. et autres lieux a luy subgectz ny ne les prendra a soulde ne gaiges ainsi que Sa Sainctete promectz quil ne prendra nulz des barons dudict Royaulme de Naples a sa soulde.

Item pource que ledict duc de Vallence estoit quasi venu audessus de plombin car desia tous les chasteaulx et terres et lisle de belbe est ja en sa main, et a tout laisse pour aller soy conjoindre avecques larriere dudict Sgr. qui va au Royaulme de naples prie ledict sgr quil soit contant luy promectre que achevee ladicte entreprinse de naples ayde ledict duc de Vallentynois a conquester ledict lieu de plombin laquelle chose il pourra aisement faire au retour de larmee par mer et du camp par terre.

Item pource que Monsgr daubigny ces jours passez a prins aucunes terres des colonnoys quilz tenoyent au conte de fondie et Mount St Jehan que tenoit le marquis de pescaire disant que lesdicts colonnoys les tenoyent comme barons du Royaulme Sa Sainctete prye le Roy ordonner a monsgr daubigny quil les veille rendre a sadicte Sainctete car la cause que y pretend mondictsgr. daubigny ne millite point, pource que lesdicts lieux sont e limites et finages de la Seigneurie de leglise et si ainsi estoit Sa Sainctete pourrait semblement. alleguer quil luy seroit loysible demander les terres que lesdicts Colonnoys tenoyent au conte de alyre et taillecosse et fondie lesquieulx pource quilz sont terres du Royaulme Sadicte Sainctete ne les demande ny en aucune facon sen veult mestrer.

This document is entered on the Index as « Mémoire d'Alexandre VI. au Roy Louis XII., pour l'avancement de ses neveux ».

Paris, Bibl. Nation. Coll. Dupuy, Cod. 28. f° 17.

DOCUMENT 47.

The marriage project between Lucretia de Borgia and Robert de Sanseverino is given up.

Sacra Maiestas... Recepi literas Vre. Ces. M^tis decima quinta mensis hujus, de data ex Inspruch tertia eiusdem, cum quibus etc. Ces. V. M^tas S^mo Dno. Pape scribit voluntatem suam super matrimonio filii principis Salernitan. etc. mandans mihi id seriosius Sanctitati Sue exponere. Quod fecissem nisi dudum antea nos omnes federis oratores simul apud illam tam importune proclamassemus interposuissemusque, donec ipse pontifex responderet se tale matrimonium nunquam perfecturum postquam alios confederatos id nolle intelligeret... ita quod ultra nesciam quid significare nisi quod Ser^mus Rex Sicilie iam cum exercitu in dominiis principis Salernitani permanet, duo castella cepit Scti. Georgii et Sancti Severini ita quod hodie credatur etiam habere Salernum, attento quod nona mensis hujus Scindici Salernitani apud Ser^mum Regem Sicilie venerint ad tractandum et obtinendum certos articulos... Cum has literas pene occlusissem, venerunt nova qualiter Ser^mus Rex Sicilie recepit Salernum per deditionem XV^a mensis huius et non cessat illum principem Salernitanum continue prosequi.

humillimus servitor phrs. Naturelli

Vienna, Filiale des K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staatsarchivs Maximiliana. 1497, Oct. 20. Original paper.

DOCUMENT 48.

Pope Alexander VI erects the city of Ferrara into a duchy forever, with Ercole d'Este and his descendants as its dukes ; and reduces its tribute to the Holy See.

Alexander Episcopus etc. Ad futuram rei memoriam... Dudum siquidem felicis record. Sixtus papa IIII. predecessor noster quondam Borsio Estensi, dum in humanis ageret, in nostris

Civitate Ferrarie ac Masse Lombardorum pro Romana ecclesia in temporalibus Vicario generali, ac Ducali dignitate in dicta civitate Ferrarie fungente vita functo dilectum filium nobilem virum Herculem eiusdem Ferrarie ducem, fratrem suum, quandiu vitam duceret in humanis, et post ejus obitum filios et nepotes suos legitimos et naturales, per rectam lineam descendentes usque in tertiam generationem in civitate Ferrarie, castris, terris et locis predictis, illorumque comitatibus, territoriis et districtibus in eisdem temporalibus Vicarios generales, de fratrum suorum tunc eiusdem Romane ecclesie cardinalium, de quorum numero tunc eramus, consilio et assensu... auctoritate apostolica fecit, constituit et deputavit, ipsiusque Herculis personam titulo et insignibus ducalibus voluit prefulgere... Volens et decernens quod Hercules dux, filii et nepotes predicti ratione Ferrarie Quinque Millia, retentis per eos pro eorum provisione mille, ac aliorum castrorum, terrarum et locorum predictorum Centum florenos auri de Camera boni et justi ponderis, ac unam libram argenti puri respective singulis annis, in vigilia beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum, nomine Census, in Romana curia suis sumptibus, periculis et fortuna deferendos Camere apostolice dare et persolvere tenerentur...

Cum autem sicut evidentia rei clare demonstrat, prefatus Hercules dux... civitatem ipsam Ferrarie tempore suo mirum in modum non sine maximis et gravissimis impensis, suaque dexteritate, diligentia et opera accuratissima adauxerit, arcibusque et fossis amplissimis, ac muris et menibus muniverit, ac melius solito munire ceperit, locaque quamplurima territorii dicte civitatis Ferrarie sterilia et inculta ad maximam habitantium utilitatem ad culturam ac fertilitatem reduxerit, et in illa illisque terris, castris et locis predictis plurima ad eorum firmissimam tutelam, defensionem et conservationem effecerit, propter que aliis Civitatibus, castris et terris eiusdem Romane ecclesie tanquam illorum antemurale maximum profecto presidium facile afferri, iusque eiusdem Romane ecclesie non immerito adauctum satis dici potest ; et pro totali omnium premissorum perfectione ac Civitatis Ferrarie aliorumque castrorum, terrarum et locorum predictorum conservatione, tutela et defensione in dies non parva sit opus impensa, ad quam faciendum prefatus Hercules dux omni studio intendere non cessat, et propterea dignum et conveniens fore noscatur, ut Hercules dux, qui etiam in ipsa civi-

tate Ferrarie ex sua pia devotione multa monasteria et religiosa loca tam virorum quam mulierum de propriis bonis suis opere quidem sumptuoso fundari erigi et construi, ac jam fundata, erecta et constructa instaurari curavit, ac filii et nepotes sui prefati propterea... a tanti census onere releventur, quo ad alia majora et utiliora peragenda in dies magis atque magis alliciantur. Nos premissa omnia, que notoria sunt, attenta meditatione pensantes, ac tam Herculem ducem, filios et nepotes suos prefatos pro hujusmodi benemeritis, quam Civitatem ipsam Ferrarie adeo insignem et preclaram pro illius dignitate et decore aliquibus specialis gratie favore honore et prerogativis, prout convenit, prosequi et decorare, ac a tanto census onere relevare, et quibus possumus liberalitate et gratia uti volentes, sperantes quoque quod Hercules dux ac filii et nepotes sui prefati in suis fidei sinceritate ac devotione erga nos et eandem Romanam ecclesiam more eorumdem progenitorum suorum perseverabunt, ex premissis et certis aliis rationabilibus causis ad hoc animum nostrum inducentibus, habita super his cum Venerabilibus fratribus nostris ejusdem Romane ecclesie cardinalibus deliberatione matura, Civitatem predictam Ferrarie in Ducatum ad instar provinciarum quarumcumque et aliarum civitatum Ducali dignitate fulgentium, de similibus consilio, assensu, scientia, potestatis plenitudine et auctoritate tenore presentium perpetuo erigimus, ac omni Ducatus iure, facultate, nomine, titulo, insigniis, honoribus et preeminentiis universis insignimus et decoramus, ac Herculem ducem, filios et nepotes prefatos eiusdem Ferrarie duces successive ordine infrascripto facimus, constituimus et creamus, statuentes et ordinantes quod Civitas Ferrarie deinceps perpetuis futuris temporibus Ducatus Ferrarie, et tam Hercules dux quam filii et nepotes prefati Ferrarie duces successive existant... pro cautela successive concedimus, donamus et elargimur, volentes et decernentes... quod... prefato Hercole duce vita functo, dilectus filius nobilis vir Alfonsus ejus primogenitus, ipsoque Alfonso decedente, etiam dicti Alfonsi primogenitus, et ex ipso primogenito primogenitus, et eo sine filiis deficiente secundogenitus, et sic successive ex linea dicti Alfonsi descendentes, illisque omnibus deficientibus, secundogenitus prefati Herculis ducis, et eo defuncto sine filiis etiam terciogenitus suus, et sic successive et similiter alii prefati Herculis ducis filii modo premisso in Ducatu, Civitate Ferrarie, cas-

tris, terris et locis predictis cum pari potestate et auctoritate omnino succedant... Et insuper Censum predictum deinceps perpetuis futuris temporibus, quoad Herculem ducem ac ejus Alfonsum primogenitum, necnon ex ipso Alfonso primogenito et dilecta in Christo filia nobili muliere Lucretia de Borgia, Ducissa Biselli, ejus uxore descendentes masculos, quamdiu vitam duxerint in humanis, ad Centum, et eis deficientibus, quo ad alios successores in ipsis Civitate Ferrarie, Ducatu, castris, terris ac locis ad Mille florenos dumtaxat singulis annis dicte Camere persolvendos, eisdem consilio, assensu, scientia, potestatis plenitudine et auctoritate, ex nostra mera et sedis apostolice gratia et liberalitate, premissis attentis, gratiose reducimus, limitamus et moderamur... Datum Rome apud S. Petrum Anno etc. 1501, 15 Kl. Octobris, Pontificatus nostri anno decimo.

† Ego Alexander Catholice Ecclesie Epus. ss.
† Ego D. Epus. Sabinensis S. R. E. card. Neapolitanus mpp. ss.
† Ego C. Epus. Tusculanus card. Portugalensis mpp. ss.
† Ego Jo Epus. Penestrinus card. Rachanatensis mpp. ss.
† Ego L. Epus. Albanensis S. R. E. card. Beneventanus mpp. ss.
† Ego A. S R E presb. card. tituli S. Praxedis manu propria ss.
† Ego Jo. card. Montisregalis mp. ss.
† Ego B. card. de Ursinis mpp. ss.
† Ego Johannes card. Alexandrinus ss.
† Ego B. card. s. Crucis subscripsi
† Ego Jo. card. Argentinus ss.
† Ego D. card. Grimanus mpp. ss.
† Ego Jac. tit. S. Clementis presb. card. Arborensis manu propria.
† Ego F. tit. S. Cecilie presb. card. Cusentinus mpp. ss.
† Ego Jo tit. S. Balbine card. Salernitanus mpp. ss.
† Ego L. tit. S. Agathe preb. card. Caputaquensis mpp. ss.
† Ego Jo. Baptista tit. S. Crisogoni preb. Capuanus mpp. ss.
† Ego F. S. Eustachii diac. card. Senensis subscripsi
† Ego J. S. Marie in Domnica diac. card. de Medicis mpp.
† Ego F. S. Theodori diac. card. de Sancto Severino ss.

† Ego Hypolitus S. Marie in Silice diac. card. Estensis manu propria ss.

† Ego Julianus diaconus card. de Cesarinis manu propria subscripsi.

† Ego A. ss. Cosme et Damiani diac. card. de Farnesio mpp. ss.

† Ego L. card. de Borgia mpp. ss.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Alex. VI. Secret An. I ad XI. Lib. V. Regest. 871. f° 47.

DOCUMENT 49.

Giovanni Luca Pozzi, a Ferrarese envoy in Rome, sends to duke Ercole a statement of the character of Lucretia de Borgia.

Illustrissimo Principi et Excellentissimo Domino Domino meo Singolari, Domino Duci Ferrarie.

Illustrissimo Signor mio Observandissimo questa sira dipoi che ebbi cenato fui con la Illustratissima Madonna Lucretia insieme con Messer Girardo per visitarla per parte de Vostra Excellentia et del Illustrissimo don Alfonso : et con questa occasione venissemo in longo ragionamento de diverse cose ; nel quale veramente lho cognosciuta molto prudente et discreta, amorevole, et di bona natura et de grandissima observantia verso Vostra Excellentia et il prefato Illustrissimo don Alfonso, per modo che si può fare judicio che Vostra Celsitudine et cusi il Signor Don Alfonso ne haverano bona satisfactione, oltre che lha optima gratia in ogni cosa cum modestia venusta et honesta, non meno e catholica, mostra temere dio, et domane si confessa con intentione di comunicarse il di de la Nativita del Signore. La e di bellezza competente, ma li boni gesti et modi suoi con la buona aiera et gratia, laugumentano et fano parere mazore: et in conclusione mi pare talmente qualificata, che di lei non se debia ne possi suspicare alchuna cosa sinistra : ma e da presumerni credere et sperarne sempre optime operationi. Del che mi e parso conveniente per la verita farni testimonio con questa mia a Vostra Celsitudine ; la quale sia certa che

com scrivo senza passione il vero, secondo il debito et istuto mio : cusi per la servitu che porto a Vostra Excellentia ni ho presa singulare letitia et consolatione. Et in bona gratia de Vostra Celsitudine mi raccomando. Roma XXIII decembris hora sexta noctis 1501.

Excellentia Vostra
Servus Joannes Lucas.

Modena, Archives of State : ap. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. II. nr. 33. S. 107.

DOCUMENT 50.

Beatrix de Borgia requests a papal audience for one of her clients.

Sanctme ac beatme pr.

Post osculum pedum latorem presencium nobilem Nicholaum balbi civem Venetum nrm. legualem clientulum multas jacturas in pluribus locis perpessum tue ineffabili sanctitati comitimus : ac ipsam humiliter atque devote precamur ut nri. causa ipsum tanta gra. condonet ut coram ipsam suum valeat denudare animum. Oratio nra apud prefatam Sanctitatem vulgaris ne videatur eciam atque eciam suplicamus : ut nos erga ipsum eo quo animo confidit agnoscat. Vale. Ex urbe valencie Nono Setembris Nonas anno MCCCCLXXXXII.

De vra Sanctitate

indigne iermana e
servula Beatrice
de Borga.

Bibl. Marciana, Venice, cl. X. cod. CLXXIV. n. 166 ; ap. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. II. nr. 6.

DOCUMENT 51

Correspondence between Mossén Ausias March and Doña Tecla de Borgia.

Entre los ulls é les orelles
Yo m' trob un contrast molt gran ;
É de aquell jutgesa os fan
Parlant de vos maravelles.
Díen los ulls que val molt més
De vos lo veure que l'oir ;
Ells no volen consentir
Dient que lo contrari es.
Vos, qui de tots valen més,
Axí de fora com de dins ;
D'aquests dos mirau les fins,
No l'esguart qui propi l's es.

The answer of Tecla :

Oides vostres rahons belles,
Bon Mossén March, á qui m' comán ;
Responchvos breu al que dit han,
Segons juhi que fas d'aquelles.
Molt poch estim lo que en mi es.
Mas puix forçat es lo meu dir ;
Al qui dirá « mes val que m' mir »
Yo li condampne lo procés.
Pero si parle lo revés
De veritat, mudant camíns
A vos remet los meus juhíns,
Qui sou de tots lo més entés.

Las Obras del poeta Mossén Ausias March, Edit. Valladolid, 1555. fol. 140. ap. Fita, Estud. Histor. T. VI. pp. 196-197.

Printed by Desclée, De Brouwer and C°, Bruges. (Belgium).

ST. ALBERT'S COLLEGE LIBRARY

7959

922.21
A42

De Roo, Peter.

AUTHOR

Material For a History of Pope

TITLE Alexander VI,

ST. ALBERT'S COLLEGE LIBRARY